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1871.

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METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1871.

Art I.—MONUMENTAL THEOLOGY.

The present century has been a period of sharpest intellectual strife. Perhaps no seventy years of the history of the Christian Church have witnessed more really earnest struggles. Specially fierce have been the encounters on the field of historic criticism. Not an original authority that has not been subjected to the most searching scrutiny; not a single early witness has passed unchallenged. The result is just what might have been anticipated, namely: a multitude of fables, sacred and profane, have been swept away, and the historic edifice has been reared on more enduring foundations. Doubtless the Tübingen School, even, has indirectly contributed to the true interests of Christianity by brushing away many secondary means of reliance, and causing the Church more clearly to apprehend the foundation of the apostles and prophets, and Jesus Christ himself—the true corner-stone—"in whom all the building, fitly framed together, groweth unto a holy temple in the Lord." Eph. ii, 20, 21.

A division of literary labor is another necessary consequence of these critical investigations. So exhaustive must be these inquiries that a single mind during a short life-time is able to explore but a very limited field. Hence the many new departments of study that have, during the century, vindicated their claim to distinct sciences. This is the case not in theology alone, but in every sphere of inquiry; as, for example, "Com-

parative Anatomy," "Ethnology," "Anthropology," "Comparative Philology," etc., etc.

Again, the meagerness of original historic material pertaining to the first three centuries of the Christian Church is surprising even to those who have made these studies a specialty. From slightest fragments of one writing preserved as a quotation in another; from a few incidental statements found in other fragments; from scattered references in authors widely removed in time and space from the events of which they treat—from these, as materials, to construct a consistent and harmonious whole that gives a picture of the Christian Church, in its inner life and power as well as its outer form and circumstances, must be a task that demands the rarest combination of the powers of imagination and thought as well as the utmost patience and sterling honesty in research.

Indeed, after the vast expenditure of study upon the history of the early Christian Church we may, without hesitation, say there is even yet much lacking to complete the portrait of this heroic age of Christianity.

The excavator on some site of ancient civilization sometimes exhumes a statue with arms and legs half gone, with nose and chin effaced, and brow indented by time, yet enough remaining in treatment to convince us of rarest artistic skill and an ideal of exquisite beauty. So in the history of the first three centuries of the Christian Church sufficient remains to show the beautiful simplicity and general purity of its doctrines, and the moral grandeur of its life; but the attempts at restoration, as in these exquisite statues, have been as diverse as the genius and opinion of writers. Often have elements been put into unwarranted relations, and produced results strangely contradictory or offensively grotesque. The meagerness of historic authorities, and the paucity of records from which even Eusebius could draw, are most noteworthy. For a period of more than a century and a half there is a nearly total lack of professedly ecclesiastical historic writing. For the period previous to the year 161 he relies almost entirely on Hegesippus, only merest scraps of whose works are preserved even in Eusebius.*

Further, the history of the early Church is mostly lacking in an advantage pertaining specially to the history of periods sub-

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* Baur, "Die Epochen der kirchlichen Geschichtschreibung," p. 9.

sequent to the Dark Ages. It is this: The events of later periods were recorded by different contemporary writers, who occupied widely different stand-points. Original material is vastly more rich and varied, and this material has been treated by writers of every historic school. Each has placed these records into the crucible of his own theory and judgment. By a careful comparison and patient weighing of the results thus reached the student can therefore adjust differences, harmonize contradictions, and gain a fair photograph of the age. But for the first three centuries we must study the history of the Christian Church through the eyes of Jewish Christians. We find here, therefore, few compensations, fewer counter-statements. We are at a loss how far to rest in the recorded facts of such a writer as Eusebius; more difficult is it to be assured of the justness of his generalizations. In this historian the *supernatural* is strangely exaggerated. The struggle against Christianity is conducted by the direct agency and instigation of the devil; every persecution, every heresy, every martyrdom, is the work of unseen powers of evil.* Hence, his history is largely a history of Christian martyrdom. "The martyrs are the *athletæ* of Christ, the champions of the grand Christian host, in whom, as in the heroes of a Homeric battle scene, the general struggle is individualized in the most varied manner in single combats, which again bring to notice a new form and situation of the whole."†

In the solution of these problems pertaining to the early centuries of Christianity (as, indeed, of all others in human action and thought) *historic criticism* has been most successful. "This is emphatically the method of the nineteenth century." The historian of philosophy, for example, discovers the true in philosophy by noting what is abiding, constant, and necessary; not an element unduly magnified in one age yet disappearing in the next, but what, though partially obscured for the time, again and again reasserts itself, thrusts itself into notice, and establishes its claim as the true.‡

Thus is the real discriminated from the apparent, the true sifted from the false. Whatever contributes to this discovery must be worthy of our special attention. Whatever more

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* Baur, "Epochen," etc., p. 9.

† Baur, p. 20.

‡ Farrar, "History of Free Thought," p. 31.

clearly reveals the inner *life and thought* of the Church of Christ, as distinguished from the merely outward *form*, must be invaluable. Welcome, indeed, must be every obscurest foot-print in the sand that marks the onward march of this militant host! thrice welcome will be some unconscious record of the deepest convictions of the Church, her supporting faith, and her far-reaching hopes!

This record and this testimony, we claim, are found preeminently in monuments. Their value as indices of civilization and religious opinion has long been recognized; but to combine into skillful groupings the testimony of these mute yet eloquent witnesses to the state of society and the Church in a far-off age has been largely the work of the present century. The claims of "Monumental Theology" to take rank as a distinct "Discipline," though rejected by most encyclopedists, have been skillfully urged by that profound scholar and genial Christian gentleman, Dr. Ferdinand Piper, of the University of Berlin. His work, "Introduction to Monumental Theology," creates great expectations in relation to the richness of the results of his most laborious studies.

"Monumental Theology" is a convenient name for the science which has for its object "the determination of the principles, thought, belief, and life of the Christian Church from Christian monuments." The term "monument" is used in no strained or unnatural sense, but includes any thing that perpetuates the memory of persons, events, or principles. These monuments may fall into two general classes, namely: 1. *Lingual*, including oral and written language; 2. *Material*, including coins and consular diptychs; gems and rings and tombs and cemeteries; churches and cloisters; utensils of churches; church adornings, as mosaics and paintings; and monuments of free creative art. Of the first class it has been usual to include under the term "monument" only such language as is found *inscribed* on the second class; therefore only that of an *epigraphic* character.

Inasmuch as the second class of monuments partakes so largely of the nature of *art* works, "Monumental Theology" would necessarily connect itself very closely with the subjects of "Christian Art" and "The History of Christian Art." Hence the questions of the essence of Christian art, the relation

of the Church to art itself, the relation of Christian to heathen art, the language of art, the interpretation of the language and symbolism of art works, the relation of the artist to the ecclesiastical office, and, *vice versa*, the practical utility of Christian paintings,[*] etc., etc., would necessarily belong to this discussion.

One chief reason why this department of religious history and evidence has been too much neglected is the erroneous idea of art itself that has been too widely entertained; for many have supposed that art is chiefly a *pleasing luxury*, a *merest incident* of civilization, that has appeared only when circumstances were most favorable, as when a people had attained a certain degree of leisure or wealth. It has been regarded too much as a mere bubble on the sea of human history, coming to the surface only soon to disappear; when, in truth, these art works are the product of the heavings of a force that is vital and inherent. Art belongs to the *necessary* expressions and phenomena of humanity, since no people has ever lacked its capacities or the products of their exercise. Indeed, art every-where carries with it the idea of representing in corporeal form the *life* of the soul. "Its highest end is to realize in the phenomena of the corporeal world *spiritual* emotions and thoughts; to objectify in the transient the enduring; to represent in the earthly and perishing the abiding and eternal."[†] Art is also the completest and most important expression of a people's *life*. Much can be learned from the record of political history, but this is too often merely outward. It is also too individual. Scientific life is too abstract. Art life reveals most clearly the *spirit* of the *people*, since here there seems to be nothing accidental. Hence a continuous history of these monuments (they belonging largely to the class of art works) gives a clear view of the progressive development of the human intellect.[‡]

We now inquire how this study of monuments is related to theology. None doubt the importance of the education of our esthetical nature. All concede that the idea of the "beauti-

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[*] For a complete syllabus of this subject see Piper, "Einleitung in die Monumentale Theologie," pp. 55, 56.

[†] Kugler, "Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte," p. xii.

[‡] See Schnaase, "Geschichte der bildenden Künste," vol. i, pp. 80–88.

ful" is equally necessary with the ideas of the "true" and the "good." Indeed, these three, the true, the good, and the beautiful, may be regarded as the Holy Trinity of ideas, capable of isolation, yet closely related to and interpenetrating each other. Art has most especially to do with the beautiful; this is its fundamental idea. While the immediate design of an art work is to *represent* a subject, yet, lifted above the murkiness of the *actual*, it is pervaded and transfigured by the warmth of the sensitive spirit through which its relation to the infinity of things is made apparent; "in the material is seen the reflection of the highest laws of mind, and the most delicate relations in this world-life are revealed in the most beneficent harmony." Cousin well remarks, "Let us be thoroughly penetrated with the thought that art is also to itself a kind of religion. God manifests himself to us by the idea of the true, by the idea of the good, by the idea of the beautiful. Each one of them leads to God, because it comes from him. . . . True beauty is *ideal* beauty, and ideal beauty is a reflection of the Infinite. . . . Every work of art, whatever may be its form, small or great, figured, sung, or uttered; every work of art, truly beautiful or sublime, throws the soul into a gentle or severe reverie that elevates it toward the Infinite. The Infinite is the common goal to which the soul aspires upon the wings of imagination as well as reason—by the route of the sublime and beautiful as well as by that of the true and the good. The emotion that the beautiful produces turns the soul from this world; it is the beneficial emotion that art produces for humanity." We conclude, therefore, that mind can *love* only mind; the soul seeks a *Creator* in his works. So, also, an art work has a religious significance by revealing a harmony that proceeds from God as its author. Just as the physical world around us is best understood and is most deeply significant when viewed as a work of the great Artist, where he has impressed his own beautiful and harmonious thought, just so is a work of art truly great only as it becomes a revelation of the Divine. Even before the publication of his great history had Winklemann expressed the belief that all true art should and does rise higher than the merely *agreeable;* it should and must have an *ethical* element. Indeed, he bases all the earlier heathen art on religion. And Piper* most beautifully and justly

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* "Einleitung," etc., p. 29.

remarks: "To *express* the Divine has ever been the highest problem of *art*, as to *know* the Divine has been the earnest struggle of *philosophy.* Each has been truly great just in that measure that it has kept in view this end, and to the attainment of which each has possessed sufficient power." This applies to both heathen and Christian art. Just so far as each has taken for representation subjects pervaded with the spiritual and seized upon by faith, or, in other words, just so far as art has been pervaded with the *theologic* notion, has it been really great and powerful in influence. Here, really, is where monumental art and theology join hands. These works express thoughts, religious, spiritual, connecting the subject with God, and pervaded with principles that lift the beholder to God and lead him to the contemplation of a hereafter. In so far as they do this have they a theologic character. But inasmuch as the monuments with which we have to do pertain to the Christian period, and to the Christian religion, and to forms of Christian worship, they have a specially theologic character, and possess a claim to be ranked among subjects pertaining directly to *Christian* theology.

The subject, then, presupposes the existence of a Christian art. The inquiry next arises, Was there developed near the origin, and during the first centuries, of the Church an art we can characterize as distinctly Christian?

The theory that attributes the decline and downfall of the Roman empire to an eclipse and extinction of religious faith on the part of the people, if not fully adequate to account for all the phenomena, points to the chiefest cause of the great final catastrophe. If, then, the principle previously announced, that "To express the Divine has ever been the highest problem of art," is borne in mind, we should be prepared to expect with the waning of faith in the Divine a corresponding decadence in true art. It is unnecessary to say that this is the case. The historian of general art treats of no period more steady and universal in its downfall. The decline is all-embracing; sculpture, painting, music, poetry, and architecture all seem to have been touched with a consuming blight. Subsequently to the time of Marcus Aurelius the eyes of the heathen would turn *backward* as to a golden age. Upon the future is cast a pall of terrible doubt and gloom. Society seemed conscious of the

approaching doom, yet the efforts to escape were only fitful and unavailing.

Contrariwise, with the introduction of a new system of religion, in which faith in the supernatural and the Divine was the central element, we should be prepared to expect a conserving influence upon art itself. Yet it must not be forgotten that Christianity was born amid circumstances most hostile to its purity and progress. Announcing a system radically different from the heathen religions, it set itself over against that "philosophy, falsely so called," that had attempted to solve the great problems of sin and destiny by human reasoning. Still, heathen philosophy and heathen art had pre-occupied the ground; and it is but a natural expectation that art that had been prostituted to the basest services of polytheism, that had been chiefly used in illustrating heathen subjects and most polluting rites, as well as philosophy, which then stood in antagonism to some of the fundamental principles of the new religion, should most justly be regarded with strong suspicion by the early Church. Nevertheless, we are not to regard ancient Christianity as hostile to art *per se*, but only to a civilization that *deified* art, or debased it to idolatrous uses. On the other hand, it is not to be denied that plastic art and painting found little encouragement among the first Christian communities.* Since statues and images of gods and deified heroes filled the heathen temples and the public squares, and the custom of the apotheosis even of basest men was still in vogue, the early Church was led to suppose that the absence of images from their places of assembly and their private houses must be distinctively characteristic. Hence, Clement of Alexandria cried in warning voice, "Images must not be tolerated!" Hence, in the earliest Christian art there is a total lack of the statue proper.† This whole opposition of the early Christian fathers to *representative art* arose from fear of a contaminating mixture of heathen and Christian elements. When we see the Emperor Alexander Severus placing the image of Christ beside those of Apollonius of Tyana, Abraham, and Orpheus, while the Gnostic sect of the Carpocratians represented the Saviour in connection with Plato and Aristotle, and some of the heathens adored equally Christ

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* Schnaase, "Geschichte," etc., vol. iii, p. 58.

† Holtzmann, "Denkmaler," etc., p. 17.

and Venus, (paying to each most abominable rites,*) it can be little wondered at that painting and sculpture especially were so little favored by those who were jealous of the honor of Jesus Christ. On the other hand, as it is the province of Christianity to restore the man to his normal condition, and the æsthetical is an essential element of this normal condition, the outward expression and visible embodiment of the truths dearest to the Christian heart could not long be suppressed. "The very glow of devotion of these men, and the care with which they dwelt upon the objects of their silent worship, must necessarily soon awaken a felt need for their representation. The doctrine of salvation, which interpenetrated their whole being, must find a visible form; the secrecy of the Christian fraternity made some sign of recognition necessary."

We see, then, how the heathen and the Christian art touch each other. The *technical* handling we should expect to be largely influenced by the heathen technics. And this is true both in sculpture and painting. Nor would it be contrary to antecedent expectation to find in the art of the early Church frequent traces of the heathen *spirit*. As in the study of the "History of Christian Doctrines" of this period it becomes indispensable to thoroughly understand the spirit and prevalence of heathen philosophy, so also in "Monumental Theology" must the technics, motives, and subjects of heathen art be most carefully noted.

What, then, are some of the distinctive characteristics of the Christian art of the first five centuries? Though largely dependent on the heathen art, this early Christian art is peculiar,

1. In the *subjects* treated.

The very genius of Christianity would suggest subjects of deep, absorbing interest; and their treatment would necessarily be all opposed to the bold, physical, objective manner of heathen art. Virtue in the heathen and Christian vocabularies embodied widely different ideas. To courage, physical prowess, and retaliation of injuries now succeed the opposing principles of humility, patience, love, and forgiveness. Also, instead of strong individualism, and *egoistic* thought and action, are now found a community of feeling, a recognition of the brotherhood of the race, an absorption of this *egoistic*

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* Schnaase, "Geschichte," etc., vol. iii, p. 59.

into the general. Specially in the art of the Christian catacombs, prior to the time of Constantine, there is, therefore, a struggle to avoid the charge of idolatry by hiding favorite subjects and distinctive doctrines under symbolic forms. We observe, therefore, during this period little if any attempt at portraiture. The type of countenance of the figures is invariable. The range of subjects is comparatively narrow, usually limited to the acts of Christ, to events in Old Testament history that prefigure his offices, or to objects in nature that symbolize his doctrines.

2. The early Christian art exchanged, therefore, a natural for a symbolic treatment.

By a *symbol* in art we understand an outward, corporeal form or representation, which, as a sign, suggests a spiritual significance, and through which a higher thought is awakened. "There are conditions of soul and subjects of art, when, proceeding not from nature, but from an ideal, we seek for this ideal a sensuous sign, which may be, not like, but similar to, or representative of, the same."* This style is the symbolic.

To hope for the *perfect* embodiment of ideas in material forms is vain. Yet in the best period of the Greek plastic the idea and the representation correspond most nearly. It is a *revelation* of the idea in the corporeal form. Beauty and thought here struggle to the light. The movement is outward; there is little of invitation to search beneath for *hidden* truths. True, the *early* Greek art was deeply religious, and emphatically subjective. This was the period of a firm faith of the people in the supernatural. But from the period of Alexander the Great Greek art became sensuous. The spirituality and depth are gone. The sensuous *form* alone is studied.

On the contrary, the oriental and romantic art, to which the early Christian is allied, abounds in symbolism. The thought is not revealed in the form; the idea does not fully, or chiefly, lie upon the surface. The oriental imagination, that was so inclined to indulge in metaphor and parable, had, through the sacred Scriptures, deeply impressed the Christian mind of the West. They, too, felt the inadequacy of material forms to represent Christian ideas. So momentous are the concerns of Chris-

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* Schnaase, vol. i, pp. 31-35.

tianity, so spiritual its truths, so taking hold on an unseen life in its effects, that a direct and literal art-treatment of its subjects has ever been felt to be dangerous and belittling. While, therefore, other art-works may limit the thought of the beholder to themselves, Christian art suggests for its end something deeper, higher, and lying outside of itself.*

Historians of art have regarded this impression of oriental thought upon the mind of the West through the sacred Scriptures a most important element in studying the progress and direction of Christian art in the following centuries.

3. From the very nature of symbolic art we might infer that the early Christian art would tend to pass from the *outward form* to the *inner significance and life.* Take, for example, those works through which earliest Christian plastic and painting are chiefly known, namely, monuments to the dead. These, from memorials of merely physical and outer life, became witnesses to an essential inner life. Usually there is little reference to the earthly history of the deceased. The symbol or brief inscription often speaks of a spiritual state of the departed. It turns the thought from the external and temporal to the spiritual and heavenly. The eye is no longer directed backward to the past as the one thing upon which to rest, but forward to the continuous life of one who is still near and dear. Instead of sadness and wailing, sweet thoughts of hope and peace are suggested; not a stoical resignation to what is fated, but a living assurance of victory over death.†

Students of æsthetics and art history ‡ have remarked that the art tendencies and works of a people or a period depend largely upon the stand-point from which they study nature. A pantheistic view, regarding nature and God as interchangeable terms, or at least considering the universe endowed with a divine spirit; or a polytheistic, apportioning the world to a variety of gods, having each a distinctive sphere of activity, will both seek the reproduction of the natural with greater fidelity. On the contrary, a people or period in whose religion the spiritual element largely predominates, whose doctrines pertain to another sphere of thought and life, will necessarily

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* Otto, "Handbuch der Archäologie," etc.. Introduction.

† Friedrichs, "Der bildliche Schmuck," etc., p. 26.

‡ Compare Schnaase, vol. iii, p. 82, etc.

turn aside from external nature, or use nature as a means to a higher end. With such, representative art will derive little motive power from this source. The tendency with these peoples will be either to absolutely condemn pictorial art, or to give rise to works stiff, lifeless, and unartistic. But while Christianity is a system more than all others abounding in spiritual truth, and turns, therefore, the thought specially to the inner life—while its perils and persecutions, and its lack of worldly honor, all turn the eye to a hereafter—it presents the remarkable phenomenon of neither hating art *per se*, nor manifesting an indifference to it, but, on the contrary, developing an art peculiarly its own. The Christian life was essentially a spiritual life. This was, therefore, to be found within. Yet, as before remarked, this spiritual life was struggling for *expression.*

The early Christian Church went forth not to *interpret* nature, but to find symbols and forms and relations by which to interpret the deep truths of their system, and foreshadow the hidden, mysterious life beyond. In contradistinction to pantheistic or polytheistic systems, early Christianity studied nature not as an end, but as a means to a loftier end. With her nature was only a multitude of symbols of spiritual truth. This view in itself would stimulate the imagination. This quickened imagination would again go out in search of something in nature to illustrate its higher conceptions of spiritual truth. Thus would action and reaction tend to the result indicated. Thus would the early Christian art have its marked and distinctive features.

THE LITERATURE.

Under this section it will be impossible, of course, to more than indicate some of the *chief* authorities for the study of the monuments of the first five centuries. Like most other subjects of importance its literature is immense, and its related topics are very numerous. The wide range of territory through which Christian monuments are scattered increases the difficulties of their study, and renders an abbreviated summary of authorities specially perplexing. We shall in our examination be limited to the first six centuries of the Christian era, and to the chief centers of these monuments—as Rome, Naples, Ravenna, Car-

thage, Constantinople, Autun, and Marseilles. Passing by in this connection the earlier general archæologists, as Mabillon, Montfauçon, Muratori, Ciampini, etc., as well as writers of the general history of art, and hand-books of Christian archæology, we may classify authorities as follows:

FOR ROME.

I. CATACOMBS.

1. *Bosio*, "Roma Sotterranea." Roma, 1632. It was not until late in the sixteenth century that scholars turned their attention to the study of the catacombs. Although a Dominican monk, and Philip Wing, a Flemish nobleman, soon after the discovery of the catacomb of St. Priscilla by the falling in of a portion of the highway near the Porta Salara in Rome in 1578, commenced with zeal the archæological study of the catacombs, yet it is Antonio Bosio, agent at Rome of the order of the Knights of Malta, who must be regarded the real pioneer in these explorations. He pushed his work with marked vigor, and awakened a degree of interest in these monuments that has not yet diminished. The results of his unremitting toil for thirty-three years were published from his manuscripts, with additions by Severanus, under the above title, in 1632.

2. *Arringhi*, "Roma Subterranea." Roma, 1685. This translation into Latin of Bosio's work, with corrections and additions by Arringhi, was made fifty-three years after Bosio's death, and marks an era in the history of these researches. This work is in itself a rich mine to the student of Christian art and archæology during the first four and a half centuries. It is especially valuable from its preservation, in text and plates, of many interesting monuments that the decay and vandalism of the past two hundred years have completely obliterated.

3. *Bertoli*, "Li antiche lucerne sepolcrali figurate raccolte dalle cave sotterranee e grotte di Roma." Roma, 1681. This work on the lamps of the catacombs, which contain figures both heathen and Christian, forms a valuable appendix to the large treatises of Bosio and Arringhi.

4. *Fabretti*, "Inscriptionum antiquarum quae in ædibus paternis asservantur," etc. Romæ, 1702. Since Fabretti was overseer of the catacombs, his collection is among the most prized of the early works on Christian epigraphy, containing

many inscriptions, accompanied with commentaries upon them.

5. *Boldetti*, "Observazioni soprai cimiteri de' santi martiri," etc. Roma, 1720. This most excellent and learned work on the cemeteries of the holy martyrs and early Christians was the fruit of thirty years of hard, unremitting toil. It was published under the authority of Clement XI., and forms a really valuable supplement to Bosio's great work.

6. *Bottari*, "Sculture e pitture sagre estratte dai cimiteri di Roma," etc. Roma, 1737, 1746, 1754. This treatise, issued under the patronage of Clement XII., is well illustrated with maps and plates, and in it are examined anew the sarcophagi and mural paintings of the Eternal City.

7. *Mamachi*, "Originum et antiquitatum Christianarum," etc. Roma, 1749–51. In the first and third parts this writer treats of the sarcophagi, lamps, and painted glass of the Roman catacombs.

8. *D'Agincourt*, "L'Histoire de l'art par les monumens," etc. Paris, 1828. In this immense work are collected many important facts, and many paintings from the catacombs, with a critical examination of their chronology. The lack of an index, and the inferiority of the plates, perplex the student, and detract much from the value of this collection.

9. *Röstell*, "Bescreibung von Rom," 1830–42. The chapters on the catacombs in this great work of Bunsen were written by Röstell, and give a very fair summary of information down to the time of publication.

10. *Raoul-Rochette*, "Sur l'origine des, etc., des types imitatifs," etc. Paris, 1834. In this treatise, and more especially in three papers read before the "Academy of Inscriptions of Paris" in 1838, this author examined the antiquities of the catacombs. His classical studies and tastes led him to ascribe the art of the catacombs to the influence of heathen art, and almost absolutely to deny to the Christians all originality and peculiarity of treatment.

11. *Marchi*, "Monumenti delle arti cristiane primitive," etc. Roma, 1844. This Roman priest and superintendent of the catacombs first published these able papers about 1840. They are accompanied with many excellent plates illustrating more especially the architecture of the catacombs. He completely

demolishes the *arenarian* theory, and clearly demonstrates the exclusively Christian origin and use of these works.

12. *Perret*, "Les catacombs de Rom." Paris, 1851. This archæologist was sent to Rome, under the auspices of the French Government, to make a complete survey, take photographs, drawings, and measurements; in fine, to do every thing necessary to the preparation of an exhaustive treatise on this subject of ever-growing interest. His work appeared in six magnificent folio volumes, every part executed in the highest style of art. It is much to be regretted that Perret has greatly marred this work by most injudicious selection of material, and by showing himself a too servile adherent to preconceived theories. Moreover, the plates are far too highly wrought, and tend to produce false impressions of the state of preservation of these monuments, as well as their artistic claims. It is only the fifth volume, containing the inscriptions, (superintended by Renier,) that has a strictly scientific value.

13. *De Rossi.* *a.* "Inscriptiones Christ. urbis Romae," etc., vol. i. Romae, 1857–61. *b.* "La Roma Sotterranea Cristiana." Roma, vol. i, 1864; vol. ii, 1867. The compiler of these volumes is the present superintendent of the catacombs. Thoroughly read as he is in patristic and earlier Church history, no man of our times is more fully prepared to pass judgment on the important questions arising in connection with these archæological inquiries, and no one of the numerous writers of the Romish Church has manifested a more thoroughly scientific spirit in the examination of controverted points. The first-mentioned work will, when completed, be a most valuable contribution to "Christian Epigraphic;" and the second contains a mass of information and facts that leaves little farther to be desired on the topics treated.

II. The early Christian Churches.

1. *Bunsen*, "Die Christliche Basiliken." Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1830–'42. This constitutes one of the parts of the great work "Bescreibung der Stadt Rom," by Platner, Bunsen, Gerhard, and Röstell. It has also been issued separately, with fifty good copper plates accompanying, and forms a good treatise on a most interesting subject.

2. *Zestermann*, "Die aritken und die Christlichen Basiliken." This author has with greatest diligence collected a mass of val-

uable material, yet his conclusions are in many cases very questionable.

3. *H. Gally Knight*, "The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Italy." London, 1842–44.

NAPLES.

1. *Bellermann*, "Uber die ältesten Christlichen Begrabnisstätten, etc., yu Neapel." Hamburg, 1839. This exhaustive monograph is the result of a nine years' residence and study in Naples by a diligent worker and keen observer.

RAVENNA.

1. *V. Quast*, "Die Altchristlichen Bauwerke von Ravenna." Berlin, 1842. Full and reliable, with good plates.

CONSTANTINOPLE.

1. *Salzenberg*, "Altchristliche Baudenkmale von Constantinopel," etc. This is the best single treatise on the monuments of Constantinople, and most of the conclusions herein reached are reliable.

SOUTHERN FRANCE.

1. *Le Beaut*, "Inscriptions Chrétiennes de la Gaul," etc. Paris, 1856–65. This work treats of Christian inscriptions previous to the eighth century, and is wrought out with much diligence. This work, with many special papers by Garrucci, Lenormant, etc., contained in the "Mélanges d'Epigraphie Ancienne," and in the "Mélanges d'Archéologie," constitute the best authorities for the study of the intensely interesting Christian monuments of Southern France.

GENERAL.

Münter, "Sinnbilder und Kunstvorstellungender Alten Christen." Altona, 1825. This treatise is the work of a most profound scholar and ardent student of antiquities. Still it contains some false interpretations that must be carefully guarded against.

Piper, "Mytholologie und Symbolik der Christlichen Kunst." Weimar, 1847–51. A most valuable work upon the effects of heathen cosmology and mythology upon Christian art, and the perpetuation of this and Hebrew influence in Christian symbolism.

In order to illustrate the value of monuments as indices of the thought and belief of the age in which they arose, a brief description of some of the most important seems indispensable. Of course the limits of a review article will confine us to a few *specimen* monuments of the earlier centuries of the Christian era. The two most rich and instructive classes are "The Christian Cemeteries," and "The Christian Basilicas." Examples of the first class, belonging to the first six centuries, are very widely scattered throughout the territory of both the Eastern and Western Churches.

While a vast amount of labor has been expended upon all these interesting remains, the catacombs of Rome and Naples and the basilicas of Rome and Ravenna are specially rich in materials, and have been most carefully and systematically studied. The Roman and Neapolitan catacombs are usually below the level of the surrounding country. The entrance to them is commonly from the highest point by means of a flight of stairs; sometimes by a horizontal or easily-descending shaft. From near the place of entrance, as a center, radiate numerous narrow streets or passages, which, together with the frequent intersections of cross streets, form a perfect labyrinthian maze, whence the stranger pilgrim might vainly attempt to extricate himself. The number and extent of these subterranean cemeteries is surprising to those who have not made them a special study. The Roman catacombs alone occupy many square miles of the Campagna. They are more than sixty* in number, with about six hundred entrances, and more than nine hundred miles of streets or passages. On either side of these passages, which are usually from two to three and one half feet wide, in the soft *tufa* rock are excavated vaults to receive the bodies of the dead. These vaults are usually arranged in rows or series above each other, sometimes four or five, and sometimes even fourteen deep. These shelves or vaults usually lie parallel to the direction of the passages, and, after the body was deposited, were closed with tiles or flat stones, (sometimes taken from ruined heathen buildings,) slipped into grooves, and then sealed with cement. Upon the stones or tiles, or in the cement-ware, scratched with a sharp tool or marked with coal or paint, are to be found sometimes the initials or name of the deceased, sometimes a brief

* Authorities differ.

epitaph or short prayer for the welfare of the departed; or again, in earlier monuments, the figure of the fish, the dove, the olive branch; and in later, the monogram of Christ, etc. The narrow aisles sometimes open into small rooms with vaulted ceilings, which are ornamented with paintings in fresco, somewhat after the manner of the mural decorations of Pompeii. The *subjects*, however, are in marked contrast to those of the exhumed Roman Sodom. Some of these rooms have been shown to be the burial-places of Christians of peculiar sanctity, or who had been noted for their extraordinary sacrifices for the Church. Here also, in all probability, were celebrated, during times of severe persecution, the holy sacraments of the Church.

The earlier theory that the catacombs of Rome were merely *arenaria*, or pits formed by the excavation of building material for the city, and that they were appropriated by the Christians for purposes of burial, has been altogether refuted by Marchi. The rock is such as to totally unfit it for the walls of buildings, as well as to be crushed for sand or cement. On the contrary, it is of that softest texture, easy to excavate, yet of sufficient cohesive power to form the lateral walls and ceilings of rooms and passages, while the whole arrangement of the streets, the oratories and chapels, etc., indicate one general, harmonious plan, altogether inconsistent with the supposition of quarries or *arenaria*, yet exactly adapted to this very use to which they have been put, namely, immense subterranean cemeteries, and a place of retreat for members of a persecuted, hunted Church. It is true that the *arenaria* were in some instances used by the Christians, not for purposes of interment, but as concealment of the catacomb proper. The distinctive features of the two classes of excavations are finely illustrated in the cemetery of St. Agnes at Rome, where the *arenaria* are situated *above* the place for Christian sepulture. Again, the uniformity of design observed in this whole series of subterranean streets, rooms, etc., as well as a number of important inscriptions and frescoes found especially well preserved in St. Agnes, render it highly probable that the whole preparation and superintendence of these places of sepulture at Rome were committed to a pious fraternity, or at least a family, which regarded the office as hereditary.*

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* See Marchi; also Wiseman, "Fabiola," part ii, chap. i.

The chronology of these monuments is a study of special difficulty. Sometimes it must be merely conjectural; often it is established by probable evidence; frequently it is fixed with absolute certainty. In the case of the Roman catacombs, the best archæologists agree that the period of their monumental remains extends from near the close of the first century to the beginning or second quarter of the fifth century; that is, from the reign of Domitian to the reign of Honorius. For example, De Rossi, judging from its superior architecture, its location, and the character of its frescoes, does not hesitate to place the cemetery of Domatilla near the close of the first century.* Also this same author looks upon this cemetery as proof positive that the earliest places of burial of this character at Rome were of private families. There is no evidence that the Christians of Rome prior to the time of Constantine used to any considerable extent any other places than the catacombs for the interment of their dead; and even during his reign these continued to be the exclusive place of sepulture. From A. D. 338 to A. D. 364 two thirds of the Christians were still thus buried; from A. D. 364 to A. D. 369 the number of interments in and around the basilicas and in the subterranean cemeteries is about equal. In A. D. 370–371, in consequence of their restoration by Pope Damasus, the catacombs became again the only place of burial; from A. D. 373 to A. D. 400 about one third were thus buried; while with the year 410 A. D., so far as inscriptions testify, interment in the catacombs at Rome ceased entirely.† During the terrible invasions of the northern hordes these depositories for the Christian dead, as well as all other Roman monuments of heathen or Christian origin, suffered from plundering and neglect; while from the pontificate of Honorius III. in the thirteenth century to that of Martin VI. in the fifteenth century all mention of the catacombs absolutely ceases.‡

The epigraphic contents of the Roman catacombs have been the subject of most patient and exhaustive study, and their chronology has been determined by consular dates and a vast variety of historical, moral, and philological evidence. They divide themselves into two grand classes, namely, the Pre-

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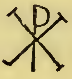
* "Roma Sotterranea," vol. i, p. 108.

† De Rossi, "Inscriptiones," etc., vol. i, chap. v.

‡ Northcote, p. 32.

Constantine and the Post-Constantine. The former are chiefly distinguished as follows: 1. They seldom bear a date fixed by the consulate. 2. The oldest (those previous to the third century) do not give the age of the deceased, but are content with the name or a brief wish or prayer. 3. They are generally very brief, and free from excessive praise. 4. They are sometimes accompanied by the figure of a fish, or the word Ιχθύς.

The latter, or Post-Constantine inscriptions, have the following characteristics, namely: 1. They are frequently accompanied with the monogram of Christ. 2. They are almost exclusively in Latin. 3. Many of them are wrought out by the self-same hand. 4. The names are very much loaded with prolix statements of the character, rank in life, etc., of the deceased.



Next to the Roman catacombs, in antiquity and richness of monuments, are the Christian basilicas. Those of Rome and Ravenna are specially important. In these old churches, in the tribune, on the triumphal arches, along the wall-faces separating the naves, on the sarcophagi, on the sacred vessels, etc., are found in painting, sculpture, mosaic, or inscription, a mass of material from which can be formed a just estimate of the life, spirit, and dogmatic belief of these periods. "It is, indeed, in the aggregate, a grand and affecting ideal of Christianity that this earlier monumental series, painted, sculptured, and chiseled, presents to us—a moral picture of purity and peace, earnestness without fanaticism, mystic ordinances undegraded by superstition, true devotion manifest in the supreme sacrifice of the heart, the mind, and life. The varied and mystic illustrations of sacraments, the select representation of such miracles as convey lessons of divine goodness and love or confirm belief in immortal life, may be said to revolve around one subject that dominates like a star whose hallowed light illumes the entire sphere, namely, the person and office of the Redeemer, toward whom all hope and faith tend, from whom proceeds all power, all strengthening and consoling virtue." *

To illustrate this will require another paper.

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* Hemans, "Ancient Christianity and Sacred Art," p. 65.

Art. II.—THE SLAVIC RACES.

There is in the life-time of every race of people a prehistoric period, where the ethnologist, in tracing the stream of national life upward toward its source, finds all records merging into heroic song and ancestral tradition, until finally the gray mists of antiquity settle down upon him, defying further investigation, and concealing from his view the primal origin of the race.

Among the great nations which have held and still hold a prominent place in the history of the world, there are few whose rise and progress present more difficulty to the student of history than the Slavic race. The silence of historians just where their testimony is most needed, and the conflict of testimony, and even self-contradictions, found in much of the information given by historians in connection with this subject, are truly remarkable. We might take up the half of this article in merely collating the direct contradictions and the frequently amusing blunders found in the writings of those historians who are almost our sole authorities as chroniclers of their times. The causes of this obscurity and conflict of testimony may be briefly assigned as the following:

1. The Slavic ancestors left their history to be written by others. No Slavic writer earlier than the middle of the eleventh century ever attempted, so far as we know, to hand down to posterity a record of the doings of his race. Their history has therefore been left to be written, according to the ignorance or prejudice of the times, by writers who were their enemies or rivals. Following the peaceful pursuits of agriculture rather than war, they were often passed by in silent contempt by those who considered conquest the highest glory of man. They wielded the implements of husbandry, and when stern necessity compelled, or when fierce cruelty and oppressive tyranny roused them to desperate conflict, the battle-ax and the bow, better than the pen. They performed deeds of prowess and valor, but either did not know, or with barbaric haughtiness disdained, the noble art by which the story of their valor might be told to remote ages. The silence of history in any nation

by no means proves the absence of those heroic traits which are the favorite themes of the historian. Many a vaunted achievement which by the skill of the eulogist has become a household word in modern times, if stripped of its poetic dress and divested of its mythological exaggerations would sink into a mere commonplace occurrence; and many a noble deed and generous act, through lack of a historian, has perished from the memory of man.

2. The territories occupied by the early Slavic people were but little known to the inhabitants of that Empire which called itself the world, the most of whom cared very little about the barbarians who dwelt in the regions beyond. This is not to be wondered at when we think of the great difficulties of intercommunication in those early days, and the extremely limited facilities of the early geographers for obtaining correct information concerning distant localities. In this way identical names have been given to widely different territories, and provinces made to overlap one another, like some of the old land-warrants, in some of our States, in a manner quite puzzling to the modern reader. As an illustration let any one attempt to trace out the Argonautic expedition, and he will find plenty of work to arrange a clear chart.

3. Much of the confusion in the historical records arises through the metamorphosis of names. Proper names, when transferred into a foreign language and expressed by an inadequate alphabet, become frequently so disguised as to defy recognition. With repeated transfers the difficulty is doubled and quadrupled, until the most skillful etymologists are baffled in their attempts to trace the original word. In Turkey at the the present day many striking illustrations are seen of these changes. The European reader of a Turkish newspaper is frequently puzzled to make out familiar European names in their Turkish dress; and in Turkish passports the name is sometimes given so strangely as to make the traveler almost doubt his own identity. There are also many such examples in modern Greek. The names Bright, Butler, Whitworth, Bismarck,* etc., have a strange look in Greek characters. We cannot wonder, then, that Slavic names, some of which at the present day appear so utterly unpronounceable expressed in Roman

* Μπραῖτ, Μπουτλερ, Οὐίτουορθ, Μπίζμαρκ.

characters, should have assumed, under the pen of writers ignorant of the Slavic language, such strange forms as in many instances to conceal their Slavic origin. But still greater difficulties have arisen from the custom prevalent among many writers of *translating* foreign names into their real or fancied equivalents. Now take two such languages as the Latin and Greek, and then at least three distinct so-called barbarian tongues, namely, the Gothic, (embracing the Teutonic,) the Slavic, (embracing the Lithuanian,) and the Tartar, (including the languages of the Chuses, the Magyars, and the Turks;) put these five distinct and antagonistic languages into one region of country, and, after the clashing conflicts, the expulsions, incursions, and migrations of centuries, we cannot wonder so much at the confused state of historic records and ancestral traditions, and the consequent difficulty and frequent impossibility of tracing out with perfect certainty the names of persons, places, and tribes.

In modern times considerable has been written by European scholars upon the large Slavic element of the European population; and within the past twenty years the various political schemes which, under the general but vague term of *Panslavism*, have been proposed for the unification or confederation of the Slavic races, have attracted new attention to the subject and awakened new investigation. Still, with all that has been said and written by Slavic and non-Slavic authors, the questions, Who were the ancient Slavi? where their original home? what their characteristics? whence their name? and who of the present existing nations may be regarded as their descendants and members of the great Slavic family? are much more easily asked than conclusively answered. To collate a few of the leading facts bearing upon a solution of these questions, and more particularly such as are not generally accessible to the English student, is the main object of the present sketch, which is intended as introductory to one which it is hoped will present more fully before the readers of the *Quarterly* the Bulgarian people and some of the interesting ecclesiastical events which have taken place among them.*

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*For information concerning Slavic races and literature see a very able and extensive article in *Biblical Repository* for April, 1834, drawn chiefly from Schaffarik's *Geschichte der Slavischen Sprache und Literatur*. See also work by same

1. *Who were the ancient Slavi?*—In determining the place of any people among the nations of the earth the characteristic marks or traces which are followed may be regarded as of three kinds, namely: first, historical, examining the records of what they have said about themselves as well as what others have said about them; second, archæological, examining coins, medals, inscriptions, ruins, etc., as well as names of places, rivers, and mountains; third, philological, tracing affinities of language, and similarities of construction and forms of expression.

Schaffarik, the learned author of the celebrated work on Slavic ethnography, divides the whole human race into four families, and calls them by the names Indo-European, Semitic, Northern, and Chinese. The first of these has exceeded all the others in intellectual vigor and social development, and is the one which concerns us particularly in this investigation. By a comparison of languages, commencing with the Sanscrit, the sacred language of India, there are found in the Indian, Persian, Greek, Latin, German, Celtic, and Slavic certain affinities, certain common radicals, and many common features of structure and forms of expression. This has led to their classification in one family, called formerly Indo-Germanic, and still later by some Aryan, but generally called the Indo-European. According to the testimony of such authorities as Humboldt, Rask, Klaproth, Schaffarik, Max Müller, and Prof. Whitney, belonging to this great Indo-European family, which numbers according to Klaproth's estimate over three hundred millions of the human race, we find the Slavic races, which now compose probably ninety millions of that number. We thus bring the Slavic race into the same family with Greeks, Latins, Germans, and Celts; in a word, into the same branch of the human family with ourselves. Where the original home of the great Indo-European branch of the human family was can be only conjectured, but the prevailing opinion is in favor of India. At some remote period of time, perhaps three thousand years before the Christian era, (Klaproth assigns the date 3076 B. C.,) these different nations must have been of one

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author: *Slavic Races*, Talvi, (Mrs. Robinson,) New York; Henderson's *Biblical Researches in Russia;* Winer, *Jahrbücher der Literatur*, vol. xvii; Foreign Quarterly Review, vol. vii; Schaffarik's *Slavische Alterthümer*, 2 vols.; Dobroffsky's *Institutiones Linguæ Slavicæ;* Dobroffsky's *Slavonka*.

tongue and one speech, and in subsequent and different periods, pressed and crowded out in the struggle for life, or impelled by a desire for conquest, they have migrated and spread westward and northward. Thus have been separated the Indian race, the Areitan, Median, and Sarmatian branches, the Afghans, Persians, and Armenians; the Thracian stock, with its Greek and Latin branches, the Celto-Germanic, or Teutonic, (of Germanic and Celtic,) and Slavic, with Slavic and Lithuanian branches.

Such is the position of the Slavic races, according to the philological classification. When we endeavor to trace them historically we find it a more difficult task. Modern writers who treat of the subject may be divided into two classes, of which the one regard the Slavi as a *new* people in Europe, entering only in the fourth or fifth century—a mixed race of Huns, Avares, and other Asiatic tribes. The other class regard them as an ancient European race, the date of whose settlement in Europe is lost in the mists of antiquity. Murray, in his "History of European Languages," says that the Slavi probably came into Europe seven or eight centuries before the Christian era. The venerable Abbot Dobroffsky, the learned author of "*Institutiones Linguæ Slavicæ*," says that the people from whom the present great Slavic nations sprang must have separated from the other tribes at least two thousand years before Christ and withdrawn toward the North. Although this great author subsequently expressed a somewhat different view, being influenced by a statement of Tacitus concerning the Venedi, yet Schaffarik, in his "*Slavische Alterthümer*," has brought forward a mass of testimony in support of the previous view. Ptolemy the geographer, who wrote 175–182 A. D., locates the Welts by the shores of the Baltic Sea, and Schaffarik argues that these Welts were Slavi. The first Slavic historian is the Russian monk Nestor, who wrote about the middle of the eleventh century. He had evidently investigated with considerable care the traditions of his people. He says nothing about the first appearance of the Slavi in Europe taking place so late as the fifth century. We can hardly conceive it possible that in the space of five hundred years all recollection and tradition of so remarkable an event should have been entirely effaced. He mentions the tradition which relates that the Apostles Paul

and Andrew preached to the Slavi in Illyricum and Russia; and Schaffarik justly remarks upon it that, although the tradition is not supported by reliable evidence, its being cited by Nestor shows that at least he regarded the Slavi as among the ancient inhabitants of Europe.

The chief historic sources of information upon the Slavic nations are the Byzantine writers, such as Priscus Pañiata, (471,) Procopius, (552,) Agathias, (559,) Menander, (594,) Mauricius, (602,) Theophylact Simokatta, (629,) Patriarch Nicephoros, (828,) Constantine Porphyrogenitus, (959,) and others. Those who give us the most detailed information, and upon whom such later writers as Peysonnel, Stritter, Schleicher, Schloezer, Gibbon, and others, have principally relied for their particulars, are Procopius and Jornandes. Procopius was the private secretary of the great Belisarius, and accompanied him in his memorable campaigns in Persia, Africa, and Italy. He died in the year 565. He received from the Emperor Justinian the title of *Illustris* and the position of senator. A short time before his death he was made Prefect of Constantinople. He has left a history in eight books of the wars of his times. In his account of the wars with the Goths he gives much information concerning the Slavi under their various names. Jornandes, or Jordanes, was a Gothic historian, the secretary of one of the kings of the Alani, who inhabited Mœsia. He wrote also about the middle of the sixth century. From him we have a book called "*De Getarum, sive Gothorum origine et rebus gestis*," and another one with the title "*De Regnorum ac Temporum Successione*." He is said to have become afterward Bishop of Ravenna. Now this Procopius and Jornandes, as well as Abbot John of Beclair and other Byzantine writers, make no allusion whatever to the origin of this people, or how long they had occupied the territories over which they found them so widely spread. This silence is a strong argument that they were then regarded as among the original inhabitants. There is also no small amount of positive evidence concerning the Slavi scattered among these authors, although disguised under different names, many of which may be satisfactorily established as identical with the Slavi. Jornandes speaks of the wonderful numbers of the Slavi in the lands beyond the Carpathian Mountains, and Procopius says the same of the

countries on the Black Sea. It is also argued that the character of the ancient Slavi was peaceful and agricultural, which would render it inprobable that in the short space of say two hundred years—from the time when it is alleged that they came in to the time when they are spoken of as so numerous—they should have spread out so widely and settled down so soon into a quiet and peaceable life. An argument is also drawn from the mingling of Slavic words in the Gothic language. In the Gothic Bible of Ulfilas, completed before the year 350, we find Slavic words. The great similarity between the Slavic and Gothic languages, it is argued, proves that before the alleged period of immigration (fifth century) the Slavi and the Goths were neighbors.

The most plausible explanation which we can give of the conflicting testimony as to the date of the arrival of the Slavi in Europe seems to be, that in the prehistoric period one branch at least of the Slavic family had found its way from the original seat of the Indo-European race, wherever that may have been, into Europe, and may therefore be considered as among the original settlers of Europe.

At the date of our earliest records of them they are found occupying, either as rulers or subjects, a vast territory reaching from the Adriatic to the Polar Sea, from Kamtchatka to the Baltic. The subsequent incursions into Europe, which commenced about the fifth century, were made up of mixed races, but with a very large Slavic element of those who had either gone back again from their European home, or had remained in those regions around the Caspian Sea and the rivers Don and Volga at the time of the original migration, whose date is lost in antiquity. It seems probable, also, that in the first breaking up of the dense masses of population crowded into the original territory of the Indo-European race the Slavi made their first move toward the shores of the Caspian Sea, and thence at different periods worked across Russia, northward and southward. This would account for the Slavic traces which may be found at a very early period all the way from the Caspian Sea, by way of the Don and Volga, across to the Baltic, and down even to the Epirus and Peloponnesus.*

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* A small Bulgarian history, published fifteen or twenty years ago in the Bulgarian language for use in Bulgarian schools, begins the history of the Bulgarian

2. *Names.*—Having thus glanced at the origin and early home of the Slavi, let us endeavor to trace some of the names by which they were called.

It is an interesting fact that nations generally have two or more names. They have first a name of their own, a name by which they designate those of their own tribe and kindred; they have then a name or names by which others call them. The first are generally complimentary in their signification, expressing some attribute flattering to national vanity, or else derived from that of some renowned leader. The second class of names are not unfrequently expressive of reproach or contempt. In the progress of civilization, and with the increase of the courtesies and amenities of friendly intercourse, these opprobrious names generally disappear, all parties acknowledging the right of nations as well as individuals to decide as to their own name. The Turk calls himself an Osmanli; the Hungarian calls himself a Magyar. The German calls his Chechian neighbor a Bohemian, (by which name the Frenchman designates the Gypsy,) while the Chech retorts by calling his German neighbor a Schwab. Had we no record of a nation save the names by which its neighbors have called it we should frequently be at a loss to follow them. Precisely this difficulty occurs in tracing the history of the Slavic races. They have left us but little testimony as to what term they used among themselves in designating their own people. Consequently in modern times there have arisen a number of claimants to the proprietorship of the original name. Of these the Servians have been the most persistent in arguing that the original common name was Servi, Serbi, Sr'bi, Sr'pi, Servani, etc. There is no doubt that this name was once very widely used, and that at quite an early period. Pliny[*] says, "Beyond the Cimmerian Straits dwell the Mœtians, Vali, Serbi, Arrechi, Zinghi, and Psesii." Ptolemy[†] says, "Between the Ceraunian Mountains and the Rha[‡] live the Vali, Servi,"[§] etc. Procopius[‖]

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people with the Deluge. A later writer, Rakofsky, in his "*Bulgarska Sturina,*" (Bulgarian Antiquities,) p. 205, says that the early Bulgarians, who were the *original stock* of the Indo-European family, occupied the mountainous regions of India and thus *escaped the deluge*, which the learned now all say was only partial.

[*] Plin., *Nat. Hist.*, lib. vi, cap. 7.

[†] Ptol., *Geog.*, lib. v, cap. 9.

[‡] The Volga.

[§] *Σίρβοι* and *Σέρβοι*.

[‖] Procop., *Bel. Goth.*, lib. iii, cap. 14, p. 488.

says, "The Slavi and the Antæ had formerly but one name, and were originally called *Spori*, (Σπόροι,) I suppose because they lived scattered (σπωράδην) in their villages." His contemporary, Jornandes, calls them Venedi.[*] Now this name Spori is neither Slavic nor Greek, and Procopius's etymological explanation is not at all satisfactory; and, as the name is nowhere found in use, Schaffarik argues that it must have been a mistake of Procopius, who was perfectly ignorant of the Slavic language, and that the word which he may have heard was Sr'pi or Sorpi, and his fanciful etymology led him astray.[†]

That the Byzantine writers were very poor etymologists there is abundant proof. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, for example, derives the name of the river Buna (which is from old Slavic, *bun*, line) from Latin, *bonus*. Anna Comnena gives the name of the city Shumla (Slavic, *Shumen*, from *shum*, a forest) as being from Simeon. *Tzari-brod* (the royal ford) is given by another writer as from *Tsar* and *brada*, beard, (King's beard.) Such etymology can only be compared with the fanciful derivations of a late Bulgarian writer, who even finds the Turkish word *dervish* to be derived from Bulgarian *dŭrvo*, a tree, and the same as druid; or of the Polish writer in a Russian Review, who shows the name Nebuchadnezzar (Nevuchodonozar) to be pure Slavic, *Ne-bogu-ugoden-tzar*, (the tzar who is displeasing to God.) In like manner no dependence, we think, is to be placed upon the so commonly accepted derivation of the name Servian from Latin *servus*, a servant. Its similarity to that is only a coincidence without any etymological reason.

Hormayer, the Bavarian geographer,[‡] says, "The land of the Zeruani (Servani) is so large that, as they themselves affirm, all the Slavic peoples have come from it."

So also the name Croatian was very widely used. Constantine Porphyrogenitus[§] speaks of the two great branches of White and Black Chrovats. Stritter[‖] mentions the race of Servians, called also Chrovati, and again "the race of Chrovati, whom some also call Servi." In the same way we find the general name Slavi, Leh, (Pole,) Chech, (Bohemian,) Wendi, Venedi,

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[*] Jornandes, *De Gothorum origine.* cap. 5.

[†] Schaffarik, *Slavische Alterthumer*, vol. i, p. 62.

[‡] Hormayer, *Archiv.*, 1827, No. 29. [§] Const., *Porph. de Adminis. Imp.*, cap. 9.

[‖] Stritter, vol. ii, pp. 165, 460.

and Serbi, as well as other names, given to Slavic tribes spread over a wide extent of territory. Of all these names Schaffarik prefers the name of Venedi, or Wends, as being the most ancient term by which the largest number of Slavic population was designated, and suggests that possibly that might have been the name used by others with reference to them; while at home they called themselves by the name Serbi or Sr'pi, or some other special name.

The first distinct mention of them, made under the name Slavi, Sklavini, Sthlavini, Slavini, is by the Byzantine writers, and it is applied by them generally. The name Venedi, Antæ, and Slavi are applied by them to the same people. Whether the name Wends is derived or not from the German *wandern* from their migrating, as claimed by some German writers, appears very doubtful. The name Antes was probably applied by the Goths to their Slavic neighbors. Jornandes calls the Goths Getæ, because he found them in the country of the Getæ. So also Mauricius calls the Magyars Turks. In the same way we find the Slavi called by the Byzantine writers Avares, Sarmatians, Scythians, etc. Although the best authorities deny that these were Slavi, yet it is undeniable that all three of these names have been applied to Slavic people by historic writers. Tacitus* says in his Germania, "I am in doubt whether I should count the Pencini, Venedi, and Finns with the Germans or with the Sarmatians; although the Pencini, called by some the Bastarni, resemble in language, customs, location, and dwellings the Germans." Tacitus thought the Venedi were Germans because they built houses, were swift of foot, and used shields, and in this they were distinguished from the nomadic Sarmatians.†

In Scandinavian songs and fables brought to Iceland by Norwegian wanderers, and which reach back to the fourth century, the Slavi are found mentioned as Wanes in connection with the northern tribes, Jotuns, Tchudes, Alanni, etc. The Danes also called them Wendi; and it is said that the Celts, also, called their Slavic neighbors Wends. Many writers have mistaken the Veneti for Celts. Polybius says they dressed like Celts.

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* Tacit., *Germania*, cap. xlvi: Pencinorum Venedorumque et Fennorum nationes Germanis an Sarmatis adscribam, dubito.

† Schaf., *Sl. Alter.*, vol. i, p. 73.

When we come to examine the origin of the name Slavi we find but little help from history. Herodotus describes the Scythians under the general name of Scoloti, by which name he says they called themselves, and he divides them into royal, nomadic, and agricultural Scythians.* They were called by the Persians Sacæ, and some have tried to derive therefrom the name Saxon. In the Shahname, according to Von Hammer, there is frequent mention made of a Malak-al-Sakleb, King of the Saklab, or Sakalib. Strabo also mentions the Saklab. Now it has been suggested by some that we have in this name the beginning of the name Sklavi, Sklavini, etc. It may be a mere coincidence, but it is still worthy of note as suggestive of the reasons for the insertion of the *k* by the Greek writers.

The word *Slava* signifies *glory*, and national vanity has strongly urged that as the origin of the name; but it seems highly improbable that the name of so widely spread and numerous a people should have that derivation. Besides, Nestor, the Slavic historian in 1050, uses the term *Sloveni*, a name which the Greek writers had up to that period never used. The question arises, "Where did Nestor get this name?" There is a Slavic tribe which at the present time call themselves Sloventzi. If we examine this term we will find a more probable explanation of the name, although the question is yet far from being settled beyond dispute.

Just as the Turk calls his Persian neighbors Ajem, that is, *awkward*, *strange*, and that name has become the special designation in the East for a Persian, Persia itself being called Ajemistan, the country of the awkward, inexperienced, or uncouth, so the Slavi called their neighbors, the Germans, 'Niemtsi," which is the plural of Niemets from the adjective, *niem*, (dumb, deprived of speech,) that is, persons with whom they could not converse. Whoever did not know their tongue were to them *mutes*. So widely has this name been accepted, although a pure Slavic word, by other nations, that in Turkey and all through the East, among Turks, Arabs, and Jews, the word *nemtche* is the distinctive name for a German and the German language.

On the other hand, those who understood their language

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* Anthon, *Class. Dict.*, art. Scythians. It has been conjectured by some that the agricultural Scythians were not real Scythians but Slavonians.

whose speech was similar to their own, we can very easily see how they might upon the same principle call such "Sloveni," from *slavi*, "speech," that is, those endowed with speech, knowing how to talk. The change of the vowel *o* into *a*, making Sloveni, Slaveni, is said to have been first made by the Russians and Servians in the seventeenth century.

It is remarked upon this point by Schaffarik that, while all the other Slavic nations relinquished their original *national* name and adopted specific names, such as Russians, Poles, Silesians, Chechs, Moravians, Sorabians, Servians, Morlachians, Chernogortzi, Bulgarians, etc., nay, when most of them, imitating foreigners, changed the general name Sloveni into Slaveni, only those two Slavic branches which touch each other upon the Danube, the Slovaks and the Sloventzi, have retained in its purity their original national name.

It remains only to notice the connection between this name and the words *slave* and *esclave*. Many have erroneously supposed the names Slavi and Slavonian to be derived from the word *slave* and *esclave*, and the whole Slavic nation has thus been unjustly branded with the name of Slaves. We will find the reverse to be the true etymology, namely, that the words slave, esclave, esclavage, etc., are new words in European languages, and have come to possess their present sad and repulsive signification from the servitude to which many of the Slavi were reduced by the horrors of war, just as the name Helot among the ancient Greeks, from being the name of an inhabitant of Helos, became in time the distinctive name for a bondman. When the peaceful and agricultural Slavi had been subjugated, and many thousands of them led in chains as captives to grace the triumphal processions in the capitals of their conquerors, their name gradually became a synonym for servitude, and, introduced in modern European tongues, it still lives in the name of that outrage against humanity, the detestation of the civilized world. Strange it is that a name which in itself signifies, if not immediately derived from, *glory* itself, should be used in perpetuating the memory of a system which has ever proved a burning *shame* to the nations practicing it. Strange, too, that the name of so numerous and so peace-loving a people, a name derived from the word *speech*, that distinctive attribute of man, should, through the distortion of language

and through "man's inhumanity to man," come to be applied to that system which treats man as a *dumb brute!*

A few words here in regard to the general character of these early Slavic races so far as may be gleaned from those who have written about them. According to Procopius, who was their enemy, they were neither malevolent nor revengeful, but sincere and generous. Mauricius testifies to their hospitable treatment of strangers. They were obliging and humane. Some writers charge them with shocking barbarities in war. Their wars were for the most part defensive against cruel invaders. Besides, it may be asked, Was there ever a war without its cruelties? They have also been reproached with cowardice—that they too often submitted to foreign rulers rather than keep up a long and doubtful war. Although they were polytheists, and the dualistic principle of a white God and black God, the respective authors of a good and an evil creation, held a prominent place in their religious belief, yet they reverenced one Supreme Creator, and they believed in a resurrection from the dead and in a future life. There appears to be no proof that they ever offered human sacrifices. Their government was a patriarchal one, with the principle of elective representation. A marked feature in their ancient tribes was the principle of equality. There was no slavery among them, at least none such as was known among other nations. From the highest noble to the humblest peasant, all were alike free. The custom of holding captives was introduced among them by the Germans, Greeks, and Wallachians. In old Slavic lands the captive was immediately released upon setting foot on Slavic soil. No one had any control further over his person. So far as we can learn from history, their treatment of prisoners in war compared favorably with that of the more civilized Greeks and Romans. Writers speak especially of the care shown among them for the aged, sick, and poor, and that no beggars or vagabonds were found in their lands. Although polygamy was practiced by the wealthier classes, yet the general treatment of the female sex was in advance of many of their neighbors.

Next to agriculture, and the raising of bees and cattle, the chase and trade were their favorite pursuits. That they could also fight is well attested, and when fully aroused they swept

over the field often with an irresistible fury; but war was not with them a means of gain or a favorite employment, but a means of defense. If it be a reproach that they were barbarians and knew not the art of writing, the same may be said of the Teutons and of the Celts.

Max Müller aptly remarks,* "It is lost labor to attempt to extract any thing positive from the statements of the Greeks and Romans about the race and language of their barbarian neighbors." The Romans had themselves been called barbarians, and they soon learned to apply the same name to all other nations, except, of course, to their masters, the Greeks. *Barbarian* is one of those lazy expressions which seem to say every thing but in reality say nothing, and it was often applied as recklessly as the word *heretic* in the Middle Ages.

3. *Language.*—A race scattered over so wide an extent of country, attended by such varied fortune, sometimes the masters and sometimes the vassals, destitute of literature, could not be expected to preserve a close uniformity of language.† As we have had difficulty in determining to which of the Slavic tribes to assign the precedence of antiquity, as being the original stock from which the others have sprung, so we naturally find the same difficulty in determining which of the many dialects was the mother tongue or had the closest affinity with it. The earliest historians represent them as already divided into different tribes speaking different dialects. What the original tongue was can only be approximated by a careful comparison of the different dialects. There is evidence, however, that one branch at least of the Slavic tongue was pretty highly developed. The language used in the translation of the Scriptures made in the ninth century by the missionary Cyril and his coadjutors, bears the stamp of uncommon perfection in its forms and in its copiousness of expression.‡ A long pre-

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* Lectures, (First Series,) p. 126.

† Eginhard, secretary and historian of Charlemagne, (839,) calls the Slavic nations whom his hero subjugated Veletabæ, Sorabæ, Obotrites, and Bohemians, and mentions that they did not speak the same but a similar language.

‡ It is now generally admitted that only the four Gospels, and probably the Psalms, were translated by Cyril and Methodius. The other portions were the work of Clement, Nahum, Savva, and Angelar, pupils and assistants of Cyril and Methodius, who returned from Moravia to Bulgaria in 886, and continued their literary labors.

paratory interval was of necessity required for a language in the absence of literature to reach the degree of development shown in that admirable version of the New Testament. Its idiom is that of the southern or eastern branch of the Slavic people, and is called the Ecclesiastical or Church Slavonic; and although Slavic writers have been much divided upon it, yet the opinion is pretty generally admitted that it is properly called the old Bulgarian. Schloezer says of it that of all modern languages the old Slavic is one of the most fully developed. Its model was the Greek, in those days the most highly cultivated in the world. No idiom was more capable of adopting the beauties of the Greek.

Whether the Slavonians before the ninth century had any written language or not we cannot definitely say; but it is quite probable that they did to a limited extent make use of the alphabets of some of the surrounding people. It is not impossible that they may have made considerable use of the Runic characters of the Goths. Some Russian writers have asserted that the Runic was the original Slavic alphabet, but that opinion has but few adherents. The testimony of King Michael in the Pannonian Biographies is adduced to prove that before the time of Cyril they had no books, and no writing except some kind of marks or rude characters used in their houses and in their business calculations. Much doubt and obscurity still rests over the literary history of the Slavonian people before their conversion to Christianity. Old Slavic literature exists in two entirely distinct alphabets, the one called Cyrilitic,* from Cyril, and the other called the Glagolitic, a name derived from *glagol*, the fourth letter of the Slavic alphabet, and equivalent to the Greek *gamma*. Much discussion has arisen as to the respective origin of these alphabets. Without going into the argument, we will only remark that the prevailing popular opinion, and until recently the almost exclusive one, that Cyril was the inventor of the alphabet which bears his name, and the one at present in use among all eastern Slavonians, can be shown, we think, to be not well founded. It was the happy improvement by his ardent disciple Clement, Archbishop of Bulgaria, upon Cyril's alphabet, which was really the Glagolitic

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* For a fair specimen of modern Ecclesiastical Cyrilitic type see Slavic New Testament, electrotyped in New York by the American Bible Society, 1867.

as now called, and which now exists only in fragmentary remains of the Holy Scriptures and liturgical books, found chiefly in Pannonia and Moravia, where the noble missionary and his brother, Methodius, remained the longest engaged in their pious labors.*

Our limits will not permit us even to enter the inviting field before us and trace out the changes, affinities, and relations of the prominent dialects of the Slavonian tongue, as well as examine the peculiarities and excellences of that majestic old language, the Church Slavonic or old Bulgarian, whose solemn and dignified tones still excite in the minds of millions religious associations. Suffice it to say that the various dialects of the Slavonian tongue present less dissimilarity than that found among the various branches of the Latin family, and all show, to a greater or less degree, in their flexibility of structure and power of combination, a capability of development and high cultivation inferior to none of the modern languages of Europe.

4. *Present Slavic nations.*—The Slavic family of nations has been divided by Schaffarik into two great branches, called by him the North-western and South-eastern branches. It will be perhaps more practical and intelligible for us to call them simply the Eastern and Western. The limits and object of the present article admit only of our naming the various members of these two great branches.

In the Western branch are found the Bohemians, more properly called Chechs; the Moravians,† neighbors and nearly allied to the Chechs; the Slovaks of Austria and Hungary, and the Sorabian and Wendish population, scattered in Lusatia and in the Duchy of Brandenburg. Of this branch the Bohemians and the Poles are the most advanced in national spirit and in the cultivation of their language. Under the tightening grasp of Russia's iron hand there is great probability of the Polish language becoming extinct, or merging into the kindred dialect of the Russian conquerors. In Bohemia, however, no enactments can ever Germanize the Chechs, who, in spite of many

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* For Glagolitic alphabet see Henderson's *Biblical Researches in Russia*, or Dobroffsky's *Inst. Ling. Slav.* For popular opinion of origin of the same, see American Cyclopedia, article Glagolitic. For opinion alluded to above, see Schaffarik's "*Ueber den Ursprung und die Heimath des Glagolitismus.*" Prague.

† The interesting part taken by Moravians in the early history of Methodism is ably shown in Stevens's History of Methodism, vol. i, chap. 5.

civil obstacles, have succeeded in cultivating their language to a remarkable degree. Professor Jungman in his Bohemian Bibliography fills some five hundred octavo pages with the titles of books published in that language. It is especially distinguished among the other Slavic dialects for its rich scientific terminology.

In the Eastern branch we find the great Russian nation, which is so rapidly advancing in civilization and national strength that it is a strong competitor for the championship of Europe. After them are the Servians, the Bulgarians, the Bosnians, the Montenegrins, the Slavonians, the Dalmatians, the Croatians, and the Sloventzi, called also Wends in the Austrian province of Carniola. The whole number of the population comprised in these two branches, and speaking the different idioms here represented, is probably over ninety millions.

5. *The Bulgarians.*—Passing by, for the present, all the interesting facts connected with the religious and literary history of these various nations, we would call the attention of the reader only to the Bulgarian branch, inasmuch as their claims to membership in the Slavic family have been strongly denied, and there is perhaps more lack of information about them, among literary people generally, than about any other of the above mentioned nations.

Whoever is curious to know who the Bulgarians are, and takes the trouble to examine the "*Conversazions Lexikon*," cyclopedias, histories, books of travel, etc., will find that in a portion of European Turkey there exists a people who, though speaking a sadly corrupted Slavic dialect, yet are of Tartar descent. Thus the unfortunate Bulgarians have been, until a comparatively recent period, deprived to a great degree of the sympathy of their Slavic brethren on account of their supposed non-Slavic descent, and of that of the enlightened European nations on account of their being regarded as an insignificant remnant of a Tartar tribe. But we may remark that if historians and travelers make mistakes in one thing may they not also in another? As to the corrupted state of the modern Bulgarian language, there is positively not the slightest Tartar element in it. It is, in comparison with the languages of Europe, rude and undeveloped, a natural result of its scantiness of literature; but they are much mistaken who represent it as a harsh jargon of Turkish, Tartar, Greek, Wallachian, and Slavic. Nor

is it true, as asserted by some writers, that the modern Bulgarian dialect has made the widest departure of any from the old Slavic tongue. While many of the grammatical inflexions[*] have ceased to appear, yet the radical words remain substantially the same as in the days of Cyril and Methodius, and we will hazard the statement that if the most ancient copy of the Gospel before the Russian recension were read in the presence of Bulgarians and Russians it would be no less intelligible to the former than to the latter. Upon this point I only need add that the late version of the New Testament is believed to be perfectly intelligible to the whole Bulgarian people, and yet it does not contain a dozen *foreign words* aside from proper names. Whatever admixture of Turkish, Greek, and we may also say European words, there may be heard in the freedom of the colloquial Bulgarian language, yet that this is no indication of a non-Slavic origin is shown from the fact that the less mixed the population is in any district, as in the mountain villages, the *purer* is the Slavic character of the language there spoken by the common people.[†]

Furthermore, great mistakes have been made by the best of authors in regard to the present number of the Bulgarians. To go no farther back, Schaffarik, the very highest authority upon Slavic ethnography, in 1826 gave the Bulgarians as numbering only about six hundred thousand, and they principally in the Sophia Vilayet. In 1842, however, he gave them credit for three millions. In 1848, M. Bonét, author of "*La Turquie d'Europe*," puts them down at four millions five hundred thousand. Ubicini gives them but four millions, while later writers estimate them at six millions, which is probably pretty nearly correct. When such mistakes have been made as to the lan-

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[*] The principal of these changes are the disuse of the infinitive mood, (as in modern Greek,) the present participles, the dual number, and the case endings, and the introduction of a definite article, which *follows* the substantive or qualifying adjective. No other Slavic dialect uses a definite article, and this ungraceful appendage, as it was called, was a few years ago the object of much ridicule from Slavic writers. Two or three Bulgarian writers were weak enough to try to write without it, and published some books in which the article was not used, but the success of this unnatural experiment did not justify them in continuing it.

[†] See "*Revue des Deux Mondes*," July, 1868, where a lady writer, Dora D'Istria, in an article on the Bulgarians, written evidently under Greek influences, attributes the refusal of the Bulgarians to fuse with the Servians to the fact that they have not forgotten their *Finnish* origin.

guage and numbers of the Bulgarian people, it can hardly be called presumption to call in question their statements as to their Tartar origin.

In examining this vexed question we will do well to remember that *race* and *name* are not always identical; and if it should be proven that the people who gave their name to the country now called Bulgaria were not Slavonians, it would still remain to be proven that the inhabitants of the present day are actually their descendants.

It is admitted that the country of Mœsia took the name of Bulgaria, and the people and language that of Bulgarian, from the conquering army of Bulgarians, who under the leadership of Asparuch, the third son of Kubrat, about the year 671 made their appearance by way of the Debrudja, (the delta of the Danube,) and in a very short time obtained possession of the whole of the Balkan peninsula.* The question remains, Who were those Bulgarians? The general testimony of history points to the regions between the Don and the Volga as their home, and popular tradition, supported by Malte Brun and other geographers, finds in the name Volga the origin of the name Bulgarian, (*Βοῦλγαροι.*) There are many objections to this etymology. The name, if from Volga, should properly have been Volzhi; it is said too that the river was not called by them Volga,† but Atel, Etel, or Athil, and the question arises, May not the river subsequently have received its name from that of the people? Genesius ‡ and Leo Diaconos § both say that the Bulgarians were so called from the name of a leader, Vulger. Desguigne, in his History of the Huns and Tartars, says that Gomer, the seventh son of Japhet, settled by the river Volga and had two sons, named Bulgar and Bathas, each of whom builded a city and founded a nation. Nicephor ‖ says, "Beyond the Danube toward the north is an extended country, and a large river running through it, called by the inhabitants Volga, from which the Bulgarians, originally Scythians, take their name."

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* Hilferding's *Geschichte der Serben und Bulgaren*, p. 16.

† Gibbon appears to be in error in saying that the Bulgarians called it Volga, but that the Tartar tribes called it Etel, Etil, or Athil Hist., vol. iv, p. 196.

‡ Genesius, *Ed. Bonn.*, p. 85.

§ *Lidulo Diaconos*, lib. vi, sec. 8.

‖ Nicephor, *Greg.*, c. ii, sec. 2.

However the case may be, we find as early as six hundred years before Christ, according to Armenian writers, that a tribe of Bulgarians occupied a portion of Armenia north of the Araxes. We find also that those who remained in the regions of the Volga founded an extensive kingdom called Great Bulgaria, whose capital, Bulgari, is still mentioned as late as 1396 as standing in the gubernatory of Kazan in Russia. These Bulgarians are frequently mentioned by Russian and Oriental writers. In the tenth century they had filled up the country from the mouth of the Volga toward the interior of Russia. Through trade with Moslem neighbors many had embraced Mohammedanism, and, fusing with their co-religionists, lost their distinctive character. They had frequent wars with the Russians, and were finally subjugated by Batou Khan, grandson, it is said, of Genghis Khan, about 1235. In 1490 they fell into the hands of the Russians.

Ducange, as quoted by Peysonnel,[*] makes them come from Scandinavia. Peysonnel himself regards them as Slavonians come in from Sarmatia, and he quotes Cromerus's "*De Rebus Polonorum*" as giving the same opinion. Schaffarik thinks they were of a Uralo-Finnish race. Gibbon says they were a Finnish race. Hilferding[†] says they were a branch of the great Tartar steppe tribes, apparently the most nearly related to the Avares and Chazars. Thunmann and Engel call them Tartars. Venelin and Savelief call them Slavonians. One of the best educated Bulgarian scholars of the present day, Mr. Gabriel Krestovitch, member of the Supreme Council of Justice in Constantinople, has now in press a very critical and learned history of the Bulgarian people in the Bulgarian language. He argues that the Bulgarians were Huns, and that the Huns were Slavonians. We regret that our limits will not permit us to give a summary of his interesting argument.

Without presuming to speak with any degree of confidence upon so obscure a subject, where historical authorities are so much at variance, we are inclined to the opinion that, whatever may be the case of their identity with the Huns, the Bulgarians who came into the Balkan peninsula and so easily

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[*] Peysonnel. *Dissertation sur l'Origine de la Langue Sclavone*, p. 28.

[†] *Geschichte der Serben und Bulgaren*, p. 15.

took possession, giving their name to the new kingdom, were themselves a branch, though perhaps distant, of the Slavic family.

Should that view, however, be successfully contested it would not still, we think, invalidate the Slavic character of the present Bulgarian people, inasmuch as this new element, if foreign it was, which came in with Asparuch and awakened into new life and activity the numerous Slavic population of Mœsia and Thrace, and consolidated them into a kingdom under the name of Bulgaria, was numerically too feeble, in comparison with the overwhelming numbers of the pure Slavic element, to exert any marked physiological influence upon the whole race. So that if Russia be regarded as a Slavic nation in spite of the Scandinavian and Finnish element in the early history of the Russian empire, then with much better reason can the Bulgarian people of the present day claim to be called a Slavic people even if the foreign character of the Volga Bulgarians be admitted. The French are none the less as a Latin race, although they derive their name from the Franks, who were a German confederacy.

At the commencement of the Christian era we find these territories now occupied by the Bulgarians in the possession of the Romans. Beginning with the delta of the Danube, called the Dobrudja, we find that district called the province of Scythia. Its capital town was Tomi, near Kustendje, on the Black Sea, from which there is now a railway intersecting the Danube at Tchernavoda. This Tomi was the place to which was banished Ovid, the last of that brilliant constellation of poets who brightened the Augustinian age, and the real cause of whose exile remains still a literary problem. There he wrote his mournful lays, the *Tristia.* It is said that he learned the language of the barbarians there, and even composed in it a poem, which he read before an assembly of delighted auditors. Could that poem be now found it would be a philological treasure, and doubtless shed some light upon the subject of our present investigations.

The province of Mœsia Inferior extended from the Dobrudja to the river Isker, and its capital was Marcianopolis, afterward, in Bulgarian times, Preslav, now a ruined town, called by the Turks Eski Stamboul, (old Stamboul,) not far from Shumla.

The Hæmus district extended from Adrianople to Burgas on the Black Sea. Thracia had its capital, Philippopolis.

About the year 376 occurred the passage of the West Goths across the Danube, impelled, it is said, by fear of the Huns, who were pressing upon them. Having obtained an amicable permission from the Emperor Valens to take refuge in the Roman Empire, they were incensed at the treatment received from the Romans, and advanced and took forcible possession of Marcianopolis. From this event historians date the beginning of the destruction of the mighty Roman Empire. Then came the invasion of the Huns under the leadership of Attila, "the scourge of God," bearing the sword of Mars, who swept like a fearful tornado over the country from the Danube to the Adriatic. After the death of this mighty warrior in 453 the Huns almost disappear from history. In 475 the Ostrogoths came in and ravaged the country, and in the year 509 we find mention made of a wall built by the Emperor Anastas from Silivria, on the Sea of Marmora, to the Black Sea, about sixty miles long, to keep out the Bulgarians and the Scythians.

After the middle of the fifth century for some time we lose trace of the Slavic population of these lands, but after awhile we see a Slavonian upon the throne of the Cæsars in the person of the great *Justinian*, who was born of peasant parents in the village of Vedriana, near the present town of Kustendil, in the district of Sophia. His name is the Latinized form of his Slavic name, Upravada, and he always betrayed by his foreign accent his barbarian origin. His great general, Belisarius, to whose genius he owed much of the luster of his reign, was of similar origin, his Slavic name being Velitzar, (the great king.) The cavalry of Belisarius in his Italian campaign consisted of Huns, Slavi, and Antæ. Two of his chief officers were *Dobrogost* and *Vsegord*, both pure Slavic names. The general in command upon the borders of the Danube was likewise a barbarian, named Chivilibud, and it is quite probable that there was a constant flow of immigration of Slavonians coming in from the other side of the Danube, filling up the country, and replenishing the population wasted by so many destructive wars.

We soon begin to see the inhabitants generally called Slaveni, Sklavini, Sklauni, Sthlavini, etc. After 657 we find the whole of

the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire called Slavinia. Constantine Porphyrogenitus says that in the time of Constantine Copronymus the whole of Greece to its southern borders was Slavonized.* Fifteen different Slavonic tribes are mentioned by historic writers as spread from the Danube to the Peloponnesus, none of which came in later than the seventh century. These tribes were divided among themselves, and acknowledged no superior. In the year 679 Asparuch, the third son of Kubrat, from the kingdom of Bulgaria, came in with his conquering army and united these tribes into one kingdom bearing the name Bulgarian. Hilferding remarks upon this that as in Russia the coming in of the Waragians, so to the Danubian Slavonians the incursion of the Bulgarians was the beginning of a heroic period. The daring of a martial troop united itself with the hardiness and endurance of a numerous and industrious agricultural people.

That Asparuch's Bulgarians were not a vast multitude is inferred from the fact that they consisted of only a fifth part of the fighting men of the kingdom of Great Bulgaria. Kubrat died about 600, and his army was divided into five bands, of which two remained in the vicinity of their home, and three went abroad: one into Pannonia, one into Italy, and a third, that of Asparuch, to the mouths of the Danube, whence, after a short delay, it passed into Mœsia, as narrated above. Thus was laid the foundation of the Slaveno-Bulgarian kingdom, to which Asparuch contributed only a few thousand fighting men, his warlike spirit, and his Bulgarian name. Their language, if indeed there ever was any essential difference, was soon lost, and now no distinct traces of it remain.

During the following century we see the Bulgarian power consolidating, sometimes allied with, and often opposed to, the Greeks; and near the middle of the ninth century we see the dawn of Christianity breaking upon them in the conversion of King Boris, through the instrumentality of the two brothers, Constantine † (afterward Cyril) and Methodius, natives of

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* "'Εσθλαϐώθη ϖάσα ἡ χώρα καὶ γέγονε ϐάρϐαρος." Const. Por., *De Themat.* II, § 6, *Geog. vet. Scriptores Græci minores.* Oxon., 1763, t. ii, p. 98.

† He took the name of Cyril only forty days before his death, which occurred on February 14, 868.

Thessalonica,[*] to whom, in the providence of God, was permitted the distinguished honor of becoming the apostles of the Slavic people. It was to this Bulgarian branch of the Slavic people that the honor was given of taking the initiative in literature, and in the dissemination of Christianity among the Eastern Slavonians; and it was the old Bulgarian—whether the language of Kubrat and Asparuch matters but little, as it was the language of Boris and his court—which became the ecclesiastical or sacred language of all those Slavonians, whom Papal jealousy and priestly intrigue did not succeed in depriving of their God-given right of celebrating his praises in their own tongue.

ART. III.—THE LOGIC OF INFANT CHURCH-MEMBERSHIP.

THE first question that meets us is whether or not children are entitled to membership in the Christian Church?

We claim that infant Church-membership is a principle common to all three of the Bible dispensations of religion. The patriarchal dispensation assumes a definite form in the Abrahamic covenant. God appeared to Abraham, and established the Church in his family. The covenant was substantially that Jehovah would be a God to Abraham and to his seed; that in his seed all nations should be blessed; that circumcision should be the sign of the covenant, and that this sign should be administered to the child on the eighth day after his birth. Here we see that the sign of God's covenant which pledged him to be a God to the house of Abraham, and which made them his people, was given to little children only eight days old. The covenant said expressly that it was made with Abraham's seed, that is, with his children as well as with himself, and it states at what age they shall be taken into the covenant, namely, at the age of eight days.

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[*] Whether Slavonians or not by birth has been a mattter of much discussion. Diocles says that their father was a Roman patrician named Leo. They are claimed, however, as Slavonians, and the fact of Thessalonica being largely Slavonic at that time, as at the present day, and no mention being made of the brothers *learning* the Slavic language, gives considerable plausibility to the claim. Dobroffsky's *Moravian Legend of Cyril and Methodius.* Prague, 1826.

This covenant became the basis of the Mosaic dispensation. The Church in the house of Abraham became a nation under Moses, but the nation was a hierarchy, a Church-State, in which God became at once civil and ecclesiastical ruler. The children still entered into covenant with God at eight days old. In this respect there was no change; the principle of infant Church-membership was simply transferred from the patriarchal to the Mosaic dispensation.

In the fullness of time the Jewish dispensation gives place to the Christian; but the Church is still the same, that is, the Abrahamic Church. Paul argues this point most elaborately in the eleventh chapter of Romans, where he represents the Church under the figure of an olive-tree, from which the Jews have been broken off, and on to which the Gentile Christians have been grafted. The root and the trunk are still the same; the identity of the tree, that is, of the Church, is completely preserved. But the Apostle in the third chapter of Galatians goes still further. He takes particular care to demonstrate that the repeal of the Mosaic law does not touch the covenant with Abraham; that remains in all its original force. Hear him. He says, "Now to Abraham and his seed were the promises made. He saith not, And to seeds, as of many; but as of one, And to thy seed, which is Christ. And this I say, that the covenant, that was confirmed before of God in Christ, the law, which was four hundred and thirty years after, cannot disannul, that it should make the promise of none effect."

Here, then, is an express declaration by the Apostle, not only that the Abrahamic Church still remains, but that the Abrahamic covenant has not been repealed, and *cannot be* repealed, and that this covenant was to find its highest, its prophetic fulfillment in Christ.

And as a part of the very substance of that covenant was infant Church-membership, and that covenant becomes the basis of Christianity, does it not bring with it our children into the Church? If the covenant of God with his Church is one in all ages, and if infants were admitted into the Church under the patriarchal and the Mosaic dispensations of that covenant, then, unless it is clearly forbidden under the Christian dispensation of the same covenant, the inference is irresistible that they must be admitted under the Christian dispensation.

Why not? The covenant is the same, and the dispensation freer and more extended. Shall we establish without divine warrant a narrower policy under a broader dispensation, and in the very act of conferring privileges upon all nations, take them away from a class that always possessed them? To the Apostles, as Jews living hitherto under the old covenant with Abraham, and asserting in their epistles, as we have seen, the continued validity of that covenant, nothing could have been more repugnant than the idea of excluding their children from Church-membership. Only a distinct prohibition could have reconciled them to it. And no one will pretend to show such a prohibition.

What is thus so plainly taught in the Scriptures would seem also to be demanded by the reason and nature of the case. If the Church is an institute for the training of the human race in holiness, and toward meetness for heaven, and if childhood is the seed season, the training period, of human life, the party to be trained ought to be in the institute for training, and that too as soon as the training can possibly begin. If we are brought into the world more for religion than any thing else, more for the next life than for the present, then surely the most impressible, docile, plastic period of existence ought to take its earliest and its latest tinge, its entire shape and direction, from the soul's immortal interest, and the child ought to be in the Church.

But this argument from the reason of the case proceeds further and grows bolder. Not only is it fitting that the child, being destined for spiritual training, should be brought into the Church, the place of training, but in our view, in the case of those born of Christian parents, the children actually come into the Church in the very fact of their birth. The scheme of Divine Providence thus treats all denials of infant Church-membership with contempt, and, by placing the newborn babe in vital union with Christian parents, acknowledges and secures its rights. This is the divine method: to do for the weak and helpless what the strong must do for themselves; to secure by a natural instinct, and by an essential relationship, such rights of Church-membership and such moral and spiritual influences as the infant can receive and the life of the Christian parents may evolve. The children are members of the family, whatever

may be its character or its spirit. Their spiritual life is contained in that of the family now just as a little while ago their physical life was in that of the mother—just as the life of the blossom is contained in that of the tree. And as the blossom does not become independent of the tree when it develops into a tiny apple, but continues its connection with the tree and derives its life from it until it reaches maturity, so it is with the infant the blossom of personal existence, which may ripen to all the glory and perfection of virtue or rot in the very process of growth. Its connection with the parent stock is indeed of a different sort, but it still grows on that stock just as really as the fruit on the tree. Although no visible ligature unites parent and child, they are joined by a thousand that are real though invisible, that are vibrant with a powerful life and ever wakeful with the most delicate sympathy. Say not that the child is unconscious of this union, and incapable of appreciating it. Does it not from the very first cry to tell of its pain or want, and in a little while come to know the faces of parents and nurse, and respond to their caresses with its smile? Does it not in a little while catch the spirit of discourse without needing to appreciate its reasoning? True, it understands nothing perfectly, and in this respect is not unlike its elders; and yet through the eye, the ear, the touch, by means of tone, look, gesture, it receives its ideas, consisting at first, it may be, of bright, unsteady spots, but growing ever more and more distinct and intelligible.

All these processes, whether intellectual, moral, or religious, just as certainly had their beginning as they must have had their finishing, and that beginning must be placed at the entrance of the child into the breathing world. The boy learns the alphabet, and afterward with its letters spells out the profoundest labors of science and philosophy; the tones, looks, frowns, smiles, sights, and scenes of the nursery are a still earlier alphabet, without which the succeeding stages of life's learning would be as unintelligible as books without a knowledge of letters. All this is even more strikingly true in the sphere of religion than anywhere else. When the hearts of parents are graciously transformed, and under habitual religious control, the young lives floating within theirs will imbibe their spirit, and may be cast in a distinct Christian mold.

This view of the infant's relation to the Church seems also to be demanded by analogy. There are three forms of social life of divine appointment: namely, the Family, the State, the Church. We may be Freemasons, Odd-fellows, or members of a debating society, and our children may not be included in either of these associations, for the reason that they are purely voluntary, and not essential to human society. But with the divine forms of society the case is widely different. Taken aggregately, they embrace all our highest interests; and as our children by virtue of their birth are members both of the family and the State, though only embryo members, so by analogy they are members of the other divine society, the Church. Their very birth makes them fellow-members with us of the family and fellow-citizens with us of the State; they are born into a common interest with us in both these divinely established societies, and so they must be in the third, the Church. The family seems to be a sort of intermediate divine society, occupying similar relations to the other two. It binds the children of Christian parents with all their temporal interests to the State on the one hand, and with all their spiritual and eternal interests to the Church on the other.

And thus the Church, through the parents *as Christians*, stands in as vital a relation to the child as the State does through the parents *as citizens.* As in the one case the child is brought into a real and vital political union with the State through the civil and political life of the parents, and thus becomes an incipient citizen, so in the other case he is brought into a genuine union with the spiritual commonwealth through their life in the Church. Whether this union of the child with the Church be formally expressed in baptism, will depend on the view which the parent may take of the whole question; and whether it be made a blessing, will depend on parental character and training. The main question, however, still remains untouched. It is plain enough that our children are rightfully brought into the Church. The promise is to us and our children; the covenant is with us and our seed. If those who are broken off from the good olive-tree had been placed there in infancy, those who are grafted in their stead may be infants. But the great question is as to the *rationale*—as to the true theory—of infant Church-membership. The ground has in general

been broadly taken that only regenerate persons can become members of the Church. Holding this view, Romanists and High Churchmen teach what is called baptismal regeneration. With them baptism regenerates adults as well as children, so that both come into the Church in the same state and under the same conditions. This theory we of course reject, both as unscriptural, and as ascribing a magical effect to priestly functions which must promote superstition in the ignorant and breed contempt among the enlightened. We do indeed hear in the Scriptures of the laver of regeneration, in allusion to Christian baptism; but the false meaning attempted to be drawn from this and other texts is neutralized when Peter assures us that baptism is not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience.

And when we come to examine the cases of baptism so numerously furnished in the Acts of the Apostles, we find that, although regeneration was not a necessary requisite for Church-membership, yet a mental change was always presupposed, and baptism became at once a symbol, partly of what had taken place, and partly of what might be expected to take place in the future. For example, on the day of Pentecost it was after they had been cut to the heart and had gladly received the word that they were baptized. It was after the opening of Lydia's heart that she was baptized. So far, indeed, is the New Testament from teaching that baptism regenerates the soul, that the very prince of the apostles tells the Corinthians that he is thankful that he had baptized only two or three of them, and boldly affirms that Christ sent him not to baptize, but to preach the Gospel. This would have been strange language in the mouth of a person holding the doctrine of baptismal regeneration. If Paul had believed baptism to be the only regeneration, he would have considered himself sent to baptize as his chief work.

In these instances of baptism and joining the Church we find, therefore, no trace of the saving efficacy of baptism. Now let us examine whether the rite of circumcision, of which baptism has taken the place, was regarded in Scripture times, and by inspired men, as producing regeneration or as being necessarily accompanied by it. While Romanists and Puseyites universally admit that baptism takes the place of circumcision,

yet nowhere in the Bible is renewal of heart made to depend on circumcision. On the contrary, the Apostle Paul declares that circumcision in the case of Abraham "was a seal of the righteousness of faith which he had before he was circumcised," and repeats the assertion several times, affirming that circumcision and uncircumcision are both nothing, but that a new creature is every thing. Circumcision, therefore, so far from being or producing the new birth, is nothing—nothing, that is, but a sign of the covenant, or a seal of the righteousness which the subject before possessed, or a type of the purity to which he was to aspire. Baptism and circumcision, then, are only signs of membership in the Church, and figures and images of the holiness to which the Church must aspire, but neither of them regenerates.

Another class, agreeing with us in claiming Church-membership for children, and in denying regeneration by baptism, would solve the difficulty by teaching that under the atonement all children are born regenerate; that they are at least born in a state equivalent to what is called regeneration in adults. This is the view taken in a little book written by the Rev. Mr. Mercein and printed after his death, and more recently and more elaborately defended by the Rev. Dr. Hibbard. This view, as a rule, is certainly in the very teeth of the teaching of the orthodox Church in all ages.

It takes away all significance from our Saviour's teachings respecting the new birth. We will not insist on the awkward logic of the phrase "born regenerate," or of the strange inconsistency of maintaining that a person is born again before he is born at all; that the new birth is older than the old birth; that the second birth is anterior to the first. Certainly when Christ chose his language for the purpose of expressing the doctrine of the new birth he did not mean it to be read, as it were, backward, and to express exactly the opposite of its natural and obvious import.

When he said, "Except a man be born again he cannot see the kingdom of God," he could only have meant to utter a universal truth in regard to mankind. He meant to say that man as man, that every man, is born into the world in such a state as to need another birth to make him right and acceptable to God. But if from the time the first human birth

occurred all persons had been coming into the world already regenerate this would not have been true. Why say that every man must be born again on pain of exclusion from heaven, when it is impossible not to be born again?

But not to mention the manifest meaning of Christ's words, the assertion that infants are born regenerate, or in a condition equivalent to what is called regeneration in adults, assails the very foundation of the Christian doctrine of human depravity. We do not forget in this statement that the regeneration of infants is said to be the result of the atonement. The Church, however, by the doctrine of depravity, or original sin, does not mean that but for the atonement the infant would be predominantly sinful. We have heard of no such meaning. Her teaching is that notwithstanding the atonement, under the atonement, human nature is corrupt from its birth, has its nearest affinity to sin, and needs regeneration. That having been born in sin it needs another birth, and that the new birth is a new life brought in upon the old and overmastering it.

Nor can this new theory of *con-* or *ante-genital* regeneration escape the charge of destroying the doctrine of depravity by reminding us that regeneration, even in adults, does not entirely remove depravity, or by telling us that regeneration is not a sinless state either in infants or in grown-up persons. This does not explain how the new birth should come before the first birth; but obviously it should lead us to inquire what the new birth means. The very least that can be meant by it is that its subject receives a new inner life by virtue of which he is more good than evil, more on the side of holiness than of sin, and therefore more likely to develop virtuously than viciously. We do not agree with the Calvinists, that a regenerate soul must infallibly remain so; that, although it must occasionally fall into sin, it can no more remain away from Christ than the magnetic needle from its polar direction. But allow that regeneration means nothing more than the predominance of good over evil in the soul — nothing more than that the good is in a favorable condition for obtaining the mastery—and even in that case the orthodox Churches and the history of the human race must insist on finding in facts patent to all men the clearest refutation of this doctrine of infant regeneration.

Why, if all men of all nations and ages have been born regenerate, born, that is, with good predominant in them, with good in a position in their souls favorable to success, why does not the good succeed in the issue of the strife? Why are not the bulk of mankind in Christian, not to speak of heathen, nations pious and virtuous instead of wicked? Why those fearful descriptions of human nature in the Bible, and especially in the Epistle to the Romans?

In regard to the corruption of heathen nations, it will not do to say that they know nothing of the atonement; for if under the atonement they come into the world with a nature more good than evil, that predominantly good nature ought to be able to maintain itself against the feebler evil still remaining. But even if the corruption of heathen nations were no difficulty, what shall be done with the case of Christian nations? Born regenerate, born with a nature predominantly good, and into the lap of Christian civilization, why are not the majority virtuous? why do all of them need, sadly need, to be converted again?

It will be nothing to say that the bad life of the majority of the race comes from the bad example of preceding generations. For how, then, shall we *account* for the bad example? If those who have set the bad example were born with a nature more good than evil, why did not the good prevail in *them?* This is a most marvelous thing. According to this view all men are born children of God, born with a renewed nature, and yet the immense majority have grown up children of the wicked one, requiring, like so many wild beasts, to be tamed and subjugated again; and, indeed, the great mass have persistently remained wicked to the end. Where is even a single small tribe on the face of the whole earth that has been good and upright in a majority of its members? No one will contend that any such tribe can be found. Good has been the exception, evil the rule. And even in the individual exceptional cases the good has been mixed up with evil, and has been obliged to maintain an earnest, and often dubious, conflict for existence. Evil, that is, has not only kept possession of the crowd, but has ever waged a portentous and dangerous warfare against the few who have succeeded in throwing off its dominion.

It appears to me, therefore, that this doctrine of congenital regeneration carries with it necessarily one of two false conclusions: First, if all men are born in a state equivalent to what is called regeneration in adults, then the actual depravity of human nature is a very slight evil, and not at all what the Church has always supposed it to be; or, second, if this be denied, and depravity be firmly held according to the doctrine of the Church, then regeneration is a work of but little consequence, leaving the great mass of its possessors throughout the world in a state of the grossest sinfulness. But the reality of natural depravity, wrapping human history in the pall of a fearful moral night, relieved only by spots of partial and gracious brightness, cannot be denied. The Church has always strongly asserted it, and made it the essential presupposition of her soteriology. It is not a slight evil, but the great evil—the evil of evils. It is equally impossible to deny the dignity and importance of the doctrine and experience of regeneration. It is the condition of the children and saints of God—the state to which the Church is laboring to bring the lost world. And the theory which makes regeneration to antedate the natural birth in every human being is reduced to a myth by the true doctrine of sin on the one hand, and by the true view of regeneration on the other.

Regeneration by simple baptism and congenital regeneration, therefore, equally fail as theories to remove the difficulties which surround the question of infant Church-membership. The one is Papal, the other, in effect, Pelagian, and both must be rejected. The back-lying error is the same in both, namely, the assumption that only regenerate persons can be admitted into the Church. This is first assumed, and then both adults and infants must by some theory or process be supposed to be regenerated. The Baptist holds the same error. He too believes that only regenerate persons can unite with the Church, and, as he knows of no method of regenerating infants, he makes short work of it, and excludes them from Church-membership.

Now in opposition to these theories we hold that regeneration is not a condition of admission into the Church of Christ. The Baptist has no right to exclude the infant on the ground that it cannot in its unconscious state be regenerated; and the

High Churchman, and those who hold congenital regeneration, have no need to resort to ecclesiastical magic or to doubtful theories in order to have the infant regenerated. Both the infant and its parents may come in without regeneration. If we go back to Abraham, the Baptist will see the children sharing the covenant, and the High Churchman and others will not find that regeneration was required either to precede or accompany the initiatory act. And a candid examination of the New Testament will teach the same lesson.

One chief reason for all the difficulty on this question is the fact that most of the Churches, coming to hold that adults must be regenerated before entering the Church, and wishing to have a consistent theory, required the same thing of infants. All must come in on the same terms, or substantially in the same moral and spiritual state. The prime error was in making regeneration essential to adult Church-membership. That once required, then came the puzzle of the regeneration of children.

Our view is that all that can be required of an adult in order to his admission into the Church is that he be an honest *seeker;* in the language of the Church, that "he desire to flee the wrath to come and to be saved from his sins." Now if we examine the cases of admission to Church-fellowship as recorded in the Acts of the Apostles, we shall find that while some of the candidates were decided instances of saving faith, others were manifestly of a different sort; they were persons who were simply willing to accept Christianity as divine, as a fulfillment of the promises of the Old Testament, and who wanted to become real Christians. For example, in the eighth chapter of the Acts we find that Philip preached at Samaria, where the people had long been bewitched by the sorceries of Simon. And we are told in the twelfth verse that "when they believed Philip preaching the things concerning the kingdom of God, and the name of Jesus Christ, they were baptized." Here a mere belief of Philip's statement is mentioned as preceding admission to the Church. The character of the "belief" is not hinted. Take again the case of the Ethiopian eunuch mentioned in the same chapter. The eunuch asked why he might not be baptized, that is, admitted into the Church. Philip's reply was, "If thou believest with all thine heart thou mayest." The eunuch's answer is noteworthy. It was, "I believe that

Jesus Christ is the Son of God." Would any clergyman of the present day who believes that regeneration must precede admission to the Church receive a person who could say no more than this? He only believed what all the young people in our Sabbath-schools believe. In the seventeenth chapter it is stated that Paul went into the synagogue of the Jews at Thessalonica and reasoned with them out of the Scriptures about Christ, and that some of them "believed." Is there any proof that these Jews did any thing more than assent to Paul's proofs? Were they more advanced in experience than seekers among us who accept the Christian system and are seeking to possess the inward Christian life?

Again, we read in the nineteenth chapter of twelve men with whom Paul met at Ephesus, who had been baptized unto John's baptism, who had not even heard of the Holy Ghost. Paul said to them, "John verily baptized with the baptism of repentance, saying unto the people that they should believe on him which should come after him, that is, on Christ Jesus. When they heard that, they were baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus." It is evident that they submitted themselves with docility, as true seekers, to the guidance of Paul, but there is no proof either that they yet possessed a genuine Christian experience or that Paul demanded it of them. Finally, in the latter part of the last chapter of Acts we are informed that the chief Jews at Rome waited on Paul, and that "he expounded and testified the kingdom of God, persuading them concerning Jesus, both out of the law of Moses, and out of the prophets, from morning till evening, and some believed the things which were spoken, and some believed not." The question among them was about accepting Paul's statements and scripture proofs respecting Christ as Messiah.

Now it seems quite clear from these citations that the apostles received and baptized persons without a definite Christian experience, who simply acknowledged themselves convinced that Jesus was the Messiah promised in the Old Testament, and who united with the Church to be further taught and led on to the new birth. All, therefore, that can be justly and scripturally demanded of an adult candidate for Church-membership is that he accept the Gospel as true, and with a serious mind seek after spiritual renewal, or the new birth.

To go beyond this certainly is not warranted by apostolic example.

This view removes the chief difficulty out of the way of infant Church-membership, and seems to us entirely to relieve the question. As the adult may enter the Church before regeneration, so may the infant. There is, therefore, no need for the sacerdotal magic of baptismal regeneration, nor for the invention of congenital regeneration. Parents and children may both enter before regeneration.

This, however, is a negative statement of the case. Both adult and infant may enter without regeneration, but how do they resemble each other on the positive side? What is their positive qualification for Church-membership? We answer, their common *receptivity.* Both are in the best possible condition to receive the lessons and the life of Christianity. The seeker of religion, laboring to renounce sin and waiting for the inward liberating word, has reduced sinful resistance to the minimum. He is eagerly, consciously, prayerfully receptive. And the infant, though all unconscious, is thoroughly and only receptive. The two differ in the *mode* of their receptivity, but not as to its substance. Both are as thoroughly receptive as is possible in their respective states.

Here then, as it seems to us, is a logically consistent theory of Church-membership which meets and refutes at once the Baptist, the High Church, and the modern Pelagian theories, and brings both infant and adult into the Church and into covenant with God on the same general platform. Neither is required to be regenerate before entering, and yet both are presented at the altar or at the font thoroughly receptive, ready for such holy lessons and influences as each is capable of receiving.

I am not conscious of having been drawn to these conclusions by my relations to the Methodist Episcopal Church, and yet, the conclusions being reached, I see that they are only a theory upon which Methodism has practiced from the beginning. The declaration of Methodism, persevered in for more than a hundred years, is, that "the only condition required of those who join us is a desire to flee the wrath to come and to be saved from their sins," and that this desire be evidenced by a certain course of life. The General Conference before the last attempted an innovation upon this original practice of the

Church. It puts the question to the candidate for admission into full membership, "Have you *saving faith* in our Lord Jesus Christ?" as though it meant to make an affirmative answer a condition of reception. But this it cannot mean without coming into conflict with the whole previous history of the Church, and indeed not without setting the Discipline of the Church against itself. Look at the fact that a probationer, so-called, in our Church enjoys all the means of grace just as a full member does. He can be baptized, which itself is admission into Christ's Church; he can come to the Lord's table, which is the sign of continued membership in the Church; he can attend the class-meetings and love-feasts, the peculiar privileges of Methodism, as well as the rest of the means of grace. Public admission into full membership is a formality, however solemn; the reception of the sacraments and sharing in the other means of grace are the realities of Church-membership. The probationer is, therefore, a real member of the Christian Church, and in order to be such nothing is demanded of him but an earnest receptivity, which is expected to lead on to the new birth.

The theory we have propounded is, therefore, the theory of Methodism. It admits to Church-membership both infants and adults, without demanding that either shall have been previously regenerated. It will not repel the receptive, seeking adult, but will receive him at once, and let him come to consciousness of divine life in the Church. It will not repel the receptive infant of the Christian household, but will receive it and let it grow up into Christ, and come to assured experience among the sanctities of the house of God.

Having thus established what we venture to call a logically consistent theory of Church-membership, including both infants and adults, and shown that the practice of Methodism conforms to it, allow us to remark in conclusion that, as the family was constituted with a view to infant Church-membership, so infant Church-membership was meant for Christian nurture. This is its whole significance; without this it amounts to nothing but a list of names. The children of the Christian family are not merely to be trained *for* religion but *in* religion. Their depravity "does not stand, as the Pelagians do vainly talk, in the following of Adam," but is a dark and fearful reality in their nature, and yet, by means of their vital union with the Church

through the genuine Christian family, the process of renewal may begin almost with life; and the first aim of the Church ought to be to save all her own children. That is the ideal toward which we ought to work, and, in the growth of holiness and wisdom in the Church to which we must yet come. When it does come, the Church will double her numbers every few years out of her own bosom, and her power in the world will be well-nigh irresistible.*

Art. IV.—MOHAMMEDANISM IN WESTERN AFRICA.

George Sale has prefixed to the title-page of his able translation of the Koran the following motto from Saint Augustin: "*Nulla falsa doctrina est, quae non aliquid veri permisceat.*" Recent discussions and investigations have brought the subject of Mohammedanism prominently before the reading public, and the writings of Weil, and Nöldeke, and Muir, and Sprenger, and Emanuel Deutsch have taught the world that "Mohammedanism is a thing of vitality, fraught with a thousand fruitful germs;" and have amply illustrated the principle enunciated by Saint Augustin, showing that there *are* elements both of truth and goodness in a system which has had so wide-spread an influence upon mankind, embracing within the scope of its operations more than one hundred millions of the human race; that the exhibition of gems of truth, even though "suspended in a gallery of counterfeits," has vast power over the human heart.

The object of the present paper is to inquire briefly into the condition and influence of Mohammedanism among the tribes of Western Africa. Whatever may be the intellectual inferiority of the negro tribes, (if, indeed, such inferiority exists,) it is certain that many of these tribes have received the religion of Islam without its being forced upon them by the overpowering arms of victorious invaders. The quiet development and organization of a religious community in the heart of Africa has shown that negroes, equally with other races, are susceptible of moral and spiritual impressions, and of all the sublime possibilities of religion. The history of the progress of Islam in

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* We insert the above article in cordial respect for the eminent character of the lamented writer, and not from any coincidence with its views.—Ed.

this country would present the same instances of real and eager mental conflict, of minds in honest transition, of careful comparison and reflection, that have been found in other communities where new aspects of truth and fresh considerations have been brought before them. And we hold that it shows a stronger and more healthy intellectual tendency to be induced by the persuasion and reason of a man of moral nobleness and deep personal convictions to join with him in the introduction of beneficial changes, than to be compelled to follow the lead of an irresponsible character who forces us into measures by his superior physical might.

Different estimates are made of the beneficial effects wrought by Islam upon the moral and industrial condition of Western Africa. Some are disposed to ignore altogether any wholesome result, and regard the negro Moslems as possessing as a general thing only the external appendages of a system which they do not understand. But such a conclusion implies a very superficial acquaintance with the state of things among the people. Of course cases are found of individuals here and there, of blustering zeal and lofty pretensions—qualities which usually exist in inverse proportion to the amount of sound knowledge possessed—whose views, so far as they can be gathered, are no more than a mixture of imperfectly understood Mohammedanism and fetichism; but all careful and candid observers agree that the influence of Islam in Central and West Africa has been, upon the whole, of a most salutary character. As an eliminatory and subversive agency, it has displaced or unsettled nothing as good as itself. If it has introduced superstitions, it has expelled superstitions far more mischievous and degrading. And it is not wonderful if, in succeeding to a debasing heathenism, it has in many respects made compromises, so as occasionally to present a barren hybrid character. But what *is* surprising is that a religion quietly introduced from a foreign country, with so few of the outward agencies of civilization, should not in process of time have been altogether absorbed by the superstitions and manners of barbarous pagans. But not only has it not been absorbed, it has introduced large modifications in the views and practices even of those who have but a vague conception of its teachings.

Mungo Park, in his travels seventy years ago, every-where remarked the contrast between the pagan and Mohammedan

tribes of interior Africa. One very important improvement noticed by him was *abstinence from intoxicating drinks.* "The beverage of the pagan negroes," he says, "is *beer and mead*, of which they often drink to excess; the Mohammedan converts drink *nothing but water*."* Thus throughout Central Africa there has been established a vast *total abstinence society;* and such is the influence of this society that where there are Moslem inhabitants, even in pagan towns, it is a very rare thing to see a person intoxicated. They thus present an almost impenetrable barrier to the desolating flood of ardent spirits with which traders from Europe and America inundate the coast, and of which we have recently had so truthful and sadly suggestive an account from a missionary at Gaboon. †

Wherever the Moslem is found on this coast, whether Jalof, Foulah, or Mandingo, he looks upon himself as a separate and distinct being from his pagan neighbor, and immeasurably his superior in intellectual and moral respects. He regards himself as one to whom a revelation has been "sent down" from heaven. He holds constant intercourse with the "Lord of worlds," whose servant he is. In his behalf Omnipotence will ever interpose in times of danger. Hence he feels that he cannot indulge in the frivolities and vices which he considers as by no means incompatible with the character and professions of the Kafir or unbeliever. Nearly every day his Koran reminds him of his high privileges, as compared with others, in the following terms:

> Verily those who believe not, among those who have received the Scriptures, and among the idolaters, shall be cast into the fire of hell, to remain therein forever. These are the worst of creatures. But they who believe and do good works, these are the best of creatures; their reward with their Lord shall be gardens of perpetual abode.‡
>
> Whoso taketh God and his apostle and the believers for friends, they are the party of God, and they shall be victorious.§

But there are no caste distinctions among them. They do not look upon the privileges of Islam as confined by tribal barriers or limitations. On the contrary, the life of their religion is aggressiveness. They are constantly making proselytes. As early as the commencement of the present century the elastic

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* Park's Travels, chap. ii. † Mr. Walker, in "Miss. Herald," Feb. 1870

‡ Sura xcviii. § Sura v.

and expansive character of their system was sufficiently marked to attract the notice of Mr. Park. "In the negro country," observes that celebrated traveler, "the Mohammedan religion has made, *and continues to make*, considerable progress." "The yearning of the native African," says Professor Crummel, "for a higher religion, is illustrated by the singular fact that Mohammedanism is rapidly and *peaceably* spreading all through the tribes of Western Africa, even to the Christian settlements of Liberia." * From Senegal to Lagos, over two thousand miles, there is scarcely an important town on the sea-board where there are not at least one mosque and active representatives of Islam, often side by side with the Christian teacher. And as soon as a pagan, however obscure or degraded, embraces the Moslem faith, he is at once admitted as an equal to their society. Slavery and the slave-trade are laudable institutions provided the slaves are Kafirs. The slave who embraces Islam is free, and no office is closed against him on account of servile blood.

The pagan village possessing a Mussulman teacher is always found to be in advance of its neighbors in all the elements of civilization. The people pay great deference to him. He instructs their children, and professes to be the medium between them and heaven, either for securing a supply of their necessities, or for warding off or removing calamities. It must be borne in mind that people in the state of barbarism in which the pagan tribes are usually found have no proper conceptions of humanity and its capacities. The man, therefore, who by unusual strength or cunning achieves something which no one had achieved before him, or of which they do not understand the process, is exalted into an extraordinary being, in close intimacy with the mysterious powers of nature. The Mohammedan, then, who enters a pagan village with his books and papers and rosaries, his frequent ablutions and regularly recurring times of prayers and prostrations, in which he appears to be conversing with some invisible being, soon acquires a controlling influence over the people. He secures their moral confidence and respect, and they bring to him all their difficulties for solution and all their grievances for redress.

To the African Mussulman, innocent of the intellectual and scientific progress of other portions of the world, the Koran is

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* "Future of Africa," page 305.

all-sufficient for his moral, intellectual, social, and political needs. It contains his whole religion and a great deal besides. It is to him far more than it is to the Turk or Egyptian upon whom the light of European civilization has fallen. It is his code of laws and his creed, his homily and his liturgy. He consults it for direction on every possible subject; and his pagan neighbor, seeing such veneration paid to the book, conceives even more exaggerated notions of its character. The latter looks upon it as a great medical repository, teaching the art of healing diseases, and as a wonderful storehouse of charms and divining power, protecting from dangers and foretelling future events. And though the prognostications of his Moslem prophet are often of the nature of *vaticinia post eventum*, yet his faith remains unshaken in the infallibility of "Alkorana." He, therefore, never fails to resort in times of extremity to the Mohammedan for direction, and pays him for charms against evil. These charms are nothing more than passages from the Koran written on slips of paper and inclosed in leather cases about two or three inches square—after the manner of the Jewish phylactery—and worn about the neck or wrist. The passages usually written are the last two chapters of the Koran, known as the "Chapters of Refuge," because they begin, "Say, I take refuge," etc. In cases of internal complaints one or both of these chapters are written on certain leaves, of which a strong decoction is made, and the water administered to the patient. We have seen these two chapters written inside a bowl at Alexandria for medicinal purposes.

The Moslems themselves wear constantly about their persons certain texts from the Koran called *Ayát-el-hifz*, verses of protection or preservation, which are supposed to keep away every species of misfortune. The following are in most common use: "God is the best *protector*, and he is the most merciful of those who show mercy." (Sura xii, 64.) "And God compasseth them behind. Verily it is a glorious Koran, written on a *preserved* tablet," (Sura lxxxv, 20.) Sometimes they have the following rhymed couplet:

Bismi illahi arrahman, arrahim
Auzu billahi min es-Shaytan arrajim.[*]

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[*] In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate,
I take refuge in God from Satan, whom we hate.

This couplet is also employed whenever they are about to commence reading the Koran, as a protection against the suggestions of Satan, who is supposed to be ever on the alert to whisper erroneous and hurtful constructions to the devout reader.

The Koran is almost always in their hand. It seems to be their labor and their relaxation to pore over its pages. They love to read and recite it aloud for hours together. They seem to possess an enthusiastic appreciation of the rhythmical harmony in which it is written. But we cannot attribute its power over them altogether to the jingling sounds, word-plays, and refrains in which it abounds. These, it is true, please the ear and amuse the fancy, especially of the uncultivated. But there is something higher, of which these rhyming lines are the vehicle; something possessing a deeper power to rouse the imagination, mold the feelings, and generate action. Mr. Gibbon has characterized the Koran as a "tissue of incoherent rhapsodies."* But the author of the "Decline and Fall" was, as he himself acknowledges, ignorant of the Arabic language, and therefore incompetent to pronounce an authoritative judgment. Mr. Hallam, in a more appreciative vein, speaks of it as "a book confessedly written with much elegance and purity," containing "just and elevated notions of the divine nature and moral duties, the gold ore that pervades the dross."† The historian of the "Middle Ages," a most conscientious investigator, had probably read the book in the original—had been charmed with its *sense* as well as its *sound.* Only they who read it in the language of the Arabian author can form any thing like an accurate idea of its unapproachable place as a power among unevangelized communities for molding into the most exciting and the most expressive harmonies the feelings and imaginations. Says a recent able and learned critic:

> The Koran suffers more than any other book we think of by a translation, however masterly. The grandeur of the Koran consists, its contents apart, in its diction. We cannot explain the peculiarly dignified, impressive, sonorous mixture of Semitic sound and parlance; its *sesquipedalia verba*, with their crowd of prefixes and affixes, each of them affirming its own position, while consciously bearing upon and influencing the central root, which they envelop

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* Chap. l.

† "Middle Ages," chap. vi.

like a garment of many folds, or as chosen courtiers move round the anointed person of the king.*

The African Moslem forms no exception among the adherents of Islam in his appreciation of the sacred book. It is studied with as much enthusiasm at Boporo, Misadu, Medina, Kankan,† as at Cairo, Alexandria, or Bagdad. In traveling in the exterior of Liberia we have met ulemas, or learned men, who could reproduce from memory any chapter of the Koran, with its vowels and dots and other grammatical marks. The boys under their instruction are kept at the study of the books for years. First they are taught the letters and vowel marks, then they are taught to read the text without receiving any insight into its meaning. When they can read fluently they are taught the meaning of the words, which they commit carefully to memory; after which they are instructed in what they call the "Jatali," a running commentary on the Koran. While learning the Jatali they have side studies assigned them in Arabic manuscripts, containing the mystical traditions, the acts of Mohammed, the duties of fasting, prayer, alms, corporal purification, etc.‡ Young men who intend to be enrolled among the ulemas take up history and chronology, on which they have some fragmentary manuscripts. Before a student is admitted to the ranks of the learned he must pass an examination, usually lasting seven days, conducted by a Board consisting of imáms and ulemas. If he is successful, he is led around the town on horseback with instrumental music and singing. The following ditty is usually sung:

Allahumma, ya Rabbee
Salla ala Mohammade,
Salla Allahu alayhe wa Sallama.§

After which the candidate is presented with a sash or scarf, usually of fine white cloth of native manufacture, which he is thenceforth permitted to wind round his cap, with one end hanging down the back, forming the Oriental turban. This is

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* Emanuel Deutsch, in the *Quarterly Review* (London) for October, 1869.

† Mohammedan towns, from seventy-five to three hundred miles east and north-east of Monrovia.

‡ The student at this stage is called tālib, that is, *one who seeks knowledge.*

§ O God, my Lord, bless Mohammed! God bless him and grant him peace!

a sort of Bachelor of Arts diploma. The men who wear turbans have read and recited the Koran through many hundred times; and you can refer to no passage which they cannot readily find in their apparently confused manuscripts of loose leaves and pages, distinguished not by numbers, but by catch words at the bottom. Carlyle tells us that he has heard of Mohammedan doctors who had read the Koran seventy thousand times.* Many such animated and moving concordances to the Koran may doubtless be found in Central and West Africa.

But the Koran is not the only book they read. We have seen in some of their libraries extensive manuscripts in poetry and prose. One showed us at Boporo the *Makāmat* of Hariri, which he read and expounded with great readiness, and seemed surprised that we had heard of it. And it is not to be doubted that some valuable Arabic manuscripts may yet be found in the heart of Africa. Dr. Barth tells us that he saw in Central Africa a manuscript of those portions of Aristotle and Plato which had been translated into Arabic, and that an Arabic version of Hippocrates was extremely valued. The splendid voweled edition of the New Testament and Psalms recently issued by the American Bible Society, and of which, through the kindness of friends in New York, we have been enabled to distribute a few copies among them, is highly prized.

We have collected in our visits to Mohammedan towns a number of interesting manuscripts, original and extracted. We will here give two or three specimens as translated by us. We should be glad if we could transfer to these pages the elegant and ornamental chirography of the original.

The first is from a talismanic paper written at Futa Jallon, copies of which are sold to the credulous as means of warding off evil from individuals and communities, to be employed especially during seasons of epidemics. It is as follows:

> In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. O God, bless Mohammed and save him, the seal of the prophets and the imam of the apostles, beloved of the "Lord of worlds!"
>
> After the above is the conveying of health, and the completing of salutation and honor.

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* "Heroes and Hero Worship," p. 80.

Verily, the pestilence is coming upon you, beginning with your wealth, such as your cows, and after that upon yourselves; and verily if all of you provide water and bread, namely, of your men and your women, and your man-servants and your maid-servants, and all your youths, they shall not endure it. And after that write out the Chapter *Opener of the Book*[*] and the *Verse of the Throne*,[†] and from "God is light" to "Omniscient,"[‡] and from "God created every," the whole verse, to "Omnipotent,"[§] and the *Two Chapters of Refuge;* and write, "They who when they have done foully and dealt unjustly by their own souls shall remember God, and seek forgiveness for their sins, (and who forgives sins but God?) and shall not persevere in what they have done while they know it."[‖] And if you do this God shall certainly turn back the punishment from you, if God will, by this supplication. . . . Because that is the way of escape obligatory on every Moslem man and woman. This document is by a man of wealth, who traveled, traveling from Futa to Mecca on pilgrimage, and stayed three months, and departed to El-Medina, and settled there three years, and returned to Futa. Written by me, Ahmad of Futa today. O God, bless Mohammed and save him! The end."

The next paper professes to be a history of the world. Beginning thousands of years before Adam, it gives account of the successive epochs through which the earth passed before man was created. But we omit all those periods, which might perhaps be of interest to the enthusiastic geologist, and come down to the account given of the first meeting of Adam and Eve. Says our author:

When Adam first met Eve he was walking upon the sea, and he said to her, "Who art thou?" And she said, "I am the destroyer of mercies." And Adam said, "*Who* art thou?" And she said, "I am the destroyer of wealth; he who finds wealth finds me, and he who does not find wealth does not find me." And Adam said,

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[*] *Fatihat el-Kitab*, the first chapter of the Koran.

[†] *Ayet el-Kursee*, Sura ii, iv, 256. This verse is repeated by the pious Moslem nearly every time he prays. It is as follows: "God! There is no God but he; the Living, the Eternal. Nor slumber seizeth him, nor sleep; his, whatsoever is in the heavens and whatsoever is in the earth! Who is he that can intercede with him but by his own permission? He knoweth what hath been before them, and what shall be after them; yet nought of his knowledge shall they grasp, save what he willeth. His throne reacheth over the heavens and the earth, and the upholding of both burdeneth him not; and he is the High, the Great."—*Rodwell's Translation.*

[‡] Sura xxiv, 35.

[§] Sura xxiv, 44.

[‖] Sura iii, 129. An item in a list of classes of persons who shall be blessed in this world and go to heaven when they die.

> "*Who* art thou?" And she said, "I am one in whom no faith is to be reposed—*I am Eve.*" And Adam said, "I believe thee, O Eve." And Adam took her, and she conceived and brought forth forty twins, a male and a female at each birth, and all died except Seth, who was the father of Noah, etc.

The author then proceeds to trace the descendants of Noah, assigning to Shem, Ham, and Japheth the countries in which it is commonly understood that they respectively settled.

The next paper is a very elaborate and accurately written manuscript, styled "The Book of Psalms which God sent down to David." We have been puzzled to account for the origin and purpose of this paper. Whatever it comes out of, it is certain it does not come out of the Psalms of David. It contains, however, some excellent moral teachings, written not in Koranic language, but on the whole in very good Arabic, singularly free from those omissions and misplacements of diacritical points which are so troublesome in some Arabic writings. The arrangement of the vowels reveals a thorough acquaintance with the niceties of classical Arabic. It was copied for us from an old manuscript brought by a scribe from Kankan, but he could give no information as to its original source. The statement that it *is* the Psalms is probably a mere freak of the compiler or copyist, unless we suppose the existence of some Mohammedan pseudo-psalmist in the interior. Moreover, the word *anzala* used in the manuscript, which we have translated "*sent down*," is not the word applied in the Koran to David's revelations. The word there used is *āta'*, signifying to *commit*, to *give*, etc. The paper is divided into six chapters or parts. We will give, with the introductory formula and blessing, the first, fourth, and fifth parts.

> In the name of God, etc. God bless our lord Mohammed, His prophet, and his family and his wives and his descendants and his friends, and keep them safe.
>
> This is the Book of Psalms which God sent down to David. Peace upon him!

PART THE FIRST.

> I wonder at him who has heard of Death, how he can rejoice.
>
> I wonder at him who has heard of the Reckoning, how he can gather riches.
>
> I wonder at him who has heard of the Grave, how he can laugh.

I wonder at him who grieves over the waste of his riches and does not grieve over the waste of his life.

I wonder at him who has heard of the future world and its bliss and its enduringness, how he can rest when he has never sought it.

I wonder at him who has heard of the present world and its transitoriness, how he can be secure about it when he has never fled from it.

I wonder at him who is knowing in the tongue and ignorant in the heart.

I wonder at him who is busy with people's faults and forgets his own faults.

I wonder at him who knows that God considers him in all places, how he can rebel against him.

I wonder at him who has purified himself with water and is not pure in his heart.

I wonder at him who knows that he shall die alone, and enter the grave alone, and render account alone, how he can seek reconciliation with men when he has not sought reconciliation with his Lord.

There is no God but God, in truth; Mohammed is the Envoy of God. God bless him and save him!

PART THE FOURTH.

Son of Man! Be not of them who are long of repentance and long of hope,* and look for the last day without work, and say the say of the servants, and work the work of the hypocrite, and are not satisfied if I give to you, and endure not if I keep from you; who prescribe that which is approved and good, and do it not, and forbid that which is disapproved and evil, and forego it not, and love the faithful and are not of them, and hate the hypocrites and are of them—exacting and not exact.

Son of Man! There is not a new day but the earth addresses thee, and thus says she her say unto thee:

Son of Man!

Thou walkest on my back, but thy return is to my belly;

Thou laughest on my back, and then thou weepest in my belly;

Thou art joyful on my back, and then thou art sorrowful in my belly;

Thou sinnest on my back, and then thou sufferest in my belly;

Thou eatest thy desire on my back, and then the worms eat thee in my belly.

Son of Man!

I am the house of desolation, I am the house of isolation;
I am the house of darkness, I am the house of straitness;
I am the house of question, I am the house of terrors;
I am the house of serpents, I am the house of scorpions;

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* That is, waiting on Providence without attempting to "work out one's own salvation."

I am the house of thirst, I am the house of hunger;
I am the house of disgrace, I am the house of fires;
Then cultivate me, and burn* me not.

PART THE FIFTH.

Son of Man! I did not create you to get greatness by you instead of bitterness, nor to get companionship by you instead of desolation, nor to borrow by you any thing I wanted; nor did I create you to draw to me any profit, or to thrust from me any loss, (far be it from Him the Exalted!) But I have created you to serve me perpetually, and thank me greatly, and praise me morning and evening.† And if the first of you and the last of you, and the living of you and the dead of you, and the small of you and the great of you, and the male of you and the female of you, and the lords of you and the servants of you, and the men of you and the beasts of you, if they combine to obey me, this will not add to my dominion the weight of a grain of dust. "Whoever does good service, does good service only for himself; and whoever is unthankful—why, God is independent of the three worlds."‡

Son of Man!
As thou lendest, shalt thou borrow;
As thou workest, shalt thou be recompensed;
As thou sowest, shalt thou reap.

We have been surprised to notice that the manuscripts which we receive generally from Boporo, Misadu, and Kankan are much better written, and of a much more edifying character, than those we have seen from the Sambia and that region of country. Some of the latter, consisting of childish legends and superstitious details, are often curious philologically, being mixtures of Arabic and the vernacular dialect. It is said also by those who have seen Mohammedan worship conducted by the Jalofs and Foulahs about the Sambia and Senegal, and have witnessed similar exercises among the Mandingoes in the region of country east of Liberia, that the latter exhibit in their bearing and proceedings during their religious services greater intelligence, order, and regularity than the former.

During a visit of three weeks made to Boporo in the Mohammedan month of Ramadhan, (December and January, 1868-69,) we had an opportunity of seeing the Mandingo Mos-

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* This is probably a warning against the practice among the natives of denuding the earth by burning the wood when preparing to plant.

† Compare Psalm l, 7–14.

‡ Koran xxix, 5.

lem at home. It being the sacred month of fasting and religious devotedness, we witnessed several religious ceremonies and performances.

As in all Moslem communities, prayer is held five times a day. When the hour for prayer approaches, a man appointed for the purpose, with a very strong and clear voice, goes to the door of the mosque and chants the *adhan*, or call to prayer. This man is called the Muëddin.[*] His call is especially solemn and interesting in the early hours of the morning. We often lay in bed between four and five o'clock listening for the cry of the Muëddin. There was a simple and solemn melody in the chant at that still hour, which after it had ceased still lingered pleasantly on the ear, and often despite ourselves drew us out to the mosque. The morning *adhan*, as we heard it at Boporo, is as follows: "*Allāhu Akbaru*, (this is said four times.) *Ashhadu an la ílāha ill' Allahu*, (twice.) *Ashhadu anna Mohammada rasoolu 'llahi*, (twice.) *Heiya ala Saláh*, (twice.) *Heiya ala-l-feláh*, (twice.) *Salátu kheiru min a-naumi*, (twice.) *Allāhu Akbaru*, (twice.) *La ilāha ill' Allāhu*, (once.)[†] Says Mr. Deutsch:

> May be some stray reader remembers a certain thrill on waking suddenly in the middle of his first night on Eastern soil—waking, as it were, from dream into dream. For there came a voice, solitary, sweet, sonorous, floating from on high through the moonlight stillness—the voice of the blind Muëddin, singing the *Ulah*, or first call to prayer. . . . The sounds went and came—*Allahu Akbar*, *Allahu Akbar*—and this reader may have a vague notion of Arabic and Koranic sound, one he will never forget.[‡]

At Boporo and other African towns we have visited this call is made three times within the half hour immediately preceding worship. Before the third call is concluded the people

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[*] The first Moslem crier was an Ethiopian negro, Bilál by name, "a man of powerful frame and sonorous voice." He was the favorite attendant of Mohammed. Mr. Irving informs us that on the capture of Jerusalem he made the first *adhan*, "at the Caliph Omar's command, and summoned the true believers to prayers with a force of lungs that astonished the Jewish inhabitants."—*Irving's Successors of Mahomet*, p. 100.

[†] The English is, "God is most great, (four times.) I testify that there is no deity but God, (twice.) I testify that Mohammed is the apostle of God, (twice.) Come to prayer, (twice.) Come to security, (twice.) Prayer is better than sleep, (twice.) God is most great, (twice.) There is no deity but God, (once.)"

[‡] "Quarterly Review," October, 1869.

have generally assembled in the mosque. Then the Imám proceeds with the exercises, consisting usually of certain short chapters from the Koran and a few prayers, interspersed with beautiful chanting of the Moslem watch-word, *La ilaha ill' Allahu, Mohammadu rasoolu 'llahi*—There is no god, etc. We may remark, by the way, that their tunes are not set in the minor key, as is almost always the case among the Arabs. Their natures are more joyful. They exult in the diatonic scale of life, and leave their oriental co-religionists to wail in the sad and mournful chromatics of the desert.

The Mandingoes are an exceedingly polite and hospitable people. The restraints of their religion regulate their manners and control their behavior. Both in speech and demeanor they appear always solicitous to be *en regle*—anxious to maintain the strictest propriety—and they succeed in conforming to the natural laws of etiquette, of which they seem to have an instinctive and agreeable appreciation. In their salutations they always strive to exceed each other in good wishes. The salutation, *Salaam aleikum*—"Peace be with you"—common in oriental Mohammedan countries, is used by them very sparingly, and, as a general thing, only on leaving the mosque after early morning worship. The reply is, *Aleikum-e-Salaam, wa rahmatu 'llahi wa barakatuhu*—"With you be peace, and the mercy of God and his blessing." If *Salaam aleikum* is addressed to them by a Kafir or pagan they seldom reply; if by a Christian, the reply is, *Salaam ala man taba el-huda*—"Peace to him who follows the right way."

Those who speak Arabic speak the Koranic or book Arabic, preserving the final vowels of the classical language—a practice which, in the hurry and exigencies of business life, has been long discontinued in countries where the language is vernacular; so that in Egypt and Syria the current speech is very defective, and clipped and corrupted. Mr. Palgrave informs us, however, that in North-east Arabia the "grammatical dialect" is used in ordinary conversation. "The smallest and raggedest child that toddles about the street lisps in the correctest book Arabic that ever De Sacy studied or Sibaweeyah professed."* So among the Arabic scholars whom one meets in the interior of Liberia. In proper names we hear Ibraheema, Aleeu, Sulei-

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* Palgrave's Arabia, vol. i, p. 311.

man*a*, Abdullah*i*, Daud*a*, etc.; in worship Allah*u*, Akbar*u*, La-ilah*a*, ill'Allah*u*, etc.; and it is difficult for the mere tyro in Arabic pronunciation either to understand or make himself understood unless he constantly bear in mind the final vowels in nouns, verbs, and adjectives. A recent number of the "Saturday Review,"* in a notice of General Daumas's new work on "Arabic Life and Mussulman Society," remarks, "One comfort for the learner will be that the oft-pressed distinction between what is termed the learned and the vulgar (Arabic) tongue is a mere fiction of European growth. It has no foundation in native usage." We fear that the theoretical comfort which the soothing reviewer attempts to administer to the learner of Arabic will be found of no practical avail when applied to the intercourse of daily life in Syria and Egypt. Only such learned natives as Mr. Bistany of Beyroot and Dr. Meshakah of Damascus speak the language so as to be understood by one versed only in Koranic inflections. And even they generally avoid that style as stilted, pedantic, and absurd. Says a high authority:†

> Les populations Arabes, en general, etant fort ignorantes, par leur misère d'abord, et ensuite par l'extreme difficulté de l'etude et de l'application de leur idiome, le langage usuel des diverses regions est soumis à bien des varietés, soit de prononciation, soit de *denomination* des ideés et des choses.

Among the Moslems of West Africa there are some peculiarities in the sounds of the letters. The fourth letter of the alphabet is generally pronounced like *s;* the seventh like the simple *k;* the ninth like *j* in jug; *seen* and *sheen* have both the sound of *s*. The fifteenth letter is sounded like *l;* the nineteenth, whose guttural sound is so difficult to Western organs, is sounded like *k;* the twenty-first like *g* hard.

The introduction of Islam into Central and West Africa has been the most important if not the sole preservative against the desolations of the slave-trade. Mohammedanism furnished a protection to the tribes who embraced it by effectually binding them together in one strong religious fraternity, and enabling them by their united effort to baffle the attempts of

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* March 26, 1870.

† M. Bresnier, Professor of Arabic in the Normal College of Algiers, in his "*Cours Pratique et Theorique de Langue Arabe.*"

powerful pagan slave hunters. Enjoying this comparative immunity from sudden hostile incursions, industry was stimulated among them; industry diminished their poverty, and as they increased in worldly substance, they also increased in desire for knowledge. Gross superstition gradually disappeared from among them. Receiving a degree of culture from the study of the Arabic language, they acquired loftier views, wider tastes, and those energetic habits which so pleasingly distinguish them from their pagan neighbors.

Large towns and cities have grown up under Mohammedan energy and industry. Dr. Barth was surprised to find such towns or cities as Kanó and Sokoto in the center of Africa—to discover the focus of a complex and widely ramified commerce, and a busy hive of manufacturing industry, in a region which most people had believed to be a desert. And there are towns and cities nearly as important farther west, to which Barth did not penetrate, affording still scope to extend the horizon of European knowledge and the limits of commercial enterprise. Mr. Benjamin Anderson, the enterprising Liberian traveler, who has recently visited Misodu, the capital of the Western Mandingoes, about two hundred miles east of Monrovia, describes that city as the center of a considerable commerce, reaching as far north as Senegal and east as far as Sokoto.

The African Moslems are also great travelers. They seem to travel through the country with greater freedom and safety than any other people, on account, probably, of their superior intelligence and greater usefulness. They are continually crossing the continent to Egypt, Arabia, and Syria. We met a few weeks ago at Toto-coreh, a town about ten miles east of Boporo, a lad who informed us that he was born at Mecca while his parents were in that city on pilgrimage. We gave him a copy of the New Testament in Arabic, which he read with unimpeded fluency, and with the Oriental accent and pronunciation. The general diffusion of the Arabic language* in this country

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* The natives love and revere the language. All documents of a serious character must be written in that language. Bishop Crowther of the Niger, in a letter dated October 30, 1869, tells us of his visit to King Masaba, a distinguished Mohammedan sovereign, with whom he entered into a written agreement with reference to the establishment of a Christian mission in his capital. "I drew up his document," says the Bishop, "in English, which he handed over to his Maalims *to be translated into Arabic.*"—*Christian Observer*, January, 1870.

through Mohammedan influence must be regarded as a preparatory circumstance of vast importance for the introduction of the Gospel. It may be "the plan of Providence that these many barbarous nations of Africa are to be consolidated under one aggressive empire of ideas and faith, to prepare the way for evangelization through the medium of one copious, cultivated, expressive tongue, in the place of leaving to the Church the difficult task of translating and preaching in many barbarous languages, incapable of expressing the finer forms of thought."* Already some of the vernaculars have been enriched by expressions from the Arabic for the embodiment of the higher processes of thought. They have received terms regarding the religion of the one God, and respecting a certain state of civilization, such as marrying, reading, writing, and the objects having relation thereto, sections of time, and phrases of salutation and of good breeding; then the terms relating to dress, instruments, and the art of warfare, as well as architectu. e, commerce, etc.†

Mohammedanism in this part of the world could easily be displaced by Christian influence if Christian organizations would enter with vigor into this field. Rev. G. W. Gibson, Rector of Trinity Church, Monrovia, in a letter published in the "Spirit of Missions" for April, 1869, says:

> Whatever may have been the influence of Mohammedanism on races in other parts of the world, I think here, upon the African, results will prove it to be merely preparatory to a Christian civilization. In this country, and almost immediately in our vicinity, it has recovered millions from paganism, without, I think, having such a grasp upon the minds of the masses as to lead them obstinately to cling to it in preference to Christianity, with its superior advantages. The same feelings which led them to abandon their former religion for the Moslem will, no doubt, lead them still further, and induce them to embrace ours when properly presented. I express this opinion the more readily from several interviews I have had lately with prominent parties connected with some of these tribes.

We are persuaded that with the book knowledge they already possess, and their love of letters, many of them would become ready converts of a religion which brings with it the recom-

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* Prof. Post, of Syrian Prot. College, Beyroot.

† See Barth's "Collection of Central African Vocabularies," Part I, p. 29.

mendation of a higher culture and a nobler civilization. And, once brought within the pale of Christianity, these Mohammedans would be a most effective agency for the propagation of the Gospel in remote regions, hitherto impervious to European zeal and enterprise, and the work of African regeneration would proceed with uninterrupted course and unexampled rapidity.

Art. V.—THE PROBLEM OF BABEL.

It is proposed in the present paper to inquire into the probable significance of the recorded transaction of Babel. No solution which shall claim to be final and complete is attempted. That would be possible only to a careful observer, himself eye-witness and partaker of the miracle. He who ages afterward institutes his inquiry can expect to reach only that which seems reasonable, and on which he may rest with at least temporary satisfaction. After another period of research a stronger than he may take his solution from him and trample it, or he may himself repudiate it. Such is the history of opinion in every branch of investigation.

Our inquiry will make needful some statement of the nature and results of linguistic research in modern times. Here is found subject-matter of almost limitless extent. Great as has been the industry of the last half century in subduing the various other branches of science, in philology it has been not inferior. Languages long familiar to the learned world have been subjected to critical examination and analysis; new ones have been found, rich in capacity and in literary remains, which have thrown new light upon the nature and difficulties of others previously known, and every corner of the earth has been searched that the speech of the rudest tribe might be brought to its place in that just arrangement to which science seeks to bring all its materials. Any adequate survey of the vast results of modern philological labor is far beyond the decent limits of this paper. It is possible to present only a path of thought in a prairie of observation.

We have a brief, positive, unscientific document, probably

unknown to the Ionian Thales, the only one which has been able to come through the dark portal of the past, which contains certain statements of the genesis of Nature. These statements are so meager as to bear to the observed facts a relation—and not in number merely—like that which the polar star bears to the hosts of this winter sky. They certainly awaken more curiosity than they appease. One easily imagines himself unfairly treated on being put off with such insufficiency of communications. When now, under any impulse derived from accession of knowledge or presentation of opportunity, the mind becomes specially active on any ontological question, the record of Moses is in its track. With a quietude seeming like mockery, it demands harmony and adjustment. Its rejection has ever been as futile as for Macbeth to say "Down" to the ghost of Banquo.

The history of the science of geology illustrates this procedure. Men of large thought and industry have tried by every method, grave and gay, lively and severe, to manage the first chapters of Genesis. They remain unmanaged. They are likely to withstand many a discovery of palæontic bones, of the skull of Calaveras and the giant of Cardiff. Thus far every theory which assumes to ignore or refute Moses seems to have its hour, but not its future. Adventurers will still persist in correcting rather than interpreting the record of the only Beholder. They will try to breach or scale the barrier of the Impassable, but the Impassable will guard its own like the Sphinx:

> "Staring right on, with calm, eternal eyes."

In philology the same tendency has been manifested. By philology we conveniently designate, without asserting the critical fitness of the term, whatever pertains to the scientific treatment of language, comprising linguistics, etymology, grammar. After half a century and more of vigorous prosecution the actual condition of this science is somewhat as follows:

The *origin of language* is now quite dropped from discussion. It is indeed high time that such were the case. A sufficient number of honest, learned, and ingenious men have consumed their toil upon it. Voltaire said that Sir Isaac Newton wrote

a work upon the prophecies to prove himself like other men. So has many an acute and laborious philologer, whose toil has really enriched our science, seemed in dalliance with this charming problem to lose his hair and the strength that hung in it. The quack-quack or bow-wow theory found the source of human language to be in imitation of brutes, and sent us to ducks and dogs to learn speech, making the road from Kunic or Anadic to English as long and eventful as that from a brute to a Yankee by the development route. The poo-poo theory traced the delicate and complex structure of speech to impulsive and unpremeditated interjections, giving it thus a wholly personal and subjective origin. The early man takes his first interjections which burst from his inner consciousness, and from them, as on a "sounding anvil," forges all the rest of his words. The ding-dong theory, the converse of this, after the suggestions of Locke's philosophy, makes language a response of the soul to outward sensuous impressions, as the bell to the blow, or the Æolian harp to the breeze, a theory which has at least the pleasant gift of beauty. These and many others of the sort have illustrated the fertile feebleness of the learned.

At length the learned have become weary of their inventions. A society in Paris, on whose roll may be seen the names of the most eminent scholars in France, has by solemn statute refused to receive any communication concerning the origin of language. Some of our American scholars express relief at the thought that naturalists have come to their rescue by placing the origin of man himself so many thousands of ages back that we may surmise his speech to have *formed itself* in the lapse of the same, no matter *how*, thus shuffling the matter. In the gatherings of our American Philological Society beneath the torrid star, he will be a reckless man who will dare intrude upon its midsummer night a dream upon this topic. One thinks he might be rewarded with the head of Bottom.

The prevailing sentiment is to accept language as an original endowment of man, to account it as inhering in his definition as extension inheres in the definition of matter. A creature with human thought and affection, unsupplied with a form of speech, however difficult it might be to classify him, could not be recognized and admitted as a member of the human family. When Caspar Hauser emerged from his dungeon he could talk,

and his meager speech expressed what thought he had. The Bushmen of South Africa, though their cluck and whistle be very poor, differ from brutes even in this by a whole horizon.

The history of thought in this direction is interesting, though similar to that in other directions. In days not long past—when etymology was so beggarly that Horne Tooke could control it by shrewd guesses in his Fleet Prison, when *preach* was derived from Heb. *barak*, "to bless or curse;" when the word *man* was supposed to be as underived as the interjection O, now shown to be from the Sanscrit root *man*, "to think," "the thinker;" when *woman* was made from *womb-man*, and the inconsistency of its pronunciation in the plural disregarded, now known to stubbornly assert its Sanscrit origin as *we-man*, "the weaver," Lat. *femin-a*, and so not at all connected with *man*; in those days of imperfect examination and ready ingenuity, not destitute of absurdity equal to the famous "*lucus a non lucendo*"—the origin of speech was regarded as a problem not at all difficult. Now, after sixty years of ardent toil by the finest minds of the leading intellectual nations, the problem comes to be reverently laid aside as too hard for present treatment, if not utterly beyond the grasp of the human faculty. So sixty years ago Hutton, in his Theory of the Earth, had no difficulty in making all things clear, where later geologists confess some perplexity. The origin of language, like that of matter and of man, is in the domain of the supernatural—in the hand of God.

Perhaps not so the origin of *languages*. What man seems to have done, though unconsciously, what he seems to be doing before our eyes, we may hope to trace—at least the effort has not yet been proved unlawful or unprofitable.

The first step in philological science has been by the analysis of words. That words are formed by composition is so familiar as to be hardly noticed. It occurs at almost every breath. Some languages do it abruptly, like the English and German; others gracefully, as the Greek and Sanscrit; others are quite averse to it, as the French. We say *wood-splitter*; the Greek, *xyloschistes*; the French, *fendeur de bois*.

It was also noted that the component words might be so mutilated that only close observation could detect them. Thus the Danish *bisp* is the Greek *episcopos*, "overseer." *Which* is

Gothic, *hwa-leik*, "of what sort." German, *welch*. These little etymologies throw so pleasant a light on our simple words, that in a life-time of professional labor one hardly finds a pupil so dull as not to be interested in them.

Etymology is a lawful recreation in recitations of language, as the search and analysis of plants in those of botany. The discovery of the Holy Land in *saunter* (*sainte terre—sainterrier*, leisurely, loitering wayfarers thither) has started a thoughtless student. A pleasing light is often thus thrown on common words, a light which, as Robertson beautifully says, has long since melted off them. The original conception is fully restored. So *twelve* is *twa-liba*, and this Gothic *liba* is the Lithuanian *lika*, the Greek *deka*, the Sanscrit *dacan*, and *twelve* is simply *two + ten*. *Twenty* is *twa-tigus* in Gothic, and this *tig* is also a lineal derivative from the same origin as *deka taihun*, ten. These changes of letters are known to be so uniform and reliable as to be reducible to regular law. Now that the student has access to many languages, and he who reads a dozen is but an ordinary proficient, etymology is quite exhaustively studied.

The resolving of words into their roots is something more than this. Take the Latin word *amabitur*, corresponding to the English *he shall be loved*. Here is found one word equivalent to four English words.

Some fifty years ago Francis Bopp, the most successful philologist of the century, (whose library stands upon the shelves of the Cornell University like the bow of Ulysses in his Ithacan hall, mocking feebler men,) began a comparative inquiry into the formation of such words as *amabitur*.

He began his work amid many inspirations. The Sanscrit, now just risen into the horizon of modern learning, shed upon his mind its fresh, inspiring beams, and his acquaintance with it is attested by his still unsurpassed grammar. Anquetil, in a passion for learning rising almost to frenzy, had sacrificed himself in toil and travel to those places of the East where he had gathered the lore of the Parsees ; and the more accurate Burnouf, following him, had made available to criticism the forms of the Zend, the tongue of the ancient Zoroaster. There was a stir of learned activity in England, France, Germany, and Denmark. While some developed the treasures of the

Sanscrit—the knowledge of which is so needful to the ordinary teacher of the classics, and provision for instruction in which is so needed in our American colleges—others, as William Humboldt, made researches into the obscurer tongues of Europe, Asia, and other lands. Thus aided and animated, he began the task of comparing the forms of the languages apparently kindred with each other—a work from which are evolved in substance all the great issues of philology.

According to an analysis which is justly referred to him, *amabitur* is composed of the following roots. *Am* is a root which may be either verbal or substantive, signifying *love.* To this is added in Sanscrit *aya*, in Latin reduced to *a*, a frequent element of a causative, verbal nature, which gives the idea of *doing*, and thus is formed a complete verbal notion. *B* is from the Sanscrit *bhu*, as our English *be* and the Greek *phu.* Latin *fui-i*, or its Sanscrit identical form, *ya*, signifies *to go*, and, in connection with *b*, gives, as is abundantly shown by parallel cases, a very strong expression of futurity. *Tur* is made of the two pronominal elements *ta* and *se.* The *s* and *r* are often interchanged as our *was*, German *war.* These pronouns being both of the third person make this form of the verb really reflexive. Indeed, the Latin may be said to possess no proper passives except its periphrastic perfects. Its reflexives have become passive by usage, as may be traced in the forms of those still called deponent. This use of the reflexive for the passive is frequent in the languages of the Indo-European family, from the Sanscrit to the French.

Thus *amabitur* is found to be *am-aya-bu-ya-ta-se*—a formidable word. Said the French surgeon to Sir Astley Cooper: "The operation was very brilliant." "Did the patients survive?" "Ah, sir, they all died, but the operation was very brilliant!" Did a word ever live through such an analysis? Yes. Every element here shown is a true root, logically ascertained by careful examination of numerous specimens of various languages of the family.

Amabitur is an instance, but the manifold forms of declined words admit of similar treatment. From one we can learn all, and a few specimens will suffice. Our *had* is *have*, Latin *hab*, with the Gothic element equal to *did*, and *have-did* is proved from history. Some languages show the same roots more

plainly than others. Thus our *girl* is Latin *gerula* for *puerula*, and this from Sanscrit *pa*, to *nourish*, with conjoined roots *cru* and *la*, of all which our word retains the merest fragments. The French *encore* is the Latin *in hac hora*. But *amabimus* is *we shall love*, and *habuimus* is *nous avons eu*. On the whole, in our family of languages, the habit of crushing roots seems to prevail in the more modern members, that of fully exhibiting them in the more ancient. The English, the most modern of all, insists most ruthlessly upon monosyllables, even as compared with its nearest predecessor, the Anglo-Saxon. Thus *hlavoc* becomes *havoc*, and the more frequent word *hawk*; *hlaford* becoming *lord*. The Sanscrit, on the other hand, forms words of more than a hundred syllables, and the Greek gives a comic but legitimate word of seventy-five.

Next after analysis comes classification. Until recent times the only languages important to the learned were Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. The complete incongruity of the first with the others had long been felt; an incongruity by no means relieved by the manifest derivation of the Greek, and thence the Latin alphabet, from the Hebrew characters. It was felt that, though they might have a few roots in common, as *gat*, *cad*, they could not be reckoned of one family. The speakers of Sanscrit called themselves *Aryans*. Sanscrit was proved a sister, perhaps an elder one, of Greek, Latin, and Gothic. Thus the name Aryan now designates the family to which all these belong, though they are also called Indo-Germanic. The Hebrew, the Arabic, and some less important languages in their neighborhood, are called the Semitic. In a similar manner, according to features clearly recognizable, is distinguished the Scythian or Turanian. To about this extent has Philology gone in arranging languages by families. These are subdivided into groups and dialects, or classes and sub-classes. Thus our English is of the Aryan family and Teutonic group, but actually formed by fusion of Anglo-Saxon with Norman-French, a mixture of the Latin group with the Teutonic. We have, indeed, a speech of singular origin, showing many properties of a hybrid, perhaps, among others, an incapacity of offspring—itself a finality.

It may here be remarked that it is generally agreed that each family may be at least referred to one common ancestral

tongue. Augustus Schleicher, whose late decease has been mourned by philologists, went so far as to reproduce in a very elaborate work the parental Aryan language, and even proposed to make actual literary use of it.

A classification more important than this is the product of a further analysis. The analytic process reaches its limit when it has resolved a language into its monosyllabic roots. These roots are the *primitive* efforts of the consciousness. In general they are stated to be of two sorts, verbal and pronominal: the former stating a real notion, as *go, see;* the others serving to direct and locate these. Thus in Sanscrit *asmi = as + mi*, or *be + I = I am.* All words are either roots or combinations of roots. The mode of their combination gives the basis of a classification which may borrow a term from kindred sciences and be called morphological, and its introduction marks an era of progress in the science of philology. Three morphological classes were arranged by the ingenuity and industry of William Humboldt, since illustrated very fully by Max Müller, and furnished by Schleicher with a convenient notation.

The first class contains the languages in which roots never change their forms or lose their distinct power. They express ideas by being merely placed side by side. These languages are often called monosyllabic, because distinct roots, even in the Semitic tongues, are always monosyllables. But as long words are actually found, it is better to use the term juxtapositive. The Chinese is the purest specimen of this class. Its roots seem to have little pronominal character. Ideas never blind, but stand stiffly beside each other; and a writer says that each word has three hundred and sixty-five meanings from its possible variety of positions. "*Man beat dog employ stick; Dog bite man employ much-ee tooth,*" says the Coming Man of the Pacific. *Higher* is *top-side-add. Day*—the beautiful *dyausha dies,* "heaven's brightness" of the Sanscrit—is in Chinese *gi-tse* "sun-son." In similar style we say in English *saw-mill, mill-saw;* and as *ngò-tà-ni* is "I beat thee," but *ni-tà-ngò* "thou beatest me," so we have "men hurt dogs," and "dogs hurt men," the sense in either case depending wholly on position.

The second class contains the languages in the union of whose roots only one retains its form unchanged, the other so

blending with it as to become merely terminational. These are now called agglutinative. From their geographical locality—chiefly Northern Asia—they have sometimes been called Scythian or Turanian. The Turkish is a convenient specimen. Thus we find *sever-in*, "I love," *bakar-lar*, "they regard." The roots *bakar*, *sever*, are throughout unchanged. The terminations are found, with slight modifications, as independent, easily recognized words. The number of languages in this class is very great, as most American languages, the Basque, and many others, are here referred. An English specimen would be *hap-ly*, where *hap* is an independent root and *ly* is abraded from the Gothic *leik*.

The third class includes languages in which both roots are modified and so united that only careful observation enables one to detect or separate them. They are called amalgamative or inflexional. They comprise the Aryan and Semitic families. Thus the Hebrew expresses *twenty* by *'esrim*, made of *'asarah*, "ten," and *im* from *ghim* = Latin *cum*, terminationally expressing plurality. Our *twenty* has been already explained. But the Chinese says *eul-shi*, *two-ten*. Our word *am*—Latin, *sun*, Greek, *eimi*, Sanscrit, *asmi*—holds the root *as*, "to be," and the pronoun of the first person, *aham*, in so close combination as to seem of itself a root.

A prodigious stride was taken in linguistic science by this device of classification. It has simplified linguistic inquiry. From it, as from well-laid premises, all investigation must proceed; to it must conform all reasoning for the solution of enigmas yet remaining. Especially must rest upon it all theories upon the origin and nature of languages, which may hereafter aspire to acceptance. When, now, a new language is found, the first inquiry is, "How does it combine its roots?" Thus its morphological character is determined. If it show likeness to others, "such as ought to be the likeness of sisters," it is assigned to a family and a closer group, or it is placed in the intimate relation of a dialect. No language has yet proved intractable. The Basque, spoken by nearly a million of people on both slopes of the Pyrenees—a peculiar tongue, and akin to nothing known to exist—is found to be an agglutinative language, surrounded for the period known to history by inflexional ones, and is, doubtless, like the perished Etruscan,

a relic from the earliest aborigines of Europe, a specimen of those first human utterances on its soil which went down before the invading Celts and Germans.

An attempt has been made to show that the above classification is a guide to the relative formation of languages in historic development. The monosyllabic should be the speech of primitive men, of savages; and the inflexional, that of the highest, latest civilization. It has not been well sustained. The Chinese have not been particularly inferior to the Hindoos in all the appliances of literature, art, and general culture. Their language seems poor and clumsy, yet it is ample for their poetry and philosophy. Their skill in its use is like their skill in eating boiled rice with two pen-holders, marvelous to the uninitiated. Certainly they are not in general development behind their Tartar neighbors, whose agglutinative speech would by this theory attest for them a civilization which they have never manifested. Still it is historically true that the inflectional languages, the Aryan and Semitic, contain the chief literary treasures of mankind, and are in general the vehicle of its highest civilization. This may be due to influences entirely separate from the matter of language, compared with which speech is but as the shadow to the substance. Had another than Abraham been called as Founder of the Faith, had another than Pelops entered Greece, a monosyllabic tongue might have expressed the religion or the philosophy which control the intellectual world.

The next advantage of Humboldt's system of morphological classification is, that it sapplication shows the general unity of all languages. Hardly can a language be found which is to be wholly restricted to one class. The Greek may be purely inflexional, but the Sanscrit shows combinations after the style of the second class. The Chinese is the most purely monosyllabic, but it assumes, in the neighborhood of Shanghai, the appearance of inflection. Schleicher, while urging that there must have been a large number of separate original languages, admits that all must have had one and the same type. The general unity of language is as manifest as the identity of the human nature! As the life of thought progresses in our day, monosyllabic languages before our eyes are taking agglutinative forms, the agglutinative adopting the inflectional, and the English

organically inflectional, is furnishing abundant specimens of the other styles.

This naturally leads us to notice the changefulness of languages. That they utterly perish is a familiar phenomenon. The language of Tasmania is said to be now spoken by but one person, a woman venerable with years. The Cornish has disappeared within the memory of men now living. The last known specimen—its epitaph—was written in 1776, by a fisherman, as follows: "My age is threescore and five; I learned Cornish when I was a boy. I learned Cornish going to sea with old men. There are not more than four or five in our town can talk Cornish, now old, people, fourscore years old. Cornish is all forgot with young people." It would be too much to compare languages in this respect to the leaves of the forest, but there is no land where we do not find traces of perished speech. The dead languages may be as numerous as the living, which are thought to be more than eight hundred, or, including dialects, more than twenty-five hundred. In the past, when the Sanscrit, Latin, and Greek perished from use, groups arose, some of whose members have already been replaced by others, as the Provençal by the French. A change, too, goes on in living speech. The art of printing does more than any other means, more than all others, to fix the forms of language, yet the types to-day give an English different from that printed four hundred years ago. If, too, change and destruction have occurred in the Aryan family—in the service of the most enlightened of our race, who more than all others have taken care to preserve literary records—how much more among unlettered barbarians? We learn that in the Indian Archipelago, where the imbruted tribes follow the impulses of a wild fancy, and the unreasoning suggestions of the moment, it often happens that a language changes in a generation, and grandchildren are unable to understand the speech of their grandparents. A phenomenon like this, equally aggravated by the absence of written documents, is said to occur among the North American Indians. On the Amazon the humor of the hour is often the changing of a word, and the newly-coined one becomes fixed in the speech of the horde, so that a stranger on a second visit needs to re-adjust his vocabulary. The Grisons and all the people of the Baltic shores, the shepherds of the

Apennines and the Pyrenees, speak dialects which change rapidly their peculiarities even in the presence of written documents. That no skill can predict the character of future changes is manifest from the contradictory developments of the past. The classic Hebrew, as compared with modern Arabic, was scantily inflected; while the ancient Greek as compared with the modern, the Sanscrit as compared with English, is very copiously inflected. Hence the degree of inflection of a language is of little value for fixing the epoch of its development, and proving it to be historically either young or old. It would from some instances seem that languages received substantial modification in earlier ages with greater facility than at present. The Hebrew during the captivity received changes more marked than the Celtic on the coast of France has received during all Frankish and Norman rule of a thousand years. Indeed, in Brittany bretonnante extinction seems likely to come sooner than modification, and a curious observer tells from what amount of territory this speech is yearly driven. All this shows that language is not a power dominating man, but, complicated and magnificent as it is, it is more or less consciously under the control of its employer; and the fashion which it assumes, as Dr. Mahn has remarked of the department of etymology, belongs to the domain of history. The classical Sanscrit could not possibly be foretold by one contemporary with the Vedas; the Greek of Plato, much less that of John Bozzaris, could not be prognosticated from any appearance of the Homeric.

One more aid must be mentioned as arising to the student from a careful application of Humboldt's system of classes. It is in the bringing to a clear light the fact that no language now existing can make the least claim to the title of primitive or original. It was a very enterprising Hollander who demonstrated the Dutch to have been the language of Paradise.

In later days Latour d'Auvergne, "the first grenadier of the Republic," acting upon the hint of his master, Le Brigant, was ready to maintain against all comers that the languages of all the earth were derived from the bas Breton. One can admire the fearless and patriotic critic, but would hardly accede to his theory, unless at the point of his weapon. If any language could claim position as the grand original, it would in all serious-

ness be the English, for this has ample specimens of the three morphological classes, and has roots gathered from every tongue under the heavens. We might fancy that English, like Milton's fair statue of truth, had been broken and scattered to the winds, each people securing a fragment, and that in these last few centuries the far-thrown pieces were being gathered and re-united. But all this is fiction, belied by history. The modern languages are made of the ruins of those no longer living, as the edifices of modern Rome are built of the stones of the Coliseum. The gigantic and well-preserved remains of the dead languages prove themselves to be fragments of some still earlier. Take the Aryan family, which, from the mouth of the Ganges to the shores of the Atlantic, has been the vehicle of the foremost civilization and of all literature but that of Israel. We trace, not to speak minutely, the English, Scandinavian, and German to a center in the Gothic of Ulfilas, or to a remoter Teutonic; the French, Spanish, Italian, and many intermediate varieties to the Latin. Other groups are traced to the Greek and the old Slavonic. But the Gothic, Latin, Greek, and Slavonic show clearly a sisterly character with the Zend and Sanscrit. This family, so followed to a distance of more than two thousand years beyond our era, makes there abundant proof of derivation from an original which perished beyond the limit of history. Schleicher, as we have said, with an ingenuity and industry which at once surprised and delighted us, reproduced this mother language in vital and demonstrated forms. Were another Schleicher to attempt the same task for the Semitic languages, an ideal parent could be retraced for them with a probability equally satisfactory. The Arabic of Lokman's Fables, and, as plainly, the Hebrew of Genesis and Job, must be a second growth. Dr. Donaldson, in his suggestive Maskil-le-Sopher, showed that the processes of Aryan grammar apply equally to Semitic forms. No man accustomed to philological studies can fail to see in the form *katal* a secondary development. The monosyllabic root *kat* is very widely disseminated, possibly by reason of an onomatopoetic origin, and in our own family it gives at last our English word *cut*. This mother of Semitics could have been no less ancient than the mother of Aryans. Both were richly inflectional, and, however brief may have been their life-time, must have been copious, elastic, beau-

tiful, like Eve, "fairest of all her daughters." Authorities whose value we are not competent to weigh make similar affirmations of other known families.

Thus far and no further. Beyond this limit philology has not gone, possibly may never go. From this limit it gazes with longing upon a cloud-hung region. While languages embalm the ideas and usages of those who speak them, they never give their own history. The existence of the words *ox* and *beef* in English, were the relation of the Saxon cattle-rearers to the beef-eating followers of the Norman conqueror unrecorded in history, might be suggestive, might be explained by a happy conjecture, but could never be expounded with certainty. Thus the Sanscrit *duhitri*, Eng. *daughter*, (milking-maid,) tells of the usages of a pastoral tribe. The Sanscrit *go*, Eng. *bull*, (the stately walker,) *gradious;* its feminine *gau*, Eng. *cow*—with the terms for *horse*, (the swift overtaker,) *dog*, (the seizer,)—all seem to point in the same direction. But when, where, was this pastoral Aryan people? Some one has a fair theory of their abode in the highlands of Western Asia: of the descent of a portion upon the aborigines of India; another upon Italy; another upon Greece—Celts, Goths, and Slaves—developing successfully their languages, and then pouring from the hive. Another shows all that absurd, not to say impossible. So theory has followed theory, Pelion has been piled upon Ossa, the thing has been made very clear by artful hypotheses, yet all is really in chaos and old night. A class of philologers, many of them truly learned, have run to the relief offered them by those geologists who place the origin of man at several centers and at an immense unhistoric distance in the recesses of the past. The Roman poet attributes the sundering of Sicily from Italy to *longinquitas ævi*. The flow of ages has been thought to avail so much that we can allow the contemporary of the cave-bear to begin with his crude juxtapositive, and work his various way to the most perfectly inflectional. According to this the speech of our race, when "wild in the woods the noble savage ran," must have had the form of the Chinese. But, as we have said, this is not to-day the speech of barbarians. It is the vehicle of metaphysics and the forms of a peculiar, but repectable civilization which it serves effectively, and, though it may not be of any cosmopolitan adaptation, yet, as the organ of

autochthonic thought and culture, it is hardly inferior to the Aryan. Nor can a philologer say what ages would suffice for interior causes to change a juxtapositive to an inflectional, the Chinese to the Greek.

We may then understand that philology has traced the languages of our race to a point perhaps twenty-five hundred years before the Christian era. No man can decently name a later point, many would fix it earlier. It finds there proof of a perished parentage as widely diverse as are any languages now existing. It finds in all human speech a unity of process in forming words, that is, by combining roots in three simple methods. The great difference in languages is found to be in the subject-material—the roots the difference of which science refuses to attempt an explanation. No man can have so little self-respect as to undertake to say why the honorable term for *man* is in Chinese *tchin*, and in Sanscrit *nri*. It is also found that while "words are the only things that last forever," their specific forms and the entire languages framed of them are changeful, precarious, and perishable. Here, then, at this distance in recorded time, and at this amount of available result, is the dim and shadowy line at which philology ceases its labors, but not its anxieties and its speculations. Before this, as before the portal of a tomb, it waits and wishes; but the dead past has buried its dead, and neither sight nor sound is given. Philology, then, is clearly unable to reach the stated transaction of Babel, and subject it to its own jurisdiction.

Let us reverse the course of thought, and come from the deluge downward toward the limit of our upward voyage. Suppose we assume the plain and popular understanding of the Mosaic account of the deluge. However loud the remonstrances of the learned, the common mind, unencumbered by thought of difficulties to which we would not lightly allude, will believe that of all pre-existing people only Noah and his family, that is, eight persons, survived. We merely *assume* this, not now wishing to incur the charge which Mr. Dana brought against Professor Lewis, of suffering from the narrowing influences of philology. We must at once feel that in the ark there can have been but one language. The resemblance of [illegible], Heb., to *math*, Greek—of *saphar* to *sophos*—is no proof of this, hardly a second in the required circle. It rests upon

our consciousness of the nature of the case that *then* the whole earth must have been of one language and of one speech, one pronunciation and one word-frame, perhaps with unity of material such morphological variety as personal taste in euphony might dictate. From the exit out of the ark until the age of the earliest Sanscrit is a period of but a few centuries, reckoned by any known system of chronology. It can reach hardly beyond the life-time of Shem. Soon after this patriarch, the last of the men of the old longevity, was gathered to his fathers, philology discerns in the early twilight an existing complete diversity of languages.

No careful observer can affirm that any cause known in historic periods, or that all such causes combined and operating with the highest energy with which we can find them on any occasion endued, could be adequate to the effects actually produced. No rapidity of linguistic change is recorded equal to that known to have occurred on the soil of France. The grandchildren of the Danes who conquered Normandy knew not a word of Danish; and other instances of equal rapidity are given. But the Norman-French, though of Latin origin, was not so wholly diverse from its Gothic kindred as the earliest Hebrew from the earliest Chinese. While the allies in 1814 lay for three months at Paris, a sort of speech sprang up as a means of communication among the soldiers of various nations; but the influences there operating to produce unity were more intense and immediate than any that could be imagined usually to produce diversity. Influences tending to produce diversity mostly cease when they have produced separation and solitude.

Philology thus, while it is unconscious of any thing beyond some traceable centuries, and has clear jurisdiction over but a narrow and definite domain, and is voiceless of any thing beyond that, is in a condition to affirm that, between the event of the deluge and the later limit above-named, some special and extraordinary influence must have affected human speech. The transaction at Babel, in its most artless and manifest interpretation, is essential to the maintenance of the popular understanding of the deluge of Noah.

Philology is also able to satisfy itself as to the manner in which the miracle operated. The seat of language is in the

inner consciousness, from the mysterious depth of which it rises upon its occasion. Of this the illustrations are sometimes curious and amusing. When the beasts of the earth were brought before Adam, at sight of each his consciousness gave forth a term expressive of his inner conception, and that name the creature thereafter bore. A child on first seeing a nail has suddenly called it a *poodle*, a term which afterward rose prompt and unbidden to his lips, and which was replaced in his consciousness by the proper name only upon the steady monition of an external authority. That the consciousness is the seat—the ultimate fount—of language is amply illustrated by the phenomena observable in the use of a variety of languages. When Charles the Fifth made his oft-quoted remark, "*Tant langues qu'l'on scait, tant fois est il homme*," he forgot that the consciousness of a man cannot be multiplied. To know several tongues is a showy accomplishment. It brings a man into practical relation to several nationalities, and enables him to give a many-sided presentation of an idea. In some executive sense the man may be multiplied, but in no other.

Only one utterance springs unbidden from his consciousness; the others result from reflection, rapid, it may be, yet distinctly conscious. The Englishman may put his thoughts into French as freely and as swiftly as a musician renders the music from his printed sheet into "sounds that woo the listening ear;" but in the one case, as in the other, there is an actual process of transfer. He may by long uninterrupted usage of French have it replace his mother English, so that he thinks in it, dreams in it. To speak his native tongue would then require a reversal of his proceedings. Such seems to have been Dr. Judson's conscious necessity after nearly forty years of Burmese.

Some curious instances are given of the sudden resumption of place by the tongue in which one was born. Dr. Rush speaks of Swedes in hospital who had not spoken Swedish for forty years, and had entirely forgotten it, yet in the delirium of fever they employed in their incoherent mutterings the language of their childhood. The gray-haired Germans of Western Pennsylvania seldom vent their wrath or their gladness in any other tongue than that which they lisped in Bavaria or Hesse-Oldenburg. That the last words of the dying Cæsar were

Greek, is proof of the marvelous self-control, even in his agony, of "the foremost man of all this earth." His *και σύ τεκνόν*, so weakened in its translation, "*Et tu quoque, mi fili!*" is livelier proof of his "decency" in his agony than his muffling up his face, or his choosing his seat at the base of Pompey's statue.

In teaching the modern languages, and to some extent the ancient, the effort has in recent times been made to cause them, by constant repetition of familiar ideas, to compel the mother tongue to share, or rather to alternate with them, its place in the consciousness. This is the central aim of all the Ollendorfian modifications, from the crude attempts of the author himself, to the industrious Echoes of Professor Worman and the admirable Grammar of Professor Comfort. It may be reasonably doubted whether this system is advantageous for mental discipline, but it is surely so for the acquisition of languages. If, now, the statement be accepted that the seat of language is in the consciousness, it might be also shown, from the observed nature of consciousness itself, that man is essentially monolingual, for the consciousness is single. The lady whose case of double consciousness was described by her kinsman in Harper's Magazine some years ago was in each successive state utterly oblivious of the experiences of the one immediately preceding. At any given epoch her consciousness was single. But a truly bilingual man must be doubly conscious, no instance of which has ever been observed, which our convictions promptly declare impossible.

How simple, then, though miraculous, was the Confusion of Tongues! A touch upon the consciousness of men is all that is needed. That is adequate to all the declared phenomena. No distortion of pronunciation is required. No reduction of full-grown men to the lispings of infancy, no mortification of babbling and stammering are employed. Nor can any interference with the laws of morphology be for a moment thought necessary, for they seem inseparable from our conception of the processes of the human mind. Only new word-material rises in the thought. Rapidly this shapes itself to novel utterances. From a scene which might at first have resembled one where men were full of new wine, results a rapid self-classification on the simplest principles of immediate mutual intelligibility. God is not the author of confusion, but of order. How rapidly must these

assimilating clusters have found better happiness and efficiency in the intenser combinations consequent upon the Dispersion! For these were not friendless outcasts or lonely exiles. They are people flushed with energy, familiar with great ideas, and counting themselves competent to gigantic enterprises. Clearly they were under great inspiration, the very breath of the Almighty, and in their undertakings the chaos of a rising world rounded swiftly into form.

As far as philology is concerned, this stroke upon the consciousness of mankind, like the grand charge on the battle-fields of the first Napoleon, breaks the center and leaves only fragmentary difficulties. No explanation is needed as to how at the very beginning monosyllabic and inflectional forms should simultaneously appear. The real problem is not that the Chinese say *two-ten* and the English *twenty*, but that in Chinese *eul* is *two* and *shi* is *ten*. This being explained, *eul-shi* is as reasonable as *twenty* or *viginti*. Nor, as will appear from many of the earlier statements of this article, is it surprising that the mother-languages quickly vanish, and that in those days of manifestly energetic migration families of sisters appear in their stead. The wonder would properly be, not that they appeared, but it would have arisen had they failed to appear.

Whatever may be urged, or even demonstrated, by science as to the interpretation of the Mosaic Record, whether it be taken as appears upon its surface, or be interpreted in harmony with the supposed teaching of the "elder Scripture writ with God's own hand," or be put utterly aside, the common reader will for an indefinite period continue to accept the meaning which appears upon its face. He who believes that need not make haste. The acceptance of the transaction at Babel is equally safe and remarkable. The plain record shows that the family of the ark went out upon the rejuvenated earth full of fresh and vigorous life. They were freighted with the ideas of the old civilization, and addressed themselves with energy to the new conditions which surrounded them. In the exuberance of conscious power they propose a defiant and audacious undertaking of a nature accordant with the traditions of the giant races before the flood. It pleased God to baffle their design by confounding their speech. They had to this time been "of one lip and one words," using one identity of roots and remarkable

uniformity in their combination and pronunciation. At once they leave off to build the tower, and are scattered abroad (the very phrase implying swift energy of movement) upon the face of the whole earth. This deep miraculous distraction of languages *somewhere* philology demands. The Bible locates it at the exactly manageable epoch.

When the deluge shall have been proved partial, and philology shall be permitted to remove its problem of the profound and manifold changes of speech to a point loosely floating in the limitless ages, then we can accept the transaction at Babel as a Distraction of Policy. Until that time we must retain it as a Confusion of Tongues.

ART. VI.—SPECTRUM ANALYSIS.

[FIRST ARTICLE.]

SCHELLEN: *Die Spectralanalyse in ihrer Anwendung auf die Stoffe der Erde, und die Natur der Himmelskörper.*[*] Braunschweig. 1870.

ROSCOE: *Spectrum Analysis.* Second edition. London. 1870.

BECQUEREL: *La Lumière, Ses Causes et ses Effets.* Tome I. Paris. 1867.

KIRCHHOFF: *Untersuchungen über das Sonnenspectrum und die Spectren der chemischen Elemente.* Berlin. 1866.

SANDS: *Reports on the Total Solar Eclipse of August 7, 1869.* Washington. 1870.

SCIENTIFIC JOURNALS: *American Journal of Science and Arts*, New Haven; *Chemical News and Journal of Physical Science*, (American reprint,) New York; *Nature*, London; *Cosmos*, Paris.

FEW modern discoveries have produced a more profound sensation in the scientific world than Spectrum Analysis. At least three of the leading physical sciences, chemistry, physics, and astronomy, claim the honor of attaching this new science to their own domain. Whether we consider the results which it has given us, or the profound investigations and splendid generalizations to which it owes its origin and development, Spectrum Analysis certainly ranks second to no discovery made during the present century.

The object of this article is, to present a brief outline of its leading principles, and some of its more important applications.

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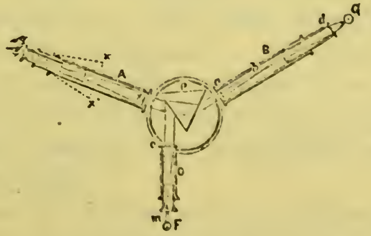
[*] Most of the cuts are taken from this work.

Every one is familiar with the decomposition of light into its so-called primary colors: red, orange, yellow, green, blue, indigo, and violet. The most familiar example is the rainbow. In this case the sun is the source of light; the drops of water, the decomposing prism; the clouds, the screen upon which the spectrum is thrown. We may substitute for the light of the sun a narrow beam of light obtained from an artificial source; as, for example, the electric or the calcium light, incandescent metals, etc. The rain-drops we may replace by a triangular glass prism, and thus we may obtain a spectrum, similar to the rainbow, which may be thrown upon a screen, or viewed directly through a telescope; but in any case, spectra thus produced will be found to have this peculiarity: the colors of which they are composed *gradually blend into each other, and no colorless spaces occur throughout their whole extent.* Hence they are termed *continuous spectra.* It may be stated in general terms as the result of experiment, that incandescent solids and liquids produce continuous spectra when the light proceeding from them is decomposed by means of a prism. The oxide of the rare element erbium forms an exception to this law, giving a spectrum of the kind to be next mentioned. Under some circumstances the spectra of luminous gases may be continuous, as will be more fully explained in a future section. The continuous spectrum owes its continuity to the fact that the waves of light emanating from its luminous source are of every possible degree of refrangibility between the extreme red and violet.

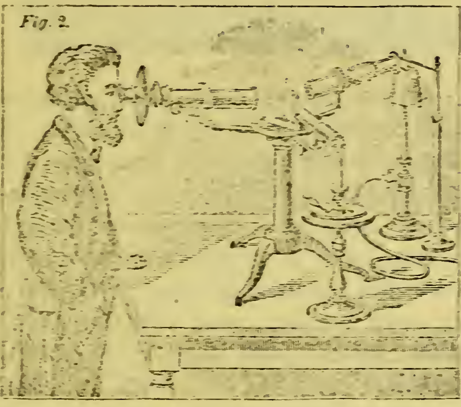
Before proceeding to the next class of spectra, a brief description of the *spectroscope* seems to be necessary. Figs. 1 and 2 will assist in obtaining a clear idea of one of the many forms of the instrument and of its use. If the reader will imagine the spectroscope in fig. 2 turned down upon its side directly toward him, he will have its appearance in fig. 1. In fig. 1, *G*, at the extreme right, represents the light, a pencil of which is admitted through a narrow slit at *d* into the

Fig. 1.



tube *B;* is decomposed by the prism *P*, after its rays have emerged parallel by their passage through the lenses *d* and *c*, and is seen by the eye of the observer in the form of a spectrum at *xx'*. At the anterior end *m* of the tube *C* is a micrometer scale photographed upon the glass end of this tube. The scale is placed in the principal focus of the lens *e*, which is situated at the other end of the tube *C;* and when a light, as the candle seen in fig. 2, is placed in front of this micrometer scale, the image of the scale is thrown upon the prism, and thence by reflection passes into the tube *A* and is seen upon the spectrum itself, thus serving to identify the position of any given line. The method of using this scale may be seen by reference to fig. 12, where 900, 1,000, etc., are the images of the figures on the scale seen in connection with the spectrum. This scale is entirely arbitrary. The position of the lines would vary with the numbers of prisms used in the dispersion of the light, for we may use a number of prisms instead of the single one shown in figs. 1 and 2. They also vary with the material of which the prism is made. For example, the relative lengths of spectra obtained under like conditions from similar prisms of flint glass, crown glass, and water, are approximately 3, 1½, and 1. To avoid this ambiguity, the positions of rays in the spectrum have been recently determined and expressed by their "wave lengths." As yet, however, the former method, from its simplicity, seems to be preferred in practical work.

Fig. 2.



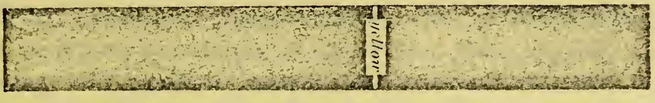
Let us now ignite a piece of common salt (sodic chloride) in the Bunsen burner, shown in fig. 2, before the slit of the instrument. Instead of seeing a continuous spectrum, the observer will now see a *single yellow line* (a prism of great dispersive power separates it into two lines, as seen in fig. 10 at D) represented by fig. 3, and which has its length in the same direction

[illegible]

[illegible]

as the parallel sides of the prism. This line corresponds with Frauenhofer's line *D*. No other light will appear unless

Fig. 3.



emanating from some foreign source. The salt, converted into a luminous gas by the heat of the Bunsen burner, sends forth vibrations of nearly uniform wave length, and hence of nearly equal refrangibility; and thus, instead of having all the colors of the continuous spectrum, we have but a single color, and this only occupying a small part of the zone of yellow. If, instead of igniting common salt, we use a piece of potassic chloride, we will have two red lines and one violet. Calcic chloride would give red, orange, yellow, green, and violet lines. In short, the salts, or compounds of each element, their own color. These peculiar spectra afford analytical tests of surpassing delicacy. A mixture of ignited salts of various bases gives all the lines characteristic of each of them. Their position may be noted by means of the scale. Those salts are usually best adapted for spectral-examinations which are readily converted into luminous gas, and for this reason the chlorides are generally selected.

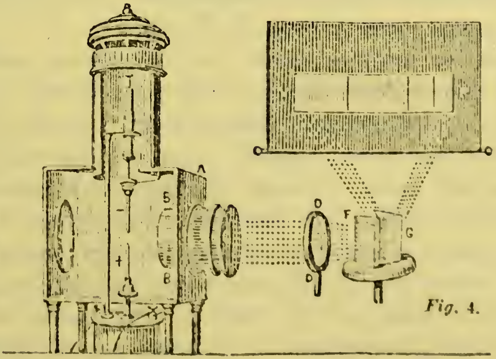
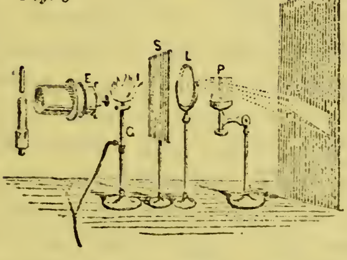


Fig. 4.

It will be necessary to consider some of the methods that we possess of producing lights of the most intense luminosity before speaking of spectra of the next species. The best of these is the electric light, represented by fig. 4. The carbon points at *L*, which are at first in contact with each other, and are joined by metallic connections with the poles of a powerful galvanic battery. As soon as the electric current is thus established the carbon points are drawn slightly

asunder, when a dazzling arc light appears between them, and of a very high temperature. If a band of parallel rays of the light emanating from this source, and passing through the slit *C*, be thrown upon a screen after dispersion by means of a prism, a continuous spectrum will appear. If the lower and positive carbon be hollowed out, and a small piece of sodium or potassium be placed in it, upon producing the light again a spectrum of the *bright lines* of these metals will appear upon the screen. Fig. 4 shows the appearance of a spectrum thus formed. Instead of the electric light, Ruhmkorff's coil is frequently employed for converting into luminous vapor those metals that are volatilized only at very high temperatures. The spectra from any source may be viewed through a telescope, as shown in fig. 2, instead of being thrown upon a screen, as seen in fig. 4; and this remark may also apply to those represented in figs. 5 and 6.

Fig. 5



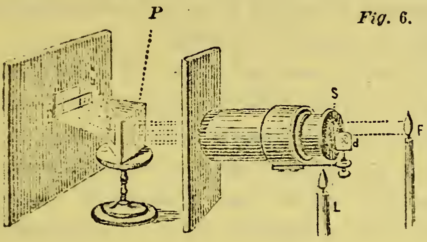
Let us now pass to a fundamental experiment, illustrated by fig. 5. Upon the left are seen the carbons of the electric light apparatus; at *E*, the slit through which a band of rays from it passes. In the first part of the experiment the parts represented by *G*, *L*, and *S* are removed. Let now the carbons be dipped in a weak solution of sodic chloride and dried, thus leaving them slightly coated with the salt, as explained in fig. 4. Upon establishing the electric current, the bright yellow sodium line will appear upon the screen at *m*. Let this position be carefully marked. Soon the salt upon the carbons is completely volatilized, the yellow line disappears from the screen, and an ordinary continuous spectrum appears. Now place directly before the slit, *E*, any source of light, as a Bunsen burner, *G*; in front of this place a large screen, *S*, perforated by an opening as represented, so as to prevent the light from *l* from sending rays to all parts of the screen on the extreme right; and now, with the intense electric light burning, introduce a piece of sodium, *l*, into the flame of the Bunsen burner. We might, perhaps, expect the same yellow line that we obtained in the former experiment;

but, on the contrary, we now have an intensely *black* line *in the precise location* where our bright yellow previously appeared. If we remove the sodium the black line instantly disappears; replace it, again it appears. It is thus proved experimentally that sodium destroys rays of light of the same refrangibility as its own rays. In a manner entirely analogous, this principle may be demonstrated in the case of substances generally, and hence the principle deduced from the experiment with sodium may be stated as a general law. Lines of this nature are termed absorption lines. They occupy the same locations as *their corresponding bright lines* occupy in spectra of the second class, and constitute the third class of spectra. To produce this class distinctly, it is necessary that the absorbing flame possess less light than that whose rays pass through it; and the greater the difference the more striking the results. If, instead of the electric light in this experiment, the less intense calcium light had been employed, the blackness of the absorption line would have been less intense. But why do absorption lines thus appear? Let us take the case of sodium as an illustrative answer. The electric light sent out rays of all wave lengths and refrangibilities from ultra red to ultra violet. The sodium light, *l*, emits rays of only slightly varying wave lengths. These waves strike down or destroy to a great extent those rays of the same wave lengths which come from the electric light. The other rays from this latter source pass along unharmed and fall upon the screen. It is clear, then, that there must be more light upon every other part of the spectrum than in the zone at *D*, where a large part of the light has been destroyed; *m D* must, therefore, be *comparatively dark*, and this relative darkness is greater the more light we give to the other portions of the spectrum, which condition is best fulfilled when the more remote light is as intense as possible. If the sodium light were the more intense of the two, a part of its rays would be destroyed by the comparatively faint rays of like refrangibility passing through it; but, owing to the faintness of the remote light, and the consequent faintness of its spectrum, there would still be a sufficient number of unharmed sodium rays to produce a faintly bright line.

We must now become acquainted with a method of comparing spectra. In fig. 6 we have one source of light, *F*,

placed directly before the upper part of the slit (*s*) of the tube. If a salt be converted into luminous gas in this flame, its spectrum of bright lines will appear at *u* on the screen. Let us now volatilize a salt of known composition in the flame *E*, placed directly in front of the prism *d*, which stands before the lower half of the slit. The rays from *E* are thus bent, and pass through the tube, forming a spectrum of bright lines at *o*, directly above the former spectrum. If we find the bright lines of these two spectra exactly coinciding, as represented upon the screen at the left, we know that the bases of the two substances are identical. We may thus compare a spectrum of absorption lines with one of bright lines by substituting such an arrangement as that shown in fig. 5 for one of the sources of light in fig. 6.

Fig. 6.



We could thus, as also by the micrometer scale, determine with regard to the coincidence of the two classes of lines. The light of the sun, stars, nebulæ, etc., might thus be examined. Before speaking of these bodies, however, let us repeat here that the spectra shown in figs. 4, 5, and 6 are usually thrown into a tube of the spectroscope after dispersion by the prism, and observed by means of a lens, as shown in figs. 1 and 2.

By far the most interesting and important part of spectrum analysis is its application to the heavenly bodies. Its leading principles are simple. If we examine spectroscopically the light which they send to us and find their spectra, (1) continuous, (2) of bright lines, or (3) of dark lines, we infer from experimental data that they are respectively (1) incandescent solid or liquid bodies, or gaseous bodies subjected to great heat, (2) bodies consisting of luminous gas, or (3) incandescent bodies —solid, liquid, or gaseous—surrounded by an atmosphere of lower temperature and less luminosity. And if in the two latter cases we can *establish the identity of the lines, and prove their exact coincidence with those of known terrestrial elements*, we have thus found a means of ascertaining the chemical constitution of these distant worlds. It is but natural that

the first observations of this character were made upon the sun. The history of this subject is an interesting one, and shows the gradual development of great discoveries.

As early as 1802, Wollaston, an English physicist, observed that when the solar ray was passed through a narrow slit, and then decomposed by the prism, the spectrum was a continuous one, *but was also crossed by many dark bands or lines.* He seems to have had no idea of the wondrous germ of science so nearly developed, and never perhaps seriously attempted an explanation of the strange phenomenon whose interpretation was to be withheld from the world more than half a century. Twelve years later a German optician, Frauenhofer, noticed the same lines. He studied them with great interest, and mapped about six hundred, giving to some of the more prominent ones the names of the letters of the alphabet, which will be noticed in several of the figures, and known as "Frauenhofer's lines."

It remained for the renowned Heidelberg scientists, Kirchhoff and Bunsen, in 1859, to give an intelligible meaning to the absorption bands in the solar spectrum. The discovery of Kirchhoff and Bunsen consists in the experimental demonstration of the principle illustrated by fig. 5, in definitely locating the bright lines which are given by the spectra of most of the chemical elements, and in proving that many of these lines *coincide precisely in position with solar absorption lines*, thus showing the presence of quite a number of elements in the sun which are fonnd upon our globe. The theory which Kirchhoff originated of the physical constitution of the sun must ever be regarded as one of the most ingenious and profound in modern science, although some of its points recent investigations seem to modify. According to this theory the sun is a solid or liquid body in the most intense state of ignition, and is surrounded by an atmosphere of lower temperature, containing in a gaseous form the elements whose absorption lines appear in the solar spectrum. The more intense rays of light from the center must pass through this cooler and less luminous atmosphere; and, by referring to the experiment upon absorption bands, it will be seen that the inevitable result of such an arrangement must be the production of absorption bands, if the elements corresponding

to these bands occur in the sun's atmosphere. For the rays that vibrate with such wave lengths as to produce bright bands, or lines, of a certain refrangibility, will strike down those very rays if passed through it from another source, and will produce *black* or absorption bands if the light from the latter source be the more intense. It is only necessary, then, to observe the position, distinctness, and number of the absorption bands formed by solar light to determine the presence of certain chemical elements in the solar atmosphere. The following may serve as a summary of the results of the investigations thus far made upon this point: Iron is found in the sun. The *probabilities* of its presence, as deduced by Kirchhoff from the calculus of probabilities, are more than 1,000,000,000,000,000,000 against 1; since more than sixty absorption bands of the sun correspond precisely in position and distinctness with bright lines known to be formed by the incandescent vapor of iron.

Fig. 7

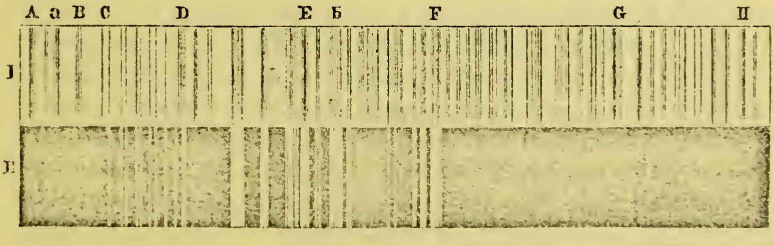


Fig. 7 shows the coincidence of a portion of the bright and solar absorption lines of iron. *I* represents the absorption bands in the solar spectrum; *II*, the bright lines in the spectrum of iron. But if the probabilities, as deduced from Kirchhoff's masterly investigations, seem to reduce the probability to a practical certainty, the more recent studies of Angström and Thalen place the fact still further beyond the reach of cavil. These savans have proved recently the coincidence of more than *four hundred and fifty* bright iron lines, with as many of the absorption lines of our luminary. With regard to the presence of other elements the evidence seems conclusive. One hundred and seventy bright lines, which are known to be caused by titanium, are found to correspond to as many solar absorption bands; seventy-five of calcium, fifty-

seven of manganese, thirty-three of nickel, nineteen of cobalt, eighteen of chromium, eleven of barium, nine of sodium, seven of copper, four each of hydrogen and magnesium, and two each of zinc and aluminum. Investigations made since Kirchhoff's discovery have very fully confirmed his conclusions respecting the chemical elements found in the sun, while some diversity of opinion exists with regard to his theory of its *physical* constitution.

ART. VII.—THE RHEMISH NEW TESTAMENT.

The New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Translated out of the Latin Vulgate: Diligently Compared with the Original Greek. And first Published by the English College of Rhemes, Anno 1582. Newly Revised and Corrected according to the Clementine Edition of the Scriptures; with Annotations to clear up the Principal Difficulties of Holy Writ. As approved by the Rt. Rev. JOHN HUGHES, Catholic Bishop of New York. New York: D. & J. Sadlier. 1847.

THIS is the presumptuous title-page of the edition of the New Testament approved by the late Archbishop of New York. It is designed, doubtless, to displace the common and more approved version among such Roman Catholics, in this Protestant country, as desire to read the New Testament. Though approved by high authority, very few copies are either circulated by Romish priests, or are sought and read by the laity of that hierarchy.* Professing to be diligently compared with the original Greek, it differs in many places, and widely, from the most obvious meaning of the sacred writers. Its style is doubtless better than is that of the Latin edition, but inferior to the standard. Its "annotations to clear up the principal difficulties of holy writ" are few, often unscholarly, seldom in reference to those passages which are the more difficult to be understood, and are chiefly designed to confirm the papal reader in the more glaring errors of the Romish Church.

The Vulgate edition, of which this claims to be a translation, and the only one the Church of Rome acknowledges to be authentic, is very ancient. The author of it is not known. It

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* The copy on hand was purchased of Mr. L. Donatus, a convert from Roman Catholicism.

was long known by the name of the Italic version, or Itala, because of its great antiquity in the Latin Church. Being the common or vulgar edition, it was named Vulgate.[*] The early Vulgate of the Old Testament was a nearly literal translation from the Greek Septuagint or Alexandrian edition. In A. D. 384, Jerome, under command of Pope Damascus,[†] made a new one from the Hebrew, with a few references to the Septuagint. The Vulgate of the New Testament was of course translated from the Greek, though evidently modified by ancient Latin versions. An edition made up, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, of the old Italic and of that by St. Jerome, and declared by the Council of Trent to be authentic, is that which is now known as the Vulgate. In harmony with the changeful character of certain features of Romanism and of authorities in that falsely-called infallible Church, Popes decreeing against decretals, and councils reversing the decisions of councils, even the authorized Vulgate was not generally approved, nor brought into public use by the Western Churches, until its authorization by the Council of Trent, held during the sixteenth century for the purpose of checking the Reformation, and then chiefly on the approbation known to have been given it by Pope Gregory I. in the sixth century.

The two chief Popish editions of the Vulgate are that of Sixtus V., printed in 1590, and that of Clement VIII., published in 1592, notwithstanding and contrary to a positive decree, from his predecessor, of excommunication against any and every person who should presume ever afterward to alter in the least the edition he had *ex cathedra* authorized and promulged. The edition of Pope Clement not only differed from that of Sixtus in some two thousand instances, but in some cases clearly contradicted it. And yet even this edition was declared to be the only authentic one, and was ratified and confirmed by a similar decree of excommunication against all who should say otherwise.[‡] When the Popes saw to what a degree of detriment their authority had fallen because of the accurate translation and the circulation of the Scriptures, which were being somewhat widely consulted by the people,

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[*] Vulgate, from the Latin *vulgo, vulgatus*, to scatter, to publish; whence *vulgus*, the common people, an edition for the Latin people.

[†] Dr. Clarke's Commentary, General Preface.

[‡] Watson, Art. Vulgate.

they not only left no methods unemployed that might discourage the culture of sacred erudition, but as a last resort caused the Latin Vulgate, which abounds with many and great errors, to be declared by the Council of Trent an authentic translation.[*] Because of the approbation thus given to it the Vulgate of the New Testament is regarded by the Romanists as preferable to the original Greek, and is, therefore, used at the altar, in the pulpit, in the schools; and, so far as they give any circulation to the Scriptures among the people, or rather among a privileged class of the people, this is the edition which is stintedly meted out, accompanied by such annotations as shall guard the reader against much truth.[†] The recent discovery by Professor Tischendorf of a very ancient version of the New Testament gives greater relative value to the Greek and other editions than to the Vulgate or the Italic, because it is more authentic than the celebrated Greek *Codex Vaticanus,* so called because preserved in the library of the Vatican at Rome, and which originally contained the whole Bible, but is now imperfect in both Testaments. It is thought to have been written in the fourth century, before the time of Jerome.[‡] Mosheim, the historian, says that "the ancient Latin translation of the Bible commonly called the Vulgate abounds with innumerable gross errors, and in a great number of places exhibits the most shocking barbarity of style, and the most impenetrable obscurity with respect to the sense of the inspired writers."[§]

In evidence of the correctness of these learned opinions we cite the following passages, taken at random from the English edition under review:

"Then Herod . . . learned diligently of them *the time of the star* which appeared to them."[‖] Matt. ii, 7. "Having received an *answer in sleep.*" Matt. ii, 12. "Killed all the *men-children.*" Matt. ii, 16. "I indeed baptize you *in water*

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[*] Mosheim, vol. ii, p. 62.

[†] According to Dr. A. Clarke the best Vulgate edition needs to be carefully collated with the most ancient MSS. before the boasting of the Latin Church shall be vindicated. *Introduction to the Gospels.*

[‡] Carpenter's Guide to the Study of the Bible.

[§] Church History, vol. ii, p. 62.

[‖] The italicising is our own, to show wherein the translations are awkward, obscure, or inaccurate.

unto penance; . . . he shall baptize you *in* the Holy Ghost and fire."[*] Matt. iii, 11. "It is *expedient* for thee that one of thy members should perish."[†] Matt. v, 29, 30. "Take heed that you do not your *justice* before men. Therefore when thou dost an *alms-deed,*" etc.[‡] Matt. vi, 1, 2. "And Jesus *threatened* him."[§] Mark i, 25. "*Which Jesus presently knowing in his spirit, that they so thought within themselves, saith to them.*" Mark ii, 8. "He that shall blaspheme against the Holy Ghost . . . shall be guilty of an *everlasting sin.*" Mark iii, 29. "And the rich man also died; and *he was buried in hell.* And lifting up his eyes, *when* he was in torments." Luke xvi, 22, 23. "He indeed *hath possessed a field of the reward of iniquity*, and, *being hanged, burst asunder in the midst.*" Acts i, 18. "Against all ungodliness and injustice of those men that *detain* the truth of God in injustice." Rom. i, 18. "This blessedness then, *doth it remain in the circumcision* only?" etc. Rom. iv, 9. "Being justified therefore by faith *let us have* peace with God." Rom. v, 1. "Commendeth his charity towards us; *because as yet we were sinners, according to the time, Christ died for us.*" Rom. v, 8, 9. "For the *wisdom of the flesh* is death; but the *wisdom of the spirit* is life and peace." Rom. viii, 6. "Not in *disputes about thoughts.*" Rom. xiv, 1. "Every man in his own order: the first fruits Christ, then they that are of Christ, *who have believed in his coming.*"[‖] 1 Cor. xv, 23.

The almost invariable rendering of *δικαιοσύνην* by *justice* rather than by *righteousness* is often an obscuration of the true idea of the sacred writers. Righteousness is a rectitude of heart and life with reference to the divine law; justice is a rectitude of character and life between man and man, as also a righteousness before God.

The English translation, "first published at Rhemes" during the Lutheran Reformation, is not as reliable as several other English versions of an earlier date and translated from the

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[*] In other places the same clauses are translated rightly, "*with* water," etc.

[†] *Συμφέρει* expresses *duty* rather than expediency.

[‡] In the most approved versions it is the same word in the Greek that here has these two renderings. Some recent editors read *δικαιοσύνην*, righteousness, instead of *ἐλεημοσύνην*, alms-deed.

[§] In classic Greek *ἐπετίμησεν* means *to set a value upon* for honor or dishonor, *to esteem, to reprehend*; in the New Testament, *to rebuke.*

[‖] An idea worthy of consideration.

Greek and the Vulgate, carefully collated and emended by the learned Adhelm, Bishop of Sherborne, in A. D. 706; by Egbert, Bishop of Lindesferne, in A. D. 720; by the Venerable Bede, a little later; by King Alfred in the eighth century; and by Elfric, Archbishop of Canterbury, in 995. Nor is it thought as reliable as the edition of Wiclif, translated from the Vulgate in about A. D. 1390. We are strengthened in this idea because of the jealousy and opposition awakened among the Romish clergy, who made several attempts to suppress it. In 1408 Arundel, Archbishop of York, ordained in convocation "that no book or treatise composed by John Wiclif, or by any other of his time, or hereafter to be composed, should be read by any one, unless approved by the universities, under pain of being punished as a sower of schism and a favorer of heresy." This and still another intolerant decree did not, however, wholly suppress the reading of the sacred volume.* The progress of the Reformation in Germany and England removed some of the impediments, at least for a time, that Romanists had thrown in the way of translating the Bible;† so that in 1526 Tyndale's translation of the New Testament appeared. This again so roused the opposition of the Romish priests, that Bishop Tonsal bought up all the copies that could be found and burned them. Only one copy is known to be extant. But to such a pitch of enthusiasm had the popular mind been awakened, that the zeal of the Bishop outran his discretion. The money expended by him to purchase the edition enabled Tyndale to publish a more correct edition in 1530. This was followed by a translation of the entire Bible in 1535 by Miles Coverdale, which, being dedicated to Henry VIII., obtained the royal patronage the same year (1536) in which Tyndale was put to death in Flanders by Roman Catholic authority. Lord Cromwell and Archbishop Cranmer induced the king to issue an order that a "copy of the Bible should be provided and laid in the choir of every Church for every man that would look and read therein."‡

From this time editions of the English Bible followed each other in rapid succession, namely: that of John Rogers, the first martyr in the reign of the bloody Mary, published under the assumed name of Thomas Matthewes, in 1537; that of Graften

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* Carpenter's Hist. Eng. Bible. † D'Aubigné's Hist. Ref., *passim.* ‡ Carpenter.

and Whitchurch in 1540, commonly called Cranmer's Bible, because of the preface written by the Archbishop; that of Coverdale, published in Geneva, because of the persecution under Mary, and thereby called the Geneva Bible; that of several learned men, some of whom were Bishops, presided over by Archbishop Parker in 1568, and called "the Bishops' Bible."* The New Testament in Greek and Latin by Erasmus in 1516 produced a powerful effect in aiding the Reformation in England, and was bitterly opposed by Franciscans and Dominicans. As a matter of self-defense, therefore, and for the purpose of supplying the Papal Church after the fall and death of Cardinal Wolsey, the champion of popedom in England,† with a copy of the Scriptures which might, with less danger to popular ignorance, be intrusted to such as would read them, the English college of Rheims in 1582—twenty-two years before James I. took measures to procure the present "authorized version"—translated from the Vulgate this edition, approved by Bishop Hughes, and now under examination.

It is further said to be "newly revised and corrected according to the Clementine edition of the Scriptures." That we may know what reliance to place on any copy of the New Testament based on the edition revised by Pope Clement VIII. in A.D. 1592, we quote the opinion of Dr. Clarke: "Pope Clement has certainly done much to restore the Vulgate to primitive purity; but much still remains to be done. The text should be settled by a further *collation* of the most *ancient* manuscripts. When this is done the Latin Church may be vindicated in that *boasting* in the Vulgate, which at present is but incautiously applied to this version. It certainly can never come into competition with the original Greek text, nor indeed with several of the ancient versions."‡ In regard to the Vulgate, the real foundation of the Clementine edition in matters of criticism, especially when unsupported by the Itala, Dr. Bloomfield says it is not "weighty," and that it had a bad effect "on the Greek text of the manuscripts of the Western and African families."§

We now turn our attention more fully to the edition of the

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* Carpenter.

† D'Aubigné's Hist. Eng. Ref., p. 517.

‡ Introduction to the Gospels, etc.

§ Greek Test., vol. i, p. 456; vol. ii, p. 142.

New Testament whose title-page we have given at the head of this article. Among its tabular prefaces it contains a "Table of Controversies," which includes among others, for the better guidance and fortification of its readers, "Absolution, the power promised and given to the Pastors of the Church;" "Baptism necessary to salvation;" "The Church *infallible* in matters of faith;" "Communion of one kind sufficient to salvation—body and blood are now inseparable;" "Confession of sins;" "Transubstantiation proved;" "Extreme unction;" "Images commanded and relatively honored;" "The power of granting indulgences;" "Mass a sacrifice;" "Matrimony a sacrament;" "Penance;" "Prayers for the dead;" "Relics miraculous;" "Departed saints assist us by their prayers;" "The Blessed Virgin Mary as intercessor;" and "Good works meritorious"—all which heresies are declared to be true and scriptural.

The parts more immediately deserving our attention are those which are so translated as to countenance papal errors, and the "annotations to clear up the principal difficulties." We take up and examine the more important in the order in which they occur.

THE PERPETUAL VIRGINITY OF MARY.

Text: "And he knew her not till she brought forth her first-born son; and he called his name JESUS." Matt. i, 25.

Annotation: "This is a mode of speech common among the *Hebrews*, and only assures us that our blessed lady was a virgin when she brought forth her son, which is the great point the Evangelist has here in view, without alluding to any subsequent matter. But by apostolical tradition we are assured that she always remained a virgin."

To this note we take exception. It may be true that Mary had no children by her husband Joseph, but it is not probable. The Greek word πρωτότοκον means *first-born*, and implies a second born. It is not the proper word to designate *only-born*, for μονογενής, translated *only son* in Luke vii, 12, *only child* in Luke ix, 38, and *only begotten* wherever it applied to Jesus as the Son of God, is the appropriate word to designate only-born. According to the most learned critics the words ἕως οὗ ἔτεκε, *until she brought forth*, strongly imply the con-

trary of perpetual virginity. Dr. Bloomfield quotes Campbell as saying that *πρωτότοκον* "does not necessarily imply Joseph's knowledge of her afterward, though it suggests the *affirmative* rather than the *negative*." Whitby sustains the same view. "Fritz shows that *ἕως ὃν ἔτεκε* suggests only the affirmative." R. Watson and Dr. Clarke agree with this opinion. But we are inclined to go further, and to say that the structure of the sentence very strongly implies that Mary *had other* children; for, besides the implication in the word *πρωτότοκον*, and the still stronger suggestion in *ἕως ὃν ἔτεκε*, the emphatic clause *τὸν υἱὸν ἀυτῆς τον πρωτότοκον*, in which the definite article *τὸν* is intentionally repeated, and, taken in their relations, have the force of *that which*, still more strongly implies the same thing. A literal translation is, "That son of hers which was her first-born." Dr. Clarke renders, "That son of hers, the first-born one."

I add again, what I have found no annotator referring to, namely, that in the clause *ἕως ὃν ἔτεκε*, *ὃν* is a pronoun meaning *what*, and refers to *χρόνου* implied, so that it should read, "*until what time*, or *when*, she brought forth that son of hers which was her first-born."* Wherever else in the New Testament *πρωτότοκον* is used, it naturally implies that others of a somewhat similar character followed or were born, as in Luke ii, 7, where the clause is the same as in Matthew; in Rom. viii, 29, "the *first-born* among many brethren;" in Col. i, 15, "*the first-born* [chief-born] of every creature;" † in Col. i, 18, "first-born from the dead;" and elsewhere with precisely the same force of meaning.

In harmony with the idea of the perpetual virginity of Mary is the Romish annotation on Matt. xiii, 55: "Is not his mother called Mary, and his brethren, James, and Joseph, and Simon, and Jude; and his sisters, are they not all with us?"

Annotation: "These were the children of Mary, the wife of Cleophas, sister to our blessed lady, (St. Matt. xxvii, 56; St. John xix, 25;) and therefore, according to the usual style

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* Robinson's Lexicon.

† On this phrase Dean Trench says: "I am not quite satisfied with 'born before every creature,' or 'brought forth before every creature;' because there lies in the original words a comparison between the begetting of the Son and the creation of the creature." For this reason I render *chief-born.*

of the Scripture, were called *brethren*, that is, near relations to our Saviour."

That cousins and other near relatives are sometimes called *brethren*, and that Mary, the wife of Cleophas, had sons bearing the names James and Joses, or Joseph, is true; but it does not follow that the four named in Matt. xiii, 55, were not the sons of Mary, the mother of Jesus, for nowhere are *four* sons bearing *these* names assigned to Mary of Cleophas. Nothing was more common then, nor is now, than that children of sisters and other relatives bear the same names:—family names are perpetuated even to late generations. These four brethren may have been sons of Joseph by a former wife, or younger sons by Mary, or possibly the sons of Mary of Cleophas, though probably not.[*] But as Matthew, who was cognizant of all the facts, and records the opinions of those who were familiar with the family of Joseph and Mary, (xiii, 55,) says later in his Gospel that Mary of Cleophas was "the mother of James and Joseph," not mentioning Simon and Jude as belonging to her family, it is yet more strongly inferred that these four were either sons or step-sons of Mary, the mother of Jesus. We therefore conclude, with the best scholars, that "the doctrine of Mary's perpetual virginity is a figment of later times, founded neither upon Scripture, nor uniform tradition, nor the reason of the case."[†]

PENANCE.

Texts: "Do penance: for the kingdom of heaven is at hand," Matt. iii, 2. "I indeed baptize you in water unto penance," verse 11. "From that time Jesus began to preach, and to say, Do penance," etc., iv, 17. "There shall be joy before the angels of God upon one sinner doing penance," Luke xv, 7.

Annotation: "*Do penance. Pœnitentiam agite*, μετανοεῖτε —which word, according to the use of the Scriptures and the holy fathers, does not only signify repentance and amendment of life, but also punishing past sins by fasting, and such like penitential exercises."

In his elaborate and learned treatise on Romanism,[‡] Dr.

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[*] Watson's Expos., Matt. xii, 46; xiii, 55: Dr. Clarke *in loco*, who thinks these were either the sons of Joseph by a former wife, or younger sons of Joseph and Mary.

[†] Watson and Clarke on Matt. i, 25.

[‡] Vol. i, pp. 305-364.

Elliott shows from papal authorities that their idea of penance as a sacrament embraces *priestly absolution*, not ministerially, but judicially; *contrition*, or that "sorrow and detestation which the mind feels for past sins," or a "*compensation for offenses* which proceed from the free will of the person offending;" *confession*, which is private confession to a priest, whispered to the ear, and hence called *auricular;* and *satisfaction*, which is a satisfying of the justice of God by acts of penance, or by obtaining indulgence, or, as the last extremity, by undergoing the penalty of purgatory. These Romish views are drawn from what is supposed to be the literal and only meaning of penance, a word derived from the Spanish *penante;* * which again is from the Latin *pœna*, a word involving the idea of pain, punishment, penalty. But it is used quite as naturally and truly to denote *mental* pain, regret, sorrow, remorse, as it is bodily suffering. And, as every scholar knows, when a word is used in the Scriptures to express a *religious* fact or idea, it is taken out of its strictly literal and classical sense and lifted into another plane for the purpose of expressing, with slight change of meaning, a religious and spiritual idea—a Christian idea or fact. It is so with *θάνατος*, death; *ζωή*, life; *πίστις*, faith; *ψυχή*, life, and many others.

The true Latin formula that means to *do penance* for a fault is *cúlpam pœnâ luere*,† rather than the clause in the above annotation. The proper meaning of *pœnitentia* is repentance, after-thought. The impersonal *pœnitet* means *it repents me.* Our words "repentance, repent," come from the French *se-repentir*,‡ and mean, to feel sorrow, to change the mind. The phrase *pœnitentiam agite* really means, therefore, what we understand by repentance, and expresses the precise idea of *μετανοεῖτε*, a word compounded of *μετα*, *after*, *again*, and *νοεω*, *to understand, to think of, to consider*, hence *to perceive afterward, to change one's mind or purpose.* § In this sense it is used in the Scriptures. In its full idea it is a product of godly sorrow in distinction from worldly sorrow. ‖

As if conscious of the radical defect of the Romish idea in general, the translators of the English-Vulgate have correctly rendered *μετάνοια* in Heb. xii, 17, by the word "repentance:" "he

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* Webster.
† Ainsworth's Dictionary.
‡ Webster, Nugent.
§ Greek Lexicon.
‖ 2 Cor. vii, 10.

found no place of (μετανοίας) repentance." * The difference between the Romish idea of penance and the true idea of repentance being so great, it is no marvel that, during the struggle against the Reformation, the priests cried out in opposition to Erasmus, "He has corrected the Vulgate, and put himself in the place of St. Jerome. What audacity! Look here! This book calls men to *repent*, instead of requiring them, as the Vulgate does, *to do penance*." †

TRANSUBSTANTIATION.

The first allusion to this dogma in the book before us is in the translation of our Lord's Prayer and in the annotation thereon. The next is in connection with the institution of the Eucharist, Matt. xxvi, 26. Thus:

1. *Text:* "Give us this day our super-substantial bread." Matt. vi, 11.

Annotation: "In St. Luke the same word is rendered *daily bread*. It is understood of the bread of life, which we receive in the blessed Sacrament."

In the original Greek, both here and in Luke xi, 3, the word "super-substantial" in the Vulgate, and "daily" in King James's version, is *επιούσιον*, a word not used in classic Greek, and only in these two places in the New Testament. If, as some think, it is made up of *ἐπί*, *on*, and *εἶμι*, *to go*, *to come*, then it means bread for the going day, that is, our "daily bread." This is the probable meaning of the word in this prayer. But if the word be derived from *ἐπί* and *εἰμί*, *to exist*, *to be*—though there is no such compound in use, unless this be one—then it means *existing bread*, *essential or sufficient bread*, *bread for the present*. This is unexceptionable. Whatever is the make-up of the word, it cannot mean super-substantial in any such sense as claimed by the annotators. In Luke xi, 3, we have *τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν*, *according to the day*, *day by day*, *daily*, instead of *σήμερον*, *this day*, as in Matthew, which shows that it is daily and needful bread that is meant. ‡ Scripture is its own best interpreter.

2. *Text:* "This is my body." Matt. xxvi, 26.

Annotation: "He does not say, *this is the figure of my body*,

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* See Bloomfield also *in loco*.

† D'Aubigné's Reformation, vol. v, p. 155.

‡ Bloomfield, Watson, Clarke, *in loco*.

but *this is my body.* (Second Council of Nice, Act. vi.) Neither does he say *in this*, or *with this is my body*, but absolutely, *this is my body*, which plainly implies transubstantiation."

It is a well-known fact, conceded by all sound lexicographers, that the verb ἐιμί, *to be*, with a substantive as predicate in the same case with the subject, is often used, both in the classics and in the Scriptures, in a tropical sense to express, not what the subject actually *is*, but what it *is like*, *is accounted to be*, or *signifies*, so that ἐιμί may be rendered *to be like*, *to signify*, *to represent*,[*] thus: "Ye *are* the salt of the earth;" "Ye *are* the light of the world;" "The seed *is* the word;" "The life *was* the light of men;" "I *am* the bread of life;" "This *is* my body;" and many instances, in all which the verb means *represents.* Dr. Bloomfield says: "All the best commentators are agreed that the sense of ἐστι is *represents* or *signifies;* an idiom common in the Hebrew, which, wanting a more distinctive term, made use of the verb substantive, a simple form of speech yet subsisting in the common language of most nations. See Gen. xl, 12; xli, 26; Dan. vii, 23; viii, 21; 1 Cor. x, 4; Gal. iv, 24. Thus the Jews answered their children, who asked respecting the Passover, What is this? This *is* the body of the lamb which our fathers ate in Egypt."[†]

The Romish annotation on St. Luke xxii, 19, "Do this for a commemoration of me," is equally weak, and very repugnant to sound sense, namely: "This commemoration or remembrance is by no means inconsistent with the real presence of his body and blood under these sacramental vails, which represent his death. On the contrary, the best way we have of commemorating and celebrating his death is by offering in sacrifice, and receiving in sacrament, that body and blood by which we are redeemed."

The argument of the annotators for taking only one kind, and for omitting to distribute the wine to the laity, is much weaker than is this for transubstantiation: "*Drink ye all of this.* This was spoken to the twelve apostles, who were the ALL then present; and *they all drank of it*, says St. Mark xiv, 23. But it no ways follows, from these words spoken to the apostles, that all the faithful are here commanded to drink of the chalice, any more than that all the faithful are commanded to consecrate,

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[*] Robinson and Groves on this word.

[†] Note on Matt. xxvi, 26.

offer, and administer this sacrament." A further statement of the same idea is in the note on St. John vi, 54—"Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, you shall not have life in you"—as follows: "To receive both the body and blood of Christ is a divine precept insinuated in this text, which the faithful fulfill, though they receive but one kind; because in one kind they receive both body and blood, which cannot be separated from each other." To the clear and positive statement in the Epistle to the Hebrews, (ix, 25,) that Christ is *not often* offered in sacrifice the annotator says: "Christ shall never more offer himself in sacrifice in that violent, painful, and bloody manner, nor can there be occasion for it. But this hinders not but that he may offer himself daily in the sacred mysteries in an unbloody manner."

To all this, except the Jesuitical "insinuation," we reply that the command "Take and eat" was also "spoken to the apostles," and they did eat. Does it not, therefore, follow "that all the faithful are here commanded to eat the bread?" Why, then, do not Romanists decline to eat the bread, as they (except the priest) do to drink of the chalice? The command is the same, and given to the same. If all may eat the bread, so may all drink the wine, which is not in the bread; and the body of Christ in heaven is a "spiritual body," not being "corruptible, flesh and blood,"* and to be no more on earth until "he shall so come in like manner as ye have seen him go into heaven," † and cannot therefore be in the hands of priests on earth, much less in many places at the same time, so that to eat the body of Christ in the corporeal and material sense of papists not only "cannot be proved by Holy Writ, but is repugnant to the plain words of Scripture, overthroweth the nature of a sacrament, and hath given occasion to many superstitions." ‡

PURGATORY.

Roman Catholic authorities define Purgatory to be the "middle state of souls, suffering for a time on account of their sins, which is proved by those many texts of Scripture which affirm

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* 1 Cor. xv, 44, 50.

† Acts i, 11.

‡ Art. Rel. xviii. For a full and satisfactory answer to this error see Elliott on Romanism, vol. i., book ii., chap. iv., Art., Transubstantiation.

that God will render to every man according to his works; so that such as die in lesser sins shall not escape without punishment."[*]

But not one of the six texts appended to this definition for proof makes the least allusion to it, nor to any thing on which this heathenish and materialistic dogma can legitimately rest. The proof-texts and the annotations thereon are as follows:

"He that shall speak against the Holy Ghost, it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world, nor in the world to come. But I say unto you, that every idle word that men shall speak, they shall render an account for it in the day of judgment." Matt. xii, 32, 36.

Annotation: "From these words St. Augustine and St. Gregory gather that some sins may be remitted in the world to come, and consequently that there is a purgatory, or middle place. This shows there must be a place of temporal punishment hereafter, where these slighter faults shall be punished."

Text: "In which also coming he preached to those spirits that were in prison, which had been sometime incredulous, when they waited for the patience of God in the days of Noe, when the ark was a building: wherein a few, that is, eight souls, were saved by water. 1 Pet. iii, 19, 20.

Annotation: "*Spirits in prison.* See here a proof of the middle state of souls."

The reader will see from this array of supposed Scripture argument for the really visionary doctrine of purgatory that the proof is very slight, indefinite, irrelevant. The argument overlooks the atonement, its efficacy and extent, the power of truth, and the spirit of God. Not only reformatory but saving power is attributed by Romanists to suffering endured, not so much in this life of probation, correction, discipline, and chastisement, but in another life of which God has made no revelation other than that it is final, either in changeless happiness or in eternal misery. All Scripture teaches clearly that the judgment closes up and seals the events of probationary life and of the earthly as well. Somewhat modified in its surroundings and possibilities of relief by prayers and rewards, this purgatorial dogma appears in the creed of that class of Universalists known as Restorationists, who hold that, at some point of time

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[*] Table of Controversies.

through the mystical union of mankind with Christ, in eternity, all men will be restored, through a repentance induced by sufferings after death, to holiness and heaven.[*]

But scholastic and controversial Romanists place their chief dependence for any Scripture authority for this doctrine on 1 Peter iii, 19, 20. Their translation is erroneous. Instead of "in which," *ἐν ῷ* should be "by which," as in the common version. The word *ἐκήρυξεν*, rendered "preached," when taken alone, without a qualifying or defining word to show *what* is preached, does not mean to offer or proclaim *good news to be accepted*, *to evangelize*, to "preach deliverance to captives," but only *to proclaim*. Whenever in the New Testament it is used in the stead of *ἐναγγελίζεται*, it is adjoined to some other word that shows what is the subject of proclamation, such as *το ἐναγγέλιον*, preaching the Gospel; *βαπτισμα*, preaching baptism; *ἐνιαυτὸν*, the year of the Lord; *τον Χριστόν*, preached Christ; *τὸν λόγον*, preach the word. It is sometimes translated *proclaim*, *publish*. These added words fix the subject of the proclamation. Now in the text the word stands unaccompanied by any other word to show *what* was proclaimed, leaving it to be inferred from the context and from the historical fact alluded to that the proclamation, if made to disembodied spirits, was the grand fact that Christ had suffered for sins in order that he might bring living men to God. Instead of being a proclamation of "deliverance to captives" in purgatory it was rather an announcement to all spirits in *Hades*, good and bad, of that great event tremendously interesting to the universe of men.

Of this text there are only two interpretations that deserve our attention. One is that the men living in the days of Noah were in the prison of unbelief and sin, were "prisoners of hope,"[†] and that Christ *then* preached to them by his Spirit in and through the person of Noah, who was a preacher of righteousness.[‡] This is an easy and natural interpretation of the text. The other opinion, and one commonly entertained by learned commentators, is that, during the time that the body

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[*] First taught in this country by John Murray about the time of the American Revolution.

[†] Zech. ix, 12.

[‡] Compare Gen. vi, 3; Heb. xi, 7; 2 Pet. ii, 5; wherein Noah is set forth as a preacher by the Spirit of God. See Clarke *in loco*, and Elliott, vol. i, book ii, chap. xii, p. 372.

of Christ was in the sepulcher, his spirit was in Hades or Sheol,* and he then and there announced the fact of redemption by his death, to the antediluvians as to all others, but to them as sinning against the warnings of Noah—not that he preached repentance, faith, and deliverance to them, which is not even intimated, but, as Bishop Horsley says, proclaimed the fact of redemption to those who were "formerly disobedient," and who were before death recovered from their disobedience, and had been brought to faith in the Redeemer to come. To such souls in Paradise he declared the glad tidings of their coming resurrection and deliverance to the true heaven.†

AURICULAR CONFESSION.

This dogma and practice of papists, by means of which the priests hold the secrets of the people and sway a wonderful and universal power over the deluded masses of that hierarchy, is grounded chiefly on the so-called "judiciary power of binding and loosing, forgiving and retaining sins, given to the pastors of Christ's Church,"‡ supposed to be found in the pastoral authority given by our Lord in his address to the Apostles: "Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven." Matt. xviii, 18.

But the paragraph of which this is the conclusion shows that the authority and power here given by our Lord is only judiciary, and is to be exercised by apostles or by ministers as executive officers, and then only after a reference of the "trespass" to the Church, after a hearing of witnesses, and a rendering of the verdict; or, as a learned American commentator § thinks, the "power of the keys" pertained primarily to the apostles alone, and so far as it is continued it pertains less to the clergy than to the whole Church, of which the clergy are the authorized ministers and rulers. The granting of power and authority to hear confessions, and of extending indulgences, is supposed by Romanists to be found in the authority given to Peter when our Lord gave to him his surname indicative of his future character and position in the Church, and announced that he should

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* See Psa. xvi, 10, and Acts ii, 27, in their application to Christ; as also Luke xxiii, 43, as to Christ in Paradise.

† Homily quoted by Bloomfield *in loco.*

‡ Table of Controversies.

§ Dr. Nast, pp. 417–419.

open the kingdom of heaven to the Gentiles, namely: "Thou art Peter, . . . and I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven," or of the Church. But the fulfillment of all this transpired in the preaching of Peter to the Gentile Cornelius, (Acts x,) and in the decision of the first Church Council announcing the abrogation of the Mosaic ritual, and sustaining the course of Peter in preaching to the Gentiles, Acts xv, 7–21.

A further defense of the Confessional is made in the annotation on St. James, (v, 16,) "Confess therefore your sins one to another:" "That is, confess your sins to the priests of the Church."

To this note we object, (1,) That παραπτώματα does not mean *sins* so much as *mishaps*, *faults*, *inadvertencies* between man and man, though it is used to designate Adam's transgression and fall in their relation to mankind; (2,) the epistle is to the general Church, "the twelve tribes which are scattered abroad;" and though in the case of sickness the *elders* of the Church are to be called in for counsel and prayer, yet the confessions of wrongs is to be reciprocal, to one another (ἀλλήλοις) rather than to the elders (πρεσβυτέρους) as Church officers, much less as *priests* in the papal sense. And all on the general principle of mutual forgiveness: "Forgive, and ye shall be forgiven." "If ye forgive not men their trespasses, neither will your Father forgive you."

The Romish ideas of the nature of confession and of the obligation of the seal, as stated by Peter Dens, their greatest authority, and as approved by Catholic Prelates of Ireland, September, 1808, February, 1810, and September, 1810, are extreme and blasphemous; and the revelations of lust and crimes authorized to be made known to the priests, and by them to be reserved in secret from justice, are really appalling, and dangerous to free institutions, as is seen from the following extracts:*

"*Ques.* What is the seal of sacramental confession?

"*Ans.* It is the obligation or duty of concealing those things which are learned from sacramental confession.

"*Ques.* Can a case be given in which it is lawful to break the sacramental seal?

"*Ans.* It cannot, although the life or safety of a man depended thereon, or even the destruction of the commonwealth; nor can

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* Dens on The Seal of Confession, compiled by Z. Donatus, vol. vi, p. 218.

the Supreme Pontiff give dispensation in this; so that, on that account, this secret of the seal is more binding than the obligation of an oath, a vow, a natural secret, etc., and that by the positive will of God.

"*Ques.* What answer, then, ought a confessor to give when questioned concerning a truth which he knows from a sacramental confession only?

"*Ans.* He ought to answer that he does not know it, and, if it be necessary, to confirm the same with an oath.

Objection: It is in no case lawful to tell a lie; but that confessor would be guilty of a lie, because he knows the truth.

"*Ans.* I deny the minor; because such a confessor is questioned as a man, and answers as a man; but *now* he does not know that truth as a man, though he knows it as a God, says St. Thomas, and that is the free and natural meaning of the answer, for when he is asked, or when he answers outside of confession, he is considered as a man.

"*Ques.* What if a confessor were directly asked whether he knows it through sacramental confession?

Ans. In this case he ought to give no answer, but reject the question as impious; or he could even say *absolutely*, not *relatively*, to the question, I know nothing, because the word *I* restricts to human knowledge.

The true and scriptural view of confession of sins is clearly and fully stated by Dr. Elliott, as follows:*

All the sins that can be confessed fall under these three heads, namely, those whereby God is offended, and he only; or those whereby some particular man is offended, as well as God; or such whereby scandal is given to the public society of Christians where we live, though no particular man be injured.

As to sins whereby God is injured, we think it proper and agreeable to God's word that men should confess, even privately, to pious men, and more especially to a pious minister. Such a confession is commendable to a sinner who needs direction to overcome some particular sin; or when he is so overwhelmed with the burden of his sins as to need some well-informed Christian to explain to him the terms of the Gospel.

In regard to sins of the second class, namely, whereby we have injured particular persons, we are certainly bound not only to confess them to God, but to the offended person also, and, as far as in our power, make restitution to him.

In reference to those sins which injure the public society of Christians, although no particular person is offended, we are bound to confess such sins to men as publicly as our sins are. Such was the practice of the primitive Church. This is the doctrine of Protestants concerning Confession, and it is such as may be justified to

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* "Romanism," vol. i, book ii, chap. ix, pp. 311, 312.

> all the world. But the popish doctrine is quite different from this, and serves quite different purposes. By Confession they mean not confession to God, nor confession to an injured person, nor confession to the Church in cases of public offense or scandal, but *private confession to a priest*, which they call *auricular confession*, because it is whispered in his ear.

This statement is followed by a masterly refutation of the papal dogma, and by a triumphant defense of the truth as it is in Jesus.

PAPAL SUPREMACY.

In reference to the Pope as "chief bishop," the "Table of Controversies" says, "St. Peter, by Christ's ordinance, was raised to this dignity, Matt. xvi, 18, 19."

The annotation reads thus:

> As St. Peter, by Divine revelation, here made a solemn profession of his faith of the Divinity of Christ; so in recompense of this faith and profession, our Lord here declares to him the dignity to which he is pleased to raise him, namely: That he, to whom he had already given the name *Peter*, signifying a rock, (John i, 42,) should be a *rock* indeed of invincible strength, for the support of the building of the Church; in which building he should be, next to Christ himself, the chief pastor, ruler, and governor; and should have accordingly all fullness of ecclesiastical power, signified by the Keys of the Kingdom.
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> "*Upon this rock*," etc. The words of Christ to *Peter*, spoken in the vulgar language of the *Jews*, which our Lord made use of, were the same as if he had said in English, "*Thou art a rock, and upon this rock I will build my Church.*" So that by the plain course of the words Peter is here declared to be the rock upon which the Church was to be built.

With all deference to authorities we pronounce this one of the weakest, most evasive, and most unscholarly of annotations in this volume, sectarian and unfair as many of them are shown to be. The error on which it is based is, the annotator makes no allusion to the obvious difference in the mind of Christ, as shown by the historian in the use of Πέτρος, the name given to Simon, which is in the masculine gender, and means *stone*, and the immediate use of πέτρα, *rock*, feminine, not applicable to Peter as a man, but only to his confession, or to the *truth* of his confession; or to the *character* of Peter, to be developed in the future. If, as Dr. Bloomfield urges, it does refer to Peter as the chief of the Apostles, *primus in paribus*, or the first to

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preach Jesus to the Jews and to the Gentiles, then it can only refer to his subsequent *character*—his *energy*, *faith*, and *firmness.* The precise significance of πέτρᾳ is, "a mass of living rock."* The name *Peter* was given to Simon, as is often the case in the Scriptures, to denote some quality or disposition. In this instance it expresses his firmness and truthfulness in first and openly acknowledging the character of Christ. "In like manner James and John are surnamed *Boanerges*, sons of thunder,"† so that it was either to the *character* or to the *confession* of Peter, rather than to any chief office, that Christ referred by the word πέτρᾳ.

The other notes as to the primacy of Peter are of little weight. For instance, in the enumeration of the Apostles, Matt. x, 2–4, the translators, like the servants of King James, were careful to exceed the bounds of the original Greek, and to render πρῶτος, which is without the article prefixed, "the first," as though he had a supremacy over the others. But this is not the design of the writer. It is only in accordance with the usage of all writers to say *first* in enumerating several persons or things, with no intention of giving either dignity or rank to the first named, for example: "Early the first (πρώτη) day of the week;" "the first (πρῶτος) who should arise from the dead;" and "the wisdom from above is first (πρῶτον) pure," etc.

The annotation on the charge given to St. Peter, "Feed my sheep," John xxi, 17, is very far-fetched, namely, "Our Lord had promised the spiritual supremacy to St. Peter, Matt. xvi, 19, and here fulfills that promise by charging him with the superintendency of *all his sheep*, without exception, and, consequently, of his whole flock, that is, of his whole Church."

How any such universal charge is gathered from this simple and earnest command to Peter to feed the flock of God, a charge which Peter himself subsequently gave (1 Pet. v, 2) to the *elders* of the Church, it is difficult for ordinary minds to see. It certainly means no more than is embraced in the pastoral relations and offices of all ministers of Christ to the disciples under their watch-care and instruction.

The next reference to the supremacy of Peter which we find in this version is in the Epistle of St. Paul to the Galatians,

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* Robinson's Greek Lexicon.

† Bloomfield *in loco*.

(ii, 11,) "When Cephas"—a Hebrew word meaning the same as Πέτρος—"was come to Antioch, I withstood him to the face because he was to be blamed."

Annotation: "The fault that is here noted in the conduct of St. Peter was only a certain imprudence in withdrawing himself from the table of the Gentiles, for fear of giving offense to the Jewish converts. But St. Paul's reprehending him was not any argument against his supremacy."

To this we reply, *first*, that it seems not a little evasive to introduce in the text here the word *Cephas*, though it means the same as Peter, because in the original Greek it is Πέτρος. It looks as though the translators wished to conceal from any ignorant reader that it was really the so-called infallible PETER that St. Paul confronted, and that, too, "because he was to be blamed." And then to meet the real difficulty in the case they append the note we have transcribed. We add, *second*, that the context clearly shows that in no respect did St. Paul recognize the supremacy of his fellow-apostle. He elsewhere (2 Cor. xi, 5) not only modestly declares himself "not a whit behind the very chiefest apostles"—by whom were meant "James, Cephas, and John, who seemed to be pillars," Gal. ii, 9—but he very plainly makes a comparison that bears hard on any supremacy of St. Peter over either himself or the other apostles, thus: "But of those who seemed to be somewhat, whatsoever they were, it maketh no difference to me. God accepteth no man's person; for they who seemed to be somewhat in conference added nothing to me; but contrariwise, when they saw that the Gospel of the uncircumcision was committed unto me, as the Gospel of the circumcision was unto Peter; (for he that wrought effectually in Peter to the apostleship of the circumcision, the same was mighty in me toward the Gentiles.) And when James, Cephas, and John, who seemed to be pillars, perceived the grace that was given unto me, they gave to me and Barnabas the right hand of fellowship, that we should go unto the heathen, and they come unto the circumcision. Only that we should remember the poor; the same which I also was forward to do. But when Peter was come to Antioch I withstood him to the face, because he was to be blamed."

The reader will notice that, in this justifiable comparison of

himself with others, the Apostle Paul places himself on an equality with St. Peter; that one was called to the Jews, the other to the Gentiles; that the apostleship of each had the same "effectual" and "mighty" working; of the three "who seemed to be pillars," James, who was Bishop of Jerusalem, and President of the first Church Council, (Acts xv.) is first named; that these three jointly recognized the equal apostleship of St. Paul by giving to him "the right hand of fellowship;" and that St. Paul seeing not only the fallibility but even the blamableness of Peter, nobly "withstood him to the face," extinguishing the Papal dogma of Peter's supremacy by a breath.

These are among the chief heresies stated and defended in the Rhemish Testament before us, and our animadversions are made from a scriptural and critical point of view. And yet in this version are many things worthy of high commendation. The translation is sometimes beautifully simple, faithful, and accurate. Some of the few notes are non-partisan, and to the point; so that it were better to place even this edition of the New Testament into the hands of Papal adherents than none at all, as is the usual policy of the authorities of that hierarchy. The superabundance of truth more than counterbalances the errors of translation, and the partisan notes inserted are less for the purpose of "clearing up the principal difficulties of Holy Writ," than for guarding the readers against so-called "Protestant heresies."

Art. VIII.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.

The Vatican Council—Its Suspension—Movements within the Catholic Church—Abolition of the Temporal Power.—Our record of the Vatican Council in the last number of the "Methodist Quarterly Review" closed with the promulgation of the doctrine of Papal infallibility on the 18th of July. One or two days before the leaders of the opposition made a last effort to induce the Pope either to withhold, or at least to adjourn, his consent to the *schema* adopted by the Council. They presented an address to this effect, signed by fifty-six Bishops; but the Pope declined to accede to the request, strongly expressing his personal sympathy with the new doctrine. Immediately after its promulgation a general furlough was given to all Bishops who desired to visit their dioceses, and so many

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availed themselves of the permission received that soon no more than about one hundred and fifty remained in Rome to take part in the general congregations which were continued. All the Bishops were expected to return in November, but ere this time arrived Rome and the Papal States were annexed to the kingdom of Italy, and the Pope issued a bull (7th October) suspending the Council.

According to the official paper of Rome, all the Cardinals who had belonged to the opposition, namely, the Cardinal Archbishops of Vienna, Prague, and Besançon, and Prince Hohenlohe, declared their submission to the new doctrine as soon as it had been promulgated. Their example was soon followed by a considerable number of Archbishops and Bishops. The Bishops of Germany held a meeting at Fulda, and issued a pastoral letter, in which they proclaimed Papal infallibility to be henceforth a doctrine of the Catholic Church, and enjoined upon all members of the Church an unequivocal submission. Some surprise was created by the circumstance that among the signatures of the pastoral letter the names of the prominent opponents of the doctrine, in particular those of the learned Bishop Hefele of Rottenburg and Bishop Foerster of Breslau, did not appear. The expectation that some of these Bishops would persist in their opposition and decline to promulgate the new doctrine in their dioceses was, however, not fulfilled. The Bishop of Breslau, it is true, offered to the Pope his resignation; but when it was declined in Rome he retained his office, and exhorted the people of his diocese to accept the decision of the Council. One after one all the Bishops of the opposition seem to have signified their submission; at least no case of open resistance had become known up to the middle of December, with the only exception of four Armenian Bishops who revolted against the Papal authority in common with a considerable portion of the Catholic Armenians, and were accordingly excommunicated.

While the Bishops submitted to the Papal dictates, a strong movement of opposition showed itself in Germany among both priests and laity. The leaders in this movement were the professors of theology at the universities and theological schools. Munich, Prague, Bonn, Breslau, Freiburg, Munster, Braunsberg, and other schools issued strong protests, and a conference of professors, held in August at Nuremberg, under the presidency of the learned Döllinger, denied the œcumenical character of the Council altogether, and demanded the convocation of another really free Council. Among those who declared their concurrence with this view were most of the prominent theological scholars of Germany; among others Abbot Haneberg of Munich, Drs. Dieringer, Reusch, and Langen of Bonn, Canon Baltzer of Breslau, and Professor Michelis of Braunsberg. The latter, who has for many years been a noted champion of the interests of his Church both in the province of literature and of politics, went further than any one else, and issued a fiery protest "against the Pope Pius IX," denouncing him in the name of the old Catholic Church as a heretic and destroyer of the Church. The best literary paper of the whole Catholic Church, the *Theologische Literaturblatt* of Bonn, is an outspoken champion

of this resistance, for its editor, Professor Reusch, and all its numerous contributors, are earnest opponents of the new doctrine. The Bishops, after submitting themselves, cannot decline to use coercive measures against the teachers of theology. They have consequently demanded from all the professors of the theological faculties and schools a declaration of assent, and threaten all the recusants with suspension. Already four of the theological professors of the University of Bonn have been forbidden by the Archbishop of Cologne to continue their theological lectures, and the professors of the University of Munich have been threatened with the same fate. A considerable number of parish priests have likewise been suspended from their functions for refusing submission.

The lay professors of the German universities are almost a unit in rejecting the infallibility of the Pope and the œcumenical character of the Council. A strong declaration in this sense was issued by forty-four lay professors of the University at Munich, and received numerous declarations of assent from the professors of the other universities, of the gymnasia, and other higher schools. In Cologne a central committee was formed to organize the resistance to the Council all through Germany, and to obtain signatures to a collective protest. Several thousand signatures were thus obtained; yet it must be admitted that, although many of the prominent scholars and leading laymen are determined to persist in their opposition, the movement has thus far not assumed very large dimensions. If several Bishops had joined the movement, a schism like that of the Jansenists of Holland might have been the result. As this is not the case, no new ecclesiastical organization is likely to be effected; but the only result will be the secession of a number of individuals from the Church of Rome. Those who side with Rome indulge the hope that the number of real secessions will be small; and they console themselves with the consideration that among the prominent men who have signed the protest there are not a few who had long ceased to be practical Catholics, yea, some who have publicly renounced their belief in supernatural Christianity, and some who were suspected of atheism. This charge is in some instances based upon undoubted facts, although the most prominent among the leaders of the opposition, like Döllinger, have heretofore been regarded as pillars of the Church.

The governments of Europe were unanimous in discountenancing the dogmatical decrees of the Vatican Council. The Emperor of Austria on the 11th of August formally declared the abolition of the Concordat of 1855, which had given important privileges to the Church of Rome. Bavaria and other governments forbade the official promulgation of the new doctrine by the Bishops, a measure which was soon found to be of no avail. The attention of most governments was, however, so fully absorbed by the German-French war that no steps whatever were taken with regard to the subject.

The promulgation of the Papal infallibility was soon followed by the overthrow of the temporal power of the Pope, and the annexation of Rome and the remainder of the Papal territory to the kingdom of Italy. A

popular vote on this important change showed that the people who cared at all to cast a vote were unanimous in its approval. The Bishops throughout the Catholic world, and a number of Catholics in all the countries, protested against the spoliations of the Holy Father; but none of the Catholic governments of the world interfered in his behalf. Strong intimations were, however, given that, after the close of the great European war, many governments would demand from Italy guarantees that the head of a Church, counting so many adherents in all the large countries, will henceforth enjoy an independent position which will prevent his being influenced by the government of Italy.

Art. IX.—FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

GERMANY.

The romantic school of German literature at the close of the last and the beginning of the present century is of the greatest importance in the history of religious life in Germany, for it designates the reaction against the rationalistic and deistic views which had for some time had an undisputed ascendancy. A very valuable work on the subject has recently been published by R. Haym. (*Die Romantische Schule.* Berlin, 1870.) who is known in the literary world, by his works on W. von Humboldt and Hegel, as a master in biographical description. Among the many prominent men who more or less were under the influence of the romantic school were Tieck, Novalis, Schleiermacher, the poet Hölderlin, the two brothers August Wilhelm and Friedrich Schlegel, Steffens, and Schelling.

The Lutherans of Germany in general belong among the staunchest champions of the principle of a State Church, and it is therefore a remarkable sign of the times that one of the most prominent Lutheran writers of our age, Prof. Harnack, has openly come out (*Die freie Lutherische Volkskirche.* Erlangen. 1870) in favor of abolishing the present State-Church system, and advocates the substitution for it of what he calls "confessional" Churches, which will be but little different from the free Churches of America and other countries. He strongly contends for the principle that the reception of any individual into the Church shall only take place after an express confession of the faith of the Church by the candidate, and a promise on his part to conform his life to the faith and confession of the Church, to submit to her discipline, and to place his talents and powers at the service of the Church. It is remarkable that among thinking men of all parties the conviction of the impending collapse of the State-Church system is rapidly gaining ground.

A valuable contribution to the rich literature of monographs on the heroes of the Reformation is a life of the celebrated David Chytraeus by Dr. Krabbe, Professor of Theology at the University of Rostock. (*David*

Chytræus. Dargestellt von Dr. Otto Krabbe. Rostock, 1870.) Chytræus (born 1531, died 1600) was, like Melanchthon, a man who worked for the success of the Reformation more by his works than by an active participation in the reconstruction of the Reformed Church. The author, who, like all the theologians of Mecklenburg, belongs to the stiffest school of Lutheranism, glorifies Chytræus as a champion of the sound Lutheran doctrine; but, although Chytræus was one of the compilers of the Book of Concord, the great symbolical standard of the uncompromising Lutherans, it is on the other hand certain that, both at the beginning of his academical career and toward the close of his life, he was a warm friend of Melanchthonian principles.

The war of the new materialistic school against Christianity and against the very idea of religion continues to call forth a very numerous literature on both sides. One of the foremost champions of the materialists is *Dr. L. Büchner*, whose principal work, on "*Kraft und Stoff*," (Force and Matter,) has gone in Germany through nine editions, and has been translated into English, French, and a number of other languages. Dr. Büchner has recently finished his new popular work on the place of man in nature, (*Die Stellung des Menschen in der Natur.* Leipsic. 1869–70. Three parts.) The first part of this work claims to give an answer to the question, "Whence do we come?" the second to the question, "Who are we?" and the third to the question, "Whither do we go?" In the two first parts Büchner claims to have fully solved "the great mystery of human existence," and in the third part he regards as the aim of human society a general republic and universal peace, the common possession of the soil, abolition of marriage as a permanent institution, social and political emancipation of women, destruction of every form of religion, and the immortality of matter.

One of the most important writings against the theory of Karl Vogt, that man is a lineal descendant of the ape, has recently been published by Professor R. Virchow, of Berlin, equally distinguished as one of the first anatomical writers of the age, and as a leader of the Liberal party of Germany. (*Menschen-und Affenschädel.* Berlin, 1870.)

All friends of education will take a deep interest in a work by Dr. W. Schrader, which has for its object to give a comprehensive view of his principles and the aims of the Prussian system of public education. (*Erziehungs und Unterrichtslehre für Gymnasien und Realschulen.* Berlin, 1869.) The astonishing progress which Germany, and in particular Prussia, has made during the last half century is generally ascribed, for a large part, to its excellent system of public instruction.

FRANCE.

The first French work of importance on ecclesiastical statistics has recently been published under the title *Tableau de l'église Chrétienne au dix-neuvième Siècle.* (Lausanne, 1870.) The author, Arnaud de Mestral, is a minister of the Reformed Church of the Swiss Canton of Vaud. In

accordance with what is now generally understood in scientific theology by "ecclesiastical statistics," the author does not confine himself to registering figures showing the numerical strength of the various divisions of the Christian world, but he aims at giving a picture of the different Churches, which shows as well its form of worship, its discipline, and everything relating to its outward appearance. Though the author has made special studies on his subject, he omits several important ecclesiastical movements of the few last years. He divides Christianity into two Church-families, the former consisting of the Oriental and the Roman Catholic Churches, the latter of the Protestant Churches. With regard to the Church of Rome, the author shares in many points the views of Guizot in his "*Meditations*," and he expresses hopes with regard to the Vatican Council, which the transactions of that assembly, and, in particular, the proclamation of the doctrine of Papal infallibility, have probably dispersed. Within the Protestant Churches he distinguishes three groups, which he calls *l'element conservateur*, *l'element reformateur*, and *l'element radical.* The conservative element is represented by the Lutherans and the United Evangelical Churches of Germany, the Moravians, and the Anglican Churches; the reformed element has its seat in the Reformed Churches of France, Switzerland, Holland, the Waldensians, and the others; the radical element prevails in the Free Churches of Switzerland and Scotland, and the Presbyterians and Methodists of Great Britain, Ireland, and North America.

ART. X.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES, AND OTHERS OF THE HIGHER PERIODICALS.

American Quarterly Reviews.

AMERICAN PRESBYTERIAN REVIEW, October, 1870. (New York.)—1. A New Analysis in Fundamental Morals. 2. The Song of Songs. 3. Papal Infallibility and the Nineteenth Century. 4. Recent Works on Logic. 5. Roman Letters on the Vatican Council. 6. A Letter from Roger Sherman to Dr. Samuel Hopkins. 7. Exegetical Studies in the Gospel of John. 8. Recent Unitarian Developments. 9. The Relation of Philosophy to Theology.

CHRISTIAN QUARTERLY, October, 1870. (Cincinnati.)—1. Confirmation. 2. The Spirit of the Nineteenth Century and Creeds. 3. The Human Spirit and the Animal Soul—Is the Difference between them a Difference of Kind or Degree? 4. Sydney Smith. 5. Regeneration—The New Birth. 6. Prophetic Inspiration. 7. Naturalism.

EVANGELICAL QUARTERLY REVIEW, October, 1870. (Gettysburgh.)—1. The Cultivation of the Religious Sensibility. 2. Aids to Sermonizing. Translated from the German of Dr. A. Rogge. 3. Completeness in Christ. 4. The Civilizing Influences of Christianity upon the World. 5. Chemnicius Redivivus. 6. The Ministry. Article Fifth of the Augsburg Confession.

UNIVERSALIST QUARTERLY, October, 1870. (Boston.) 1. Biographical Sketches—Hosea Ballou. 2. The Rationale of the Nation. 3. Christianity Contrasted with Other Systems. 4. Contributions to the History of Universalism. 5. The Catholic Church. 6. Mountford on Miracles. 7. The Chinese on the Doctrine of Total Depravity.

BIBLIOTHECA SACRA, October, 1870. (Andover.)—1 The Significance of the Jewish Sacrifices. 2. The Favorable References to the Foreign Element in the Hebrew History. 3. The Inscription of Mehsa, King of Moab. 4. Eschatological Studies. 5. Theories of the Resurrection. 6. Dr. Forbes on Romans v, 12–21. 7. Revelation and Inspiration. 8. The Silence of Women in the Churches—Objections Considered. 9. The Diaconate an Office.

The "BIBLIOTHECA SACRA" boasts on its cover its fortieth year of a truly honorable life. Since the day of Moses Stuart's young manhood, Andover Seminary, from which it unfurls, has been perhaps the leader in elevating biblical science to its present standard in this country. The periodical itself has had a prime share in this noble work. In high, uncompromising sacred scholarship, catering to no low popular demands, it is without a competitor in the English language. The "Journal of Sacred Literature" did for awhile, on the other side of the Atlantic, show signs of faint rivalry, but that has gone down and left no successor. An embarrassment is reported as existing in England in finding sufficient Old Testament scholarship for her Bible revision. The pages of this periodical furnish good grounds for believing that England might safely commit the Old Testament to the Hebrew scholarship of America. The number before us is among its best issues.

The article on "*The Inscription of Mesha King of Moab*," by Rev. William Hayes Ward, possesses special interest. This inscription, briefly noticed in a previous number of our "Quarterly," has aroused the attention of scholars throughout Christendom. The leading paleographists and Phœnician linguists and antiquarians, such as De Vogüe, Derenbourg, Schlottmann, Renan, and Rawlinson, have treated it with notes and comments. Mr. Ward's article on the subject is the fullest and best we have seen.

A year or two ago, Clermont-Ganneau, interpreter of the French consulate at Jerusalem, learned that there existed in Dhibân, the ancient Dibon, on the west side of the Dead Sea, in the ancient country of Moab, a large block of black rock covered with written characters. The young Arab whom he sent to procure a paper impression of the inscription encountered an attack from the Bedouins, but happily there was sufficient presence of mind in the midst of the fray to snatch the imperfect paper impression and bring it off in triumph. The natives subsequently broke the stone into smaller blocks, with the expectation probably of selling the pieces as a speculation. Gan-

neau obtained several supplementary impressions of the pieces and published a *fac-simile* of them in the "Revue Archæologique," which furnishes the basis mainly of Mr. Ward's present copy. "Of the original monument about two thirds, including six hundred letters, are now in Jerusalem, having been secured by M. Ganneau."

"The stone was about thirty-nine inches high, twenty inches wide, and twenty inches thick. The engraved face was of about the shape of an ordinary grave-stone, rounded at the top, and is indicated quite exactly by the outline of the transcription given on another page. The stone is a very heavy, black basalt. Its extreme hardness is the reason why the letters are engraved quite superficially. It is a point of great interest that the words are separated by points, and the sentences by perpendicular lines. This seems to have been, then, an antique way of writing in the Phœnician character. It is of the greatest aid in translation."

Mr. Ward gives the inscription in Hebrew characters, nearly filling a page of the "Bibliotheca Sacra," with an English translation, philological notes, a valuable chapter on the relations of the inscription to Old Testament history, and a brief dissertation on its linguistic peculiarities.

We give his translation of the inscription: "Letters in brackets are conjectural readings to fill *lacunæ*. The length of the vacant spaces indicates quite accurately the *lacunæ* in Ganneau's *fac-simile*, and in this respect the present copy is superior to any transcription that has been published in Europe."

"I am Mesha, son of Chemosh [nadab,] King of Moab, [the D-] ibonite. | My father reigned over Moab thirty years, and I reigned after my father. | And I made this high place to Chemosh in Karhah, and this House of Salvation, because he has saved me from all the attacks, and because he has caused me to look on all my enemies. | O[mr]i was King of Israel, and he afflicted Moab many days, because Chemosh was angry with his [land]. | And his son succeeded him, and he also said, "I will afflict Moab." | In my days he spake thus, and I looked on him and on his house, | and Israel kept continually perishing. And Omri held possession of the land (?) of Medeba. And there dwelt in it [Omri and his son and his grand] son

forty years. [But] Chemosh [restored] it in my days. | And I built Baal-Meon, and I made in it ———— And I [besieged] (?) Kirjathaim. | And the men of God had dwelt of old in the land [Kirjathaim.] And the King of Israel built for him [Kirjathaim.] | And I fought against the city, and took it. | And I slew all the [men of] the city, a spectacle to Chemosh and to Moab. | And I brought back from thence the [altar of Jehovah, and put] it before Chemosh in Kerioth. | And I caused to dwell therein the men of Shirah; and the men of—— Sharath. | And Chemosh said to me, "Go and take Nebo from Israel." | [And I ——] went in the night, and I fought against it from the overspreading of the dawn till noon. | And I [took it, and I utterly destroyed] it, and I slew all of it, seven thousand ————, for to Ashtor Chemosh had [I] devoted [them,] and I took from thence the vessels of Jehovah, and I presented them before Chemosh. | And the King of Israel [built] Jahaz, and dwelt in it while he was fighting against me. | And Chemosh drove him from [before me; and] I took from Moab two hundred men, all told; | and I attacked (?) Jahaz and took it, joining it to Dibon. | I built Karhah, the wall of the forests, and the wall of the hill (Ophel.) | And I built its gates, and I built its towers. | And I made a royal palace, and I made reservoirs for the collection of the waters in the midst of the city. | And there was no cistern in the midst of the city in Karhah; and I said to all the people, "Make for you each man a cistern in his house." And I dug ditches (?) for Karhah [in the road to] Israel. | I built [A]roer, and I made the high way to Arnon. I built Beth-Bamoth, for it was ruined, | and I built Bozrah, for it was deserted. (?) And I set in Dibon garrisons; (?) for all Dibon was submissive. | And I filled (?) —— in the cities which I added to the land. | And I built —— and the temple of Diblathaim, | and the temple of Baal-Meon, and I raised up there ———— the land. | And there in Horonaim —— Chemosh said to me, "Go, fight against Horonaim. | And I ———— Chemosh in my days . . . . "

Mr. Ward remarks: "Our inscription reads like a leaf taken out of a lost Book of Chronicles. The expressions are the same. The tone of reverence toward the national God is the same. The names of gods, of kings, and of towns are the same. The historical books of the Bible give us the Jewish side of the

centuries of conflict with Moab. Here we have a chapter from the Moabite account of the same long feud."

The connection with Israelite history is minute and complicated. The evidencial value of the inscription Mr. Ward does not treat as fully as he might have done. Such a fragment of Moabite history nine centuries before Christ, suddenly authenticating the minute and obscure thread of Israelite history, is eminently suggestive. It furnishes a brief but very convincing proof that the old Hebrew records are truly contemporary and historical; that they passed through the eastern captivities unmarred; that the Hebrew editors at the restoration were true to their duty, and that our present text is proximately a genuine copy of the primitive documents.

We note some questionable peculiarities in the Article on *Forbes on Romans.* Dr. Forbes has shown the existence of a run of parallelisms in the style of the book of Romans, quite like the parallelism of Old Testament poetry, and endeavors to use it as an aid to the interpretation of the Book. The writer of this article doubts very much "whether Paul in writing this friendly letter to the 'saints' at Rome was consciously governed by the rules of any such elaborate and artificial system of composition as Dr. Forbes finds in it." St. Paul's *consciousness* is certainly not the question. The *objective fact* of the existence of such parallelisms in the text of Romans is real and unquestionable. They exist very unequivocally in a few passages, very probably in some others, and very possibly in a great many more. It is a matter of gradations, shading off, in various passages, from positive certainty into justifiable doubt, and as such Dr. Forbes treats it. Whether in framing the double triads, now confessedly existing in our Lord's Prayer, Jesus was conscious of the parallelisms he formed, is not the question. Equally mysterious, yet equally certain are the double triads in the Mosaic History of the Creation. That such rhythmic triads and heptades run through the Apocalypse no reasonable mind can doubt after reading Stuart's chapter on "Numerosity" in his Commentary on that book. In the Book of Romans (which is not merely a "friendly letter," but a very elaborate body of divinity) the *numerosity* is just as marked, and the objective fact must be accepted as altogether undisturbed by any *à priori* reasoning from the Apostle's consciousness. The psychological

question, however, after admitting the objective fact, is quite worthy a discussion.

Dr. Fiske's statement of Dr. Forbes's theological position is a slight curiosity. "In some respects his theological status seems to resemble that of President Edwards when he was so earnestly laboring to develop a 'consistent Calvinism.' He retains the old terminology, but cannot retain, unmodified, the old doctrine. He is a thorough Calvinist, but is not yet, according to the New England standard, a 'consistent Calvinist.'" Dr. Forbes, we reply, is very much such a "thorough Calvinist" as Arminius was in his contest with Gomarus; as Episcopius was in opposition to the Synod of Dort; as Wesley was in opposition to Whitefield; as Dr. Wilbur Fisk was in opposition to Fitch and Taylor. No reader would guess from the above quotation that Dr. Forbes expends more than thirty octavo pages in combating the theory of Will held by Edwards, including the "invariable sequence" theory of J. S. Mill and the Duke of Argyle, being identical with the Andover and New Haven doctrine of *secured certainty of volition according to strongest motive.* Against all these Dr. Forbes manfully maintains the pure *alternative freedom*, unbound by predestination or "secured certainty," of unequivocal Arminianism. Dr. Forbes teaches, against Dr. D. T. Fiske's own doctrine, that God predestinates the antecedently foreknown act of the free-agent. "Knowing what each in the exercise of his own free-will would choose, he included it in his plan and to this extent foreordained it." And this is precisely the predestination which Arminians and Wesleyans maintain against Calvinists. It contradicts Augustine, Calvin, Edwards, and D. T. Fiske; it agrees with Arminius, Fletcher, Watson, and Wilbur Fisk. Dr. Forbes does, indeed, very absurdly endeavor to cram this Arminian doctrine into the Westminster Confession. But what excuse is there for Dr. D. T. Fiske's outrageous statement that Dr. Forbes is a "thorough Calvinist?" Dr. Forbes's Commentary is a decidedly original and able work.

The Examiner. A Monthly Review of Religious and Humane Questions, and of Literature. By EDWARD C. TOWNE, Editor. 12mo., pp. 104. Chicago: Western News Co.

"The Examiner," (edited by Rev. Edward C. Towne,) announces itself as the western organ of "*Radical Christianity;*"

which, being interpreted, means *Eradication of Christianity.* For this assumption of the Christian name by the assailants of Christianity is but the Judas kiss, the manifesto at once of respect for their victim and of their intent to destroy. The "Examiner," while professing Christianity, repudiates "Jesusism;" an unhappy quibble which leaves full range for blasphemy upon the name and person of the blessed Saviour!

The principal Article is a translation from the French Rationalist Raville, entitled "The History of the Devil." It is a very weak attempt of the stuff that calls itself the "higher criticism" to obscure the fact that not only is the Old Testament Monotheism a great distinctive Fact, but that its Diabolism, under a wise reserve, is clear and consistent from the opening chapters of Genesis to the closing chapters of the Apocalypse. The dualism of Good and Evil all religion and nearly all philosophy allows. All polytheisms obscurely and mythically recognize that dualism in their conceptual systems of invisible beings, good and bad. The most enlightened polytheism, the Aryan, (Persian,) expounded that dualism by the conception of two hostile, eternal, and omnipotent Gods. In striking contrast with that fatal error, Hebrew conception described the evil representative as finite, as apostate from original good, and (as the view of the universe enlarged) as limited to our probationary system. From the very beginning of Genesis the fallen one is foe of God, tempter of man, author, yet not sole author, of the evil in our world.

I. *The Edenic Serpent.*—In the primal temptation the Serpent strangely appears endowed with superhuman attributes! This fact stands in striking contrast with the scientific rigidity with which the animal world is in the whole Old Testament confined inflexibly to its lower brute sphere, to which the ass of Balaam is but an apparent exception. In the earliest Genesis all animals are simply developed from the lower elements, while man is quickened from above by the divine breath. Yet this Serpent is a talker, a claimant to knowing the mysteries of Elohim's own purposes, a foe of God, a tempter and destroyer of men! It will take something a good deal better than Raville's superficialities to convince us that Moses meant that this superhuman and antitheistic Serpent was a mere snake! And in striking consistency with this opening scene of the Bible

is its wonderful close. By the triumph of this Serpent Paradise is lost; by the overthrow of "that Old Serpent, the devil," is Paradise restored. Deep answereth to deep; the end to the beginning; the Apocalypse to the Genesis.

II. *Azazel.*—We are inclined to agree with Raville that the "enigmatic being, the despair of exegetes, under the name of Azazel," (rendered in our version "the wilderness,") is Satan, Lev. xvi, 10. Moses was to take two goats, one for a sin-offering to be sacrificed to the Lord; the other "the scape-goat," upon whom the sins of the people were to be deposited and he abandoned (not *sacrificed*) to the devil. Thus Israel beheld in the scape-goat a symbol of himself as a sinner laden with guilt and sent to hell, or as redeemed by blood and consecrated to God. Hereby we have the continuity of the Edenic Satan And hereby, against Raville and all Sadduceeism, we have the doctrine of Satan and a future retribution not only held in Israel's popular belief, but installed in the very center of Israel's ritual and theology in the early age of both.

III. *Satan in Job.*—We hold very cheap the whimsey of the "higher criticism" that the Satan in the book of Job is a mere State's Attorney of Jehovah against sinful man.

On a set day "the sons of Elohim" came, as if to a levee, "to present themselves before Jehovah." "The *Adversary* (Satan) came also among them." Here it is clear, *first*, that the Adversary is not one of "the sons of Elohim;" *second*, that he is an uninvited intruder among them; and, *third*, that he is *adversary* in antithesis to them and to Jehovah. *Diabolos*, the term used by the Septuagint, signifies not simply *accuser*, but also *slanderer*. To Jehovah's demand whence he comes, he replies that he comes from roaming the earth. As in response to a malignant being who denies all goodness, Jehovah points for an example of goodness to Job, and as a test of the reality of Job's virtue successively allows the adversary to inflict the severest evils upon him, both in estate and person. Raville's notion about Satan's "having *become* so suspicious by his practice as public accuser," and of his "character being marred," is a pure interpolation. Not a syllable in Job implies that he was ever less "suspicious" or less "marred," or of his having "become" any thing. Nor is this a judicial assemblage. Job is not arraigned, no condemnation is passed upon him; but

infliction of evil is made upon the innocent, under Jehovah's permission, by the Prince of Evil. Here, then, we have a third presentation of the identical Satan.

In the fourth and fifth instances, those in Chronicles and Zechariah, the same characteristics appear, of temptation to evil and opposition to right. Other angels appear in the Old Testament as angels of divine judgment; but no others, like Satan, are the malignant afflicters, by their own desire, of the good. Evil spirits are indeed sent to stimulate the evil; there is no one with a regular and recognized title like that of the Adversary, the Calumniator.

When we come to the New Testament these identities are fully ratified by Jesus the Messiah and his inspired Apostles. The truth of the Old Testament on this point is not only assumed, but illustrated by more copious revelation attendant on the advent of Jesus. Still, as Raville says, there is a "reserve;" the powers of evil are in the background of the revealed scenery, as if, however much the Evil One has to do with us, we have little to do with him and his confederacy. And at the present day, though supernatural marvels are plaguing the wisdom of modern science, mystery still hangs over the twilight powers. And from this mystery, and the little recognition our modern Christianity gives them, Raville infers that *the devil is dead.* Nevertheless, deep as are our views of human depravation, even under the mitigating influences of the Gospel, we do recognize a greater amount of rampant wickedness around us than we should expect from the elements of mere humanity. Such surplusage—clearly attributable to diabolic influences—are plentiful here in New York and in "Crazy Chicago." We think the devil is palpably and terribly alive. Perhaps that fact explains how a man so good as Mr. Towne can be guilty of "The Examiner."

North American Review, October, 1870. (Boston.)—1. British Neutrality during the Civil War. 2. Limits of Natural Selection. 3. The Method of History. 4. Congressional Reform. 5. English Aristocracy and English Labor. 6. Pierre Bayle. 7. France under the Second Empire. 8. Theodore Mommsen.

We wish that Mr. Chauncey Wright, whose name is appended to the Second Article, had caught a little of the simplicity and consequent clearness of the author he reviews. But his words are sesquipedalian, his clauses circumlocutory, and his sentences are a very elaborate machinery, constructed apparently

to half conceal his meaning. His article is a prompt reply to the theistical part of Wallace's late book on Natural Selection, noticed in our last "Quarterly." Mr. Wright grants that man's developed reason arrests the power of Natural Selection to modify his nature. But he offers a refutation to Mr. Wallace's theory that primordial man was endowed with attributes for which Natural Selection cannot account. This attempt of Mr. Wallace to exempt men originally from this law we did not highly value. It presupposed that the first man existed, in full development, yet as a savage, geologic ages ago. Whereas if the geologic man is a granted fact, we should prefer to believe that the Adamic man was man developed to the stage of an immortal nature, (as suggested by Sir Charles Lyell;) or else that the Mosaic history relates the creation of the latest of several humanic races, namely, a race at the Edenic center. Either of these two views would, we believe, be more in harmony with the letter of the Mosaic text than the theory maintained by the Duke of Argyle and the Rev. J. P. Thompson, that the Adamic creation took place countless ages ago, in total contradiction of the Mosaic chronologic genealogies.

There is one page, however, of Mr. Wright's article on which we set some value. Mr. Wallace, in analyzing the constitution of man in accordance with the law of the "correlation of forces," holds the contending emotions and intellections to be balancing "forces," and the will to be an arbitrating "force" between them. Mr. Wright pronounces the making the will-power to be a "force" to be a refined "materialism." If so, we reply, then the making the emotions to be "forces" is also materialism. And certainly Herbert Spencer, Professor Youmans, and the whole class of men who maintain that will is but a form of force, are materialists. Nor will Mr. Wright allow Wallace to escape by a maintenance of the freedom of the will, in which we should differ from him, though we should disagree with Mr. Wallace in making the Will or Personality one of the forms of force. And here comes the page in which Mr. Wright expresses, not clearly yet forcibly, the views we entertain in regard to the Will-power as an entity above the category of the "correlated forces." Mr. Wright condemns the assumption "that all causation is reducible to the conversions of equivalent physical energies. It may be true (at least we are not pre

pared to dispute the assumption) that every case of real causation involves such conversions or changes in forms of energy, or that every effect involves changes of position and motion. Nevertheless, every case of real causation may still involve also another mode of causation. To us the conception is much simpler than our author's theory, and far more probable, that the phenomena of conscious volition involve in themselves no proper efficiencies or forces coming under the law of the conservation of force, but are rather natural types of causes, purely and absolutely *regulative*, which add nothing to, and subtract nothing from, the quantities of natural forces. No doubt there is in the actions of the nervous system a much closer resemblance than this to a machine. No doubt it is automatically regulated, as well as moved, by physical forces; but this is probably just in proportion as its agency—as in our habits and instincts—is removed from our conscious control. All this machinery is below, beyond, external, or foreign to our consciousness. The profoundest, most attentive introspection gains not a glimpse of its activity, nor do we ever dream of its existence; but, both by the laws of its operations, and by the means through which we become aware of its existence, it stands in the broadest, most fundamental contrast to our mental natures; and these, so far from furnishing a type of physical efficiency in our conscious volitions, seem to us rather in accordance with their general contrast with material phenomena to afford a type of purely regulative causes, or of an absolutely forceless and unresisted control and regulation of those forces of nature which are comprised in the powers of organic life. Perhaps a still higher type of such regulation is to be found in those 'laws of nature' which, without adding to, or subtracting from, the real forces of nature, determine the order of their conversions by '*fixed*, *stated*, or *settled*' rules of succession. . . . The proper laws of force, or of the conversions of energy, are concerned exclusively with relations in space.

Power, then, is a term of wider import than Force. Force is that form of power by which bulk is moved through space. Omnipotence is something far more than limitless force, force being rather one of the products of omnipotence. And the Will-power in man is not a "force," but a Power transcending and controlling "forces."

BIBLICAL REPERTORY AND PRINCETON REVIEW, October, 1870. (New York.)— 1. Rénan's St. Paul. 2. Training and Support of a Native Ministry in the Turkish Empire. 3. Sinaitic Inscriptions. 4. A Phase of the Church Question. 5. Row's Jesus of the Evangelists. 6. China as affected by Protestant Missions. 7. Methods of Liberal Education. 8. Dr. Stone's Response to the Pope's Invitation.

The Third Article is a very learned and satisfactory dissertation on the celebrated inscriptions found rudely sketched in immense numbers on the rocks in the neighborhood of Mount Sinai. They were first noticed in A. D. 535 by Cosmas Indicopleustes, an Egyptian merchant and traveler. He supposes them to be Hebrew characters, and left there by the Hebrews of the Mosaic age. "Some Jews," he says, "who read and explained them to me, said that the writing was to this purport: the journey of *so and so*, of such a tribe, in such a year, and such a month; as among us also people often write in foreign parts." The works of Cosmas being published in 1706 drew attention to these inscriptions; and through the eighteenth century such travelers as Pococke, Niebuhr, Seetzen, and Burckhardt visited and took copies of some of them. It was not until 1833–40 that Professor Beer of Leipsic having, by means of certain bilingual inscriptions, discovered the unknown alphabet, published one hundred and forty-eight of them in Hebrew characters, with *fac-similes*, translations, and dissertations.

Beer held them to be written in the Arabic of the Nabateans, the people whose capital was the celebrated carved-rock city of Petra, by Christian pilgrims to Sinai, during the first three centuries after Christ. After Beer's death the subject was amply discussed by Tuch and Levy; but the conclusions of Beer have not been invalidated to any great extent, excepting as regards the writers being Christians. They were more probably pagans of the Sabian religion, worshipers, that is, of the heavenly bodies, and pilgrims to some sacred localities in the Sinaitic regions during a period embracing the two centuries before and two centuries after Christ. The inscriptions, being mere travelers' scribble, in commemoration of the important fact of their transient sojourn in those parts, are of no intrinsic value; but the acquirement of the alphabet may lead to discoveries of great moment when fuller explorations of these regions are made.

An English clergyman, Dr. Charles Foster, has published some sumptuous volumes, embracing a quantity of these in-

scriptions with an alphabet of his own discovering, and translations showing the inscriptions to have been written by the Hebrews of Moses's day, and to contain all the events of that period. He draws momentous inferences from his scheme, but scholars with entire unanimity view his labors as whimsical and worthless.

New England Historical and Genealogical Register and Antiquarian Journal, October, 1870. (Boston.)—1. Hon. David Lowry Swain. 2. The Revolution in New Hampshire. 3. Letter from John Cotton to Archbishop Usher—1636. 4. Births, Marriages, and Deaths in Portsmouth, N. H, 1706—1742. 5. The Election Sermon in 1638. 6. Louisburg Soldiers. 7. The Witchcraft Delusion of 1692. 8. The Hassam Family. 9. Papers Relating to the Haines Family—Will of John Haynes.

This Quarterly seems to be a very successful enterprise in American *heraldry.* It is a record not only of F. F. N's, but of the most *numerous* family clans of the country. It is a repository of biographies, genealogies, historical memoranda, bibliographies, old ballads, etc., etc., as well as of various contemporaneous notices of books, marriages, deaths, etc. Every descendant of a line of American ancestry, if he is any body, or the son of any body, has a right to look here and know who himself is. But, alas! though our own individual claim is to have descended from a Yankee stock, we look in vain through all its pages for our unique name, and conclude we are an unlineal nobody. We are treated to Whiddens, and Whittens, and Wheildons, and to feeble Wheedens, and Weedens, and such like; but no proof that we are not genetically as original as Melchizedek.

The present number contains a pleasing portrait and written portraiture of the late Governor Swain of North Carolina, a Christian statesman. In the North Carolina Constitutional Convention of 1835 Mr. Swain voted in favor of a partial negro suffrage. Yet when he became Governor his message recommended the exercise of the "indubitable right, and the abolition agitation arose, to ask of our sister States the adoption of such measures as may be necessary and requisite to suppress them totally and promptly." This was simply asking the despotic suppression of free discussion in our entire country on the subject of slavery! It is one of thousands of proofs that our civil war was a contest not purely for the emancipation of the Southern blacks, but for the dearest rights of the Northern whites. Our own liberties were at stake. Very strange that good men and clear thinkers like Governor Swain could not realize the despotism they asserted!

English Reviews.

NORTH BRITISH REVIEW, October, 1870. (New York: Reprint. Leonard Scott, 140 Fulton-street.)—1. The Moabite Inscription. 2. The Poems of Shelley. 3. The Growth of a Trades-Union. 4. Philosophy, Psychology, and Metaphysics. 5. The Russian Church and Clergy. 6. Uses and Requirements of English Diplomacy. 7. The Vatican Council.

WESTMINSTER REVIEW. October, 1870. (New York Leonard Scott, 140 Fulton Street.)—1. The Land Question in England. 2. American Literature. 3. A Partial Remedy for the Pressure of "Local Taxation." 4. John Wesley's Cosmogony. 5. Ancient Japanese Poetry. 6. The Scottish Poor Law. 7. The Laws of War. 8. Gunpowder. 9. The New York Gold Conspiracy. 10. The Ballot.

THE ARTICLE ON JOHN WESLEY'S COSMOGONY is from end to end very laughable. Why poor John Wesley should be held responsible for the theory taught by the science of his day, or why he should be condemned for dovetailing accepted science into his other beliefs, perhaps the writer would fail to explain. If any body is to blame herein it plainly must be the philosophers and scientists who taught him those errors.

The writer very absurdly charges the Conference with dishonesty for not putting into Watson's Institutes a modification, or at least a foot-note cautioning the student against Watson's false geology! As if it were at all becoming to mar the text of a standard author to correct the errors that belonged to his day. No one thinks of expurgating from Turretine his argument against the revolution of the globe; and no one thinks of correcting in a foot-note conceptions which our schools and daily newspapers are correcting. Certainly the periodicals of Methodism, whether in England or America, make no mystery of the advances of science and their new relations to theology. But our readers will doubtless feel some interest in seeing English Methodism portrayed from an anti-christain stand-point:

RIGID ORTHODOXY OF ENGLISH METHODISM.

"The machinery for detecting heterodoxy, at the service of the Wesleyan Conference, is as elaborate as any ever employed by Jesuit inquisitors. The marvelous rousing which the Evangelical movement under Wesley and Whitefield gave to Protestantism is matter of ecclesiastical history. From that day to the present this energetic sect has exercised a very large influence upon the various branches of modern orthodoxy. Perhaps that influence is now somewhat on the wane,

but it is still strong enough to make itself felt for many years to come. Its strong point, as our readers are doubtless aware, is its preaching power. A man possessing natural powers of elocution is, among the Methodists, always sure to obtain a 'good circuit,' so that a premium is held up for successful extempore discoursing. Each town or city in Great Britain, according to the strength of its members of the Wesleyan Church, is divided by the Conference into one or more 'circuits.' The outside country villages are dependent upon the preaching power furnished by these centers. Two or more paid, or 'itinerant,' ministers are appointed to each circuit, while a complement of lay, or 'local,' preachers is at hand to assist them, and to the latter is chiefly given the village preaching. The Methodist liturgy is very simple, except where the fashionable congregations in large towns have impinged upon the services of the Established Church. The main-stay is the sermon; and, as this is always extemporaneous, public speaking is more cultivated among this sect than perhaps among any other. There is consequently an ambition to excel in this, common to all, from the most recently introduced 'local preacher' whose name figures on the plan, to the newly-fledged 'reverend' fresh from the last Conference ordination! Seeing that preaching is the great forte of Methodism, it is absolutely necessary that those to whom it is committed be 'sound' in their theology. The test of this is contained in the various theological works which constitute Methodist divinity, chief among which are Wesley's Sermons, Journal, and Commentary on the New Testament; Watson's Institutes of Theology; and the Catechisms published by the Conference. These are the 'law and the testimony,' and to their infallible utterances every new idea advanced by a preacher, lay or itinerant, paid or unpaid, is referred. Let him be able to prove his ground from these and he is safe; let him advance any thing not borne out by these dread authorities and his pulpit privileges are in danger, if not absolutely at an end!"—P. 147.

In our own country such a picture would be largely false. There are statements in Wesley's sermons, plenty of them, which nobody among us understands to be a part of our established theology.

INQUISITORIAL TRAINING OF THE METHODIST PREACHER.

"The means of bringing an offender to task among the Methodists are second in their elaborateness only to the machinery of tests applied when a young man is anxious to commence preaching, to discover whether he 'be sound in his views,' and gives proof of 'genuine conversion.' Let us take the latter method first. The young man, we will suppose, has been a member of the Church for some time, a Sunday-school teacher, and perhaps a 'leader' at prayer-meetings. By this means his religious fervor has been brought up to high-pressure pitch. He feels he has a 'call' to the ministry, and mentions the matter to the superintendent minister of his circuit. The latter investigates the case, and, if it be satisfactory, perhaps allows the aspirant for pulpit honors to 'take duty' for a sick lay preacher at some out-of-the-way village. An experienced local preacher is told off to accompany him, his duty being to 'report' at the next local preachers' quarterly meeting. Should his report be satisfactory, the young man is put on the 'plan' under the heading of 'on trial.' At the next quarterly meeting he has to undergo a strict examination in his scriptural knowledge, doctrinal views, and spiritual experience, as well as to his intimate acquaintance with the catechisms and Wesley's sermons, especially those on 'Original Sin' and 'Justification by Faith.' Should he pass this test, he is then promoted to the dignity of an accredited local preacher. It is from the ranks of such as these whence are drafted the recruits for the paid ministry. Should our young 'local' give signs of unusual ability, or be distinguished for religious fervor, then he may be sounded as to his desire of promotion. As this is frequently the great object of a young lay preacher's ambition, we have the secret of the continued zeal displayed. There is rarely any demurrence on the part of the youth, and so he is gradually passed through the necessary stages. Perhaps he is sent to one of the Wesleyan colleges or institutions at Didsbury or Richmond, where regular tutors are kept to drill the students in theology and elementary classics, etc. Or he may be appointed for a term as a sort of *aide-de-camp*, or assistant, to some popular and over-worked preacher, in whose house he stays, and under whose supervision his studies are directed. He eventually makes his appearance before the Conference, in company with other young men on

a similar errand. By this time he is supposed to be well grounded in Wesleyan theology, as well as in such accepted orthodox works as Pearson on the Creed, Butler's Analogy, and recently also some knowledge of general literature. Throughout every stage of the examinations which have to be passed before ordination the utmost care is taken to insure 'soundness' in matters of doctrinal theology, so that every germ of dissent from orthodoxy is ruthlessly nipped.. It follows that those who may have honest and intelligent difficulties in the way of accepting all the dogmas have no chance of admission within the ministerial pale. The 'subscription' is no loosely worded one, into which critics like Dr. Lushington and Lord Westbury could break. It is rather after the proverbial law of the Medes and Persians. Nor is the subsequent process of inspection less strict than the initiatory test. For some time after his ordination the young minister is under tutelage. His spiritual experience, his preaching, his doctrinal views, his general reading, as well as his success as a preacher, are all carefully noted down. Even in years afterward, should he show signs of 'unsoundness,' he is summoned before the magi of the district meeting, and, unless he recant, is afterward handed over to the tender mercies of the Conference, whose tribunal of 'the Legal Hundred' is as dread as any of mediæval Venice! Should he maintain his heterodox views, however slightly they may be at variance with the Methodist 'law and testimony,' then he is provisionally exiled to some poor out-of-the-way circuit where he cannot do much harm, or else he is totally suspended from preaching. The latter is usually found effective enough, for it is rare indeed that a Wesleyan preacher is able to take to any other occupation. He consequently swallows his peculiar notions as best he can, or never airs them except in secret. We have personally known good, honorable, and intelligent men who have been forced to extremes of this kind. Should a minister be bold enough to adhere to his heterodox opinions, then there remains only martyrdom, in the form of expulsion. He is uprooted as a weed which threatened to defile the pure and unsullied orthodoxy handed down from John Wesley!"—Pp. 147, 148.

Methodism is a voluntary association of free minds agreeing in certain fundamental views of the religion that is most truly

Christian and most conducive to the good of the world. It claims no right to compel any man to join its association or accept its views; but it does claim *the right of not allowing its pulpits or other institutes to be used for the purpose of assailing and destroying its own fundamental principles.* Like every other voluntary association for a philanthropic purpose, it has a right to limit its own principles and actions, and to confine its voluntary agents and ministers, young or old, within those long-held and well-known limitations. The measures taken to secure itself from the intrusion of hostile or hypocritical members are perfectly wise and right. The attempt, like this of the Westminster's, to caricature and vilify them with exaggerating, sneering, or opprobrious words and phrases, is itself proscriptive and persecuting. So far as the young candidate for the ministry is concerned, he is as free in choosing his course as any young man can be in choosing any course of life. It is no fault of ours, it is the misfortune of our finite human nature, that a large part of our most momentous choices for life have to be made in the immaturity of youth. We believe that few make a happier choice than does the young man qualified by nature and grace to enter the Methodist ministry. Many, no doubt, mistake their call; but those who therein do obey a truly divine call, need desire or envy no other calling. To our infidel reviewer the Conference is old Spider inviting young Mr. Fly into his webby parlor; to us it is a divine messenger calling youth and holy ambition to the field of highest usefulness—to a grace and glory here, and a crown hereafter. So far as the aged minister is concerned, to our view the reviewer's picture is shamefully false. Where sincere changes of opinion in advanced life have taken place, what our Church has asked is that her pulpits and institutions be not used or abused to propagate doctrines which she condemns. To the piety and services of the dissenter she still pays commensurate respect. If he feels bound to proclaim his new tenets, she rightfully excludes him from using her institutes or her communion for the purpose. Whatever inconveniences result to him from making a change in his relations are outside the direct aims of the Church in excluding him, and are results arising from the nature of things, and not from any ecclesiastical purpose. We believe that all such truly

conscientious cases are treated with the most humane and fraternal consideration.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, October, 1870. (New York: Reprint—Leonard Scott, 140 Fulton-street.)—1. The War between France and Germany. 2. Sir Henry Bulwer's Life of Lord Palmerston. 3. Prevost-Paradol and Napoleon III. 4. Mismanagement of the British Navy. 5. The French and German Armies and the Campaign in France. 6. Von Sybel's History of the Revolutionary Epoch. 7. German Patriotic Songs. 8. Inefficiency of the British Army. 9. Terms of Peace.

Of Lord Palmerston, who died at the age of eighty-one, this Review says: "If he had died at seventy, before his first Premiership, the place permanently assigned to him by history would be among British statesmen of an inferior order: he would have no pretension to rank with Somers, Walpole, Chatham, Pitt, Fox, Burke, Peel, or Channing."

We are informed by our friends of the *Independent* that the new Governor of Missouri, Gratz Brown, has adopted the rule that young manhood is the condition requi~~site for~~ any place under his administration—age, with whatever ability, being a supreme disqualification. Palmerston, in the zenith of his statesmanship at above seventy, would have been incompetent to serve the illustrious Brown. Franklin at the most brilliant period of his diplomacy, John Quincy Adams in the most noble era of his congressional life, Wesley at the summit of his ecclesiastical statesmanship, would have been disqualified to be the servitors of mighty Brown. Rehoboam adopted the same policy of juvenile counselors, and the division of his kingdom was the permanent consequence. Something of a similar divisive effect, we believe, has already been the result of Mr. Brown's politics.

German Reviews.

ZEITSCHRIFT FUR WISSENSCHAFTLICHE THEOLOGIE. (Journal for Scientific Theology.) Edited by Doctor Hilgenfeld. 1869. Fourth Number.—1. HILGENFELD, Volkmar and the Gospels. 2. GRIMM, Introduction to the Epistle of St. James. 3. HILGENFELD, The Two Epistles of Clement of Rome, and the Recent Literature concerning Them. 4. CALINICH, The Question as to the Original Text of the Confession of Augsburg. 5. EGLY, On the Text of Exodus. 6. HILGENFELD, The Book of Joel in the Persian Age.

The editor and publisher of this periodical, which is the chief organ of the Liberal or Rationalistic school of German theology, announce that from the beginning of next year it will be considerably enlarged, and henceforth it will not only, as hereto-

fore, bring essays, but reviews of important works, treating of theological or kindred subjects, as well as summaries of the contents of the most important theological journals of Germany as well as of foreign countries.

The article on the Epistle of St. James, by Professor Grimm, of the University of Jena, reviews the whole recent German literature on this book of the New Testament, in particular Hengstenberg, *Der Brief des Jakobus*, (Epistle of St. James, in the Evang. Church Gazette, 1866;) Weiss, *Lehrbuch der bibl. Theologie*, (Manual of Biblical Theology of the New Testament. Berlin, 1868,) and W. G. Schmidt, (Professor in Leipsic,) *Der Lehrbegrif des Jakobusbriefs*, (Leipsic, 1869.) The author arrives at the conclusion that the Epistle was probably written between A. D. 70 and A. D. 90.

The article by Prof. Hilgenfeld on Clement of Rome is a learned review of the two new editions of this Church father by Lightfoot (Clement of Rome, the Two Epistles to the Corinthians, a Revised Text, with Introduction and Notes. London, 1869) and Laurent, (*Clementis Romani ad Corinthios Epistula. Insunt et altera quam ferunt Clementis Epistula et Fragmenta.* Leipsic, 1870.)

The original text of the Confession of Augsburg is a document of great importance, as the Lutheran Church, even to this day, and in the United States more than elsewhere, is divided into schools, and even sects, by the different views concerning the original and unaltered Confession of Augsburg. The author undertakes to prove that the German text of the original Augsburg Confession still adheres to a number of Papistical doctrines, and, in particular, to that of transubstantiation.

ZEITSCHRIFT FUR DIE HISTORISCHE THEOLOGIE. (Journal for Historical Theology.) Edited by Dr. Kahnis. 1870. Fourth Number.—1. BOTTGER, The Adversities of Johann Jacob Wetstein during the First Years of his Appointment at the Seminary of the Remonstrants, at Amsterdam. 2. HERZOG, Cantica; the Waldensian Text of the Interpretation of the Song of Songs.

1871. First Number.—1. KOHLER, Gottfried Arnold, the Author of the "*Kirchen und Ketzerhistorie.*" 2. FRIEDEBERG, Contributions to the History of the Interim Agende in the Electorate of Saxony. 3. FURSTER, Dionysius the Great of Alexandria. 4. KOCH, Asterius, Bishop of Amasea. 5. LEIMBACH, Tertullian as Source for the Christian Archaeology.

The *Journal for Historical Theology*, which was first established by Illgen, subsequently edited by Niedner, and is now under the editorial management of Professor Kahnis of Leip-

sic, enters with the first number of 1871 into its forty-first year. The forty volumes hitherto published are replete with essays of profound learning, and on the most important subjects of Church history. Since the accession to the editorial chair of the present editor, the periodical has considerably gained in general interest in consequence of a much better selection of topics. Thus in the two above numbers the articles on Gottfried Arnold, the celebrated author of the "Kirchen und Ketzerhistorie," on Dionysius the Great of Alexandria, and on Tertullian, will not fail to attract the attention of all students of Church history.

In the article headed Cantica, Dr. Herzog, the learned editor of the great Theological Cyclopedia, gives the Waldensian text of an interpretation of the Song of Songs, a German translation of which had been published in the Journal of Historical Theology in 1861. The Waldensian text probably belongs to the fifteenth century, and is one of the most important documents for a history of the language of the Waldenses.

ART. XI.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.

Adam and the Adamite; or, the Harmony of the Scripture and Ethnology. By DOMINICK M'CAUSLAND, LL.D., Author of "Sermons in Stones," etc. 12mo., pp. 324. London: Richard Bentley. 1868.

Doctor M'Causland, in the present volume, essays to reconcile the Bible with science and history on the theory of plurality of origins of the human races. The unity of the human races consists not in the oneness of progenitorship, but oneness of intrinsic nature, oneness of "*blood.*" His work is written with learning and elegance of style. His theory has one clear superiority over that of the Duke of Argyle and Dr. J. B. Thomson—that, while the latter, admitting the oneness of origin, and throwing the Adamic creation back through myriads of years, requires the violation of the sacred text, and destroys the Messianic genealogy, this only demands changes of interpretation—changes which at first seem strange and revolutionary, yet do not, as he maintains, disturb the foundations of the evangelical theology.

Genesis gives the history of the origin of the Caucasian race, the last and noblest of the species, six thousand years ago at the Edenic center. But for its primal fall this race was charged with a mission of untold good to the races of men previously existing; namely, the Turanian, Negro, Khamite, etc. As it was before the flood, Cain and his race, going eastward, built cities for the old races, instituted pasturages of herds, invented music and iron work, and gave China that civilization which she could stereotype but never improve. The Cainite branch fused, and lost itself in the indigenous populations. The deluge destroyed the pure Caucasian race, excepting a single family, and, covering the area described by Hugh Miller, left no traditional traces of itself out of the Caucasian races, whether in Egypt or in China. When the flood subsided, from the three fathers of the Caucasian race, Shem, Ham, and Japheth, the progenies went forth from the land of Shinar, the first into Syria, Chaldea, and Arabia, the second into Egypt, the third eastward into India and westward into Europe. The sons of Ham, led by Mizraim, got possession of Egypt, as Josephus says, "without a battle," and ruled it as the "shepherd kings" during the five hundred years from the dispersion to the death of Joseph. The shepherd race, after invading in vain Syria, Greece, and Carthage in succession, emigrated to America, and erected those vast architectures in Egyptian style so surprising to travelers of the present day.

The two languages of the two existing tribes of the Caucasian race, Hebrew and Aryan, differ widely; neither can be derived from the other, but both bear marks of derivation from a common original. Each is a wonderful structure, appearing as if created by some one master-mind, and yet showing traces of some fracture like that at Babel. The speakers of these two dialects alone possess a great history. The one Caucasian race alone, being about one fifth of all the races, is a superincumbent patch, as if latest born, and overlying the rest.

When Paul says that all men are of one "blood," he does not say of one descent, but of one physical nature. Physically speaking, "the blood is the life;" and where the blood is one, so as to be capable of procreative mixture, the vitality is one, and the species is one. But of Paul's declaration that "By one man sin entered into the world," we find a better solution than M'Causland gives in an old English defender of the doctrine of a pre-Adamite race in our possession, which briefly is as follows:

All evangelical theologians admit that the justifying power of

Christ's death so had a retrospective effect that sin was forgiven and men saved before the atoning event. So both the law given to Adam, and his transgression of the law and penal death, had also a retrospective effect. Over pre-Adamite men there had been no law; and whatever wrong-doing men committed had not the character of sin, "for sin is not imputed where there is no law," and death had not the character of penalty for sin. But in and by Adam law and sin entered into the world, and penal death by sin; and *so death passed upon all men*, Adamites and pre-Adamites alike, *for all have* not only done wrong, but *sinned.* It is not necessary to maintain that Paul personally knew or held the fact that pre-Adamites existed and were overspread by the power of Adam's sin, any more than he knew that Americans existed and were so influenced. Paul, by inspiration, stated the principles that covered the whole human race, without claiming to know how extensive the human race is, whether geographically or chronologically. The unity of the race is thus unity of nature, a unity in the moral identification with Adam, and a unity in the atoning power of the death of Christ. We give the arguments as we find them, that those of our readers to whom the subject may be new may be posted to the last dates.

Dr. M'Causland's volume is very ingenious, learned, and eloquent in style.

John Wesley in Company with High-Churchmen. By an Old Methodist. 12mo., pp. 158. London, 1869.

Like Mr. Urlin's book, "Wesley's Place in Church History," lately noticed in our Quarterly, this volume is a part of an elaborate effort to win the English Methodists into an identification with the Establishment. What strikes our American Methodist reader as a curiosity is the reversal of affinities on the two sides of the Atlantic. Here the only affinity is between Methodism and the Low Church. Our view of American High-Churchism is, that it is simply the pseudo-religious side of a lofty attempt at social gentility, and its ritualism but a scenic show to attract fashionable ladies and sentimental effeminates of the other sex to form a *religio*-social aristocracy. Quite otherwise, as appears in volumes like this, is it with the English High-Church movement. It claims to be a true religious revival, akin to the Wesleyan revival as Wesley intended it, of true primitive Christianity. It assumes to be, like Methodism, "Christianity in earnest;" and for all its forms it quotes both the example of the primitive Church and the express

sanctions of Wesley in Wesley's own words of the great body of their forms! As against the English Church of Wesley's day, which shut the doors of the Church against Wesley, they frankly and unequivocally take sides with Wesley. They indorse his field preaching, his circuit-riders, his local preachers, his class-meetings, and his love-feasts. They can take all those bodily into the Church, ordaining many of their preachers, and authorizing their lay-preachers, on condition that the sacraments be administered only by successionally ordained presbyters, and the Wesleyan preaching be out of church hours, except where otherwise fraternally agreed. This they claim to have been Wesley's own *idea*, and that the Wesleyans in refusing it are anti-Wesleyan.

The volume before us professes to give in parallel columns the views of the Ritualists and quotations from Wesley, showing the entire identity between the two. The references to Wesley's words are made with careful provision for verification. The dates are approximately given, and it is strenuously maintained that Wesley's views on these points continued unchanged to the day of his death. To the last Wesley was a High-Churchman, a sacramentarian, a successionalist, and a ritualist! Both this and Mr. Urlin's book are certainly written in a very cordial, we might say magnanimous, Christian spirit.

A Heathen Nation Evangelized. History of the Sandwich Islands Mission. By RUFUS ANDERSON, D.D., LL.D., late Foreign Secretary of the Board. 12mo., pp. 408. Boston: Congregational Publishing Society. 1870.

"Radical Christianity" of the truest type displays itself in this volume. Such Christianity has very repulsive aspects. It requires something more than brilliant essays in the "higher criticism." It does not boast of belonging to "the most advanced thought," the "latest developments," etc., etc. It costs money, and men, and faith, and perseverance. There are tug and toil, and drudgery and dirty work about it. And there are patient endurances of slanders from wordy "philanthropists," and annoying interferences from mercenary traders and licentious sailors and other sensualists. Positivists, and rationalists, and liberalists, and "reformers" do not like to take off their coats and do such menial business. Their "mission" is to stay at home and expend their force in destroying the bigotry, and superstition, and heathenism that prompts these narrow Evangelicals to engage in such base employments as redeeming cannibals from their savagery and brutalism, to laws, government, worship, books, and peace. When

the "Rev. Edward C. Towne" has reformed the "heathenism" out of these fanatics, and brought them all to his pure liberalism, doubtless such indecencies will cease.

Meanwhile the bigots who persist in "calling Jesus Lord" will read the pages of this book with a peculiar delight. They will trace with great enjoyment this picture of struggle and triumph through half a century, closed with a joyous "jubilee." They will gaze with gratulation on the dark-browed king of the Isles as pictured in its frontispiece, clothed in the garb and the unmistakable attributes of a Christian gentleman. A deservedly happy man the venerable Dr. Anderson must be in the privilege of writing such a history. Such a story can be told by true radical Christianity only.

Religious Thought in England. From the Reformation to the End of Last Century. A Contribution to the History of Theology. By the Rev. JOHN HUNT, M. A., Author of "An Essay on Pantheism." Vol. I. 8vo., pp. 470. London: Strahan & Co. New York: George Routledge & Sons. 1870.

Mr. Hunt is the author of a work on Pantheism exhibiting no ordinary power of deep thought and terse style. The present volume traces the progress of religious thought from the days of Robert Barnes and William Tyndale, when England was cast off the dominion of the papacy, to the days of the Platonist, Whichcote, and the natural religionist, Herbert of Cherbury. Mr. Hunt draws characters with a graphic pen. He traces the career of opinions with no ordinary philosophical insight. He expresses his own views with the freedom of an independent thinker. He illustrates the opinions of authors and periods by copious extracts from the master pens of the religious England of the past. We are struck with the proof that this is one of the most entertaining forms of ecclesiastical history. The extracts from the writings of a train of England's best minds, such as Cranmer, Latimer, Jewell, Hooker, Laud, Milton, John Goodwin, Hammond, Jeremy Taylor, Chillingworth, Hobbes, and others, constitute a small library of very rich literature.

Commentary on Paul's Epistle to the Romans. With an Introduction on the Life, Times, Writings, and Character of Paul. By WILLIAM S. PLUMER, D.D., LL.D., Author of "Studies in the Book of Psalms," etc. 8vo., pp. 646. New York: Anson D. Randolph. 1870.

If any one supposes that stereotype old Calvinism of the most pronounced kind has gone out of existence, or has diminished the intensity of its repulsiveness, he may find his mistake quite corrected by the stately octavo on our table. Dr. Plumer imagines that he has amply defended the Synod of Dort on the subject of

infant damnation, when he shows that that orthodox body denied that the infant of any believer would ever be damned. The inference is that all infants guilty of unbelieving parents are damned. Dr. Plumer thinks the assailants of Calvinism on this point are guilty of "malignity." We know no "malignity" more diabolical than apparently dwells in the head and heart of the unflinching theologian who can coolly stand up and even imply by silence that dogma.

Work-day Christianity; or, The Gospel in the Trades. By Alexander Clark, author of "The Gospel in the Trees," "The Old Log School-house." With an Introductory Note by William Cullen Bryant. 12mo., pp. 300. Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen, & Haffelfinger. 1871.

Mr. Clark is well known as a popular preacher and editor. The present volume is founded upon a leading original thought. The various artisans—the Carpenter, the Mason, the Brick-layer, the Potter, the Printer, the Day-laborer—are taught and inspired to trace the connections of their handicraft with Scripture and with holy things. The various allusions to the particular art in the Bible are adduced and its higher associations are traced. This is done with a variety of rich imagery clothed in graceful language. Herein Mr. Clark copies one of the methods of the Great Teacher, in a very fresh and unique manner.

A Complete System of Christian Theology; or, A Concise, Comprehensive, and Systematic View of the Evidence, Doctrines, Morals, and Institutions of Christianity. By Samuel Wakefield, D. D. 8vo., pp. 664. Pittsburgh: J. L. Read & Son. 1869.

This is a revised edition of Dr. Wakefield's work noticed by our Quarterly some years since as a successful attempt to abridge, simplify, and supplement Watson. Dr. Wakefield is an able theologian, and a clear writer of the Queen's English. To those desiring the main substance of Watson in a less stately form, the work may be recommended. Yet so rapid, during even the last ten years, has been the progress of thought upon the very fundamentals of theology, such the developments of science and the new forms of skeptical and heterodox attack, that our whole body of divinity needs reconstruction by some master hand.

The Theology of Christ. From His Own Words. By Joseph P. Thompson. 12mo., pp. 295. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1870.

With a full mastery of the subject, and with a facile pen, Dr. Thompson has endeavored to abstract himself from all prepossession, and to learn, as for the first time, the doctrines of Christ solely from Christ's own words as reported by the Evangelists.

The fact that he finally discerns his own previous creed in that mirror will demonstrate to many minds that he has failed in his effort at abstraction. Others will decide for themselves how clear a light this mode of investigation can throw on Christian doctrine.

Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.

Protoplasm; or, Life, Matter, and Mind. By LIONEL S. BEALE, M.B., F.R.S., Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians; Physician to King's College Hospital. With numerous colored drawings, executed on wood, and copied from the objects themselves. Second Edition, revised and much enlarged. 12mo., pp. 160. London: J. Churchill & Sons. 1870.

Dr. Beale is familiarly known to the medical profession as the great authority in Microscopy as applied in Physiology. He is the author of a work on that science, and joint author with other gentlemen of a Physiology in which the topic of *Life* is thoroughly discussed and the doctrine of a *Vital Power* is maintained. He is Editor of "The Archeus of Medicine," and has published treatises on Nerve Centers and Nerve Currents. He has in preparation other works on the same general topics. No man has ever so nearly *seen* the contact points between spirit and matter, or is abler to speak from an ocular stand-point of their relations and nature. Even he, of course, cannot from such a position speak with the decisiveness of absolute authority; but it is well worth our while to listen to utterances which may be well accepted as the "latest science" and the most "advanced thought" in this intensely interesting department.

The title, of course, indicates that this little volume was called out by Professor Huxley's Lecture on Protoplasm. Dr. Beale handles Professor Huxley with respect, but sometimes without ceremony. The term Protoplasm he shows to be applied with such a license and inconsistency by Huxley and others to such a variety of things as to lose all significance, and to become useless as a technic. He trips up Huxley's scientific "facts," riddles his logic, laughs at his circumlocutory verbiage, and charges that a few leading men in science are exerting their powers to force an unscientific materialistic dogmatism upon the public mind. Had Dr. Beale been a clergyman this unequivocal language would have been held as one of the onslaughts of a "bigoted theology" upon science. But it is science against science. It is the higher scientific authority against the lower.

It is an intensely important question at the present day, What is Life? Writers like Carpenter, Draper, Youmans, Herbert

Spencer, and a large body of physiologists, define it as simply the sum total of all our *actions* as organic systems; and those actions within our physical systems by which they form, grow, pass through a natural history, and dissolve, are all the results of chemical and mechanical causes. Dr. Carpenter holds that a "vital principle" is no more necessary in a human body than a locomotive needs a "steam-engine principle." Draper believes that all the phenomena of human vitality are as truly produced by chemico-mechanical powers and forces as the blaze of a candle. And the reader is in due time made to understand that under this term *Life*, as so chemico-mechanically produced, are included all the phenomena of consciousness. The whole come under the term Biology, or Life-science. And Biology, including Psychology, is but a branch of Physiology. All that men have hitherto designated as soul, mind, spirit, are but the chemico-mechanical action of organic masses of matter.

But these gentlemen deny that they are materialists? How? By putting forward *an idealistic theory of matter itself.* Thus Professor Huxley expends the last third of his lecture in extricating us from materialism by showing that matter itself is nothing but a *force* by which our minds are impressed; that we know nothing of what matter is made, and that it makes no difference whether you call it matter or spirit. The transparent fallacy of such an extrication is of course obvious to these gentlemen themselves. Whatever matter is or is not, they silently imply that thought or soul is the result of its organized form, and *forever ceases to exist* when that organism dissolves. Whether their theory denies immaterialism or not, it denies immortality. It denies that dualism of our nature by which our true self is seen to survive the wreck of our corporeal self. If they demonstrate this theory nothing is left us but the renunciation of Christianity, or the adoption of that Christian annihilationism which maintains the resurrectional reorganization of the same body with the same system of recollections and consciousness, as the only ground of our hope of a future existence.

Dr. Beale, on the other hand, maintains that matter is found in a proper *living state*, in which actions are performed which no chemico-mechanical causes can be supposed to produce. It is derived as no unliving aggregation is, from a similar organism, hereditarily and lineally; it *grows* in its own unique way as nothing else does; it distributes its own particles into correspondent departments; so as to form and construct itself into a symmetrical and definitely planned organism; it possesses the power of self

motion in violation of the laws of gravitation, and unindebted to mechanical impulsion or chemical agency. And from Psychology Dr. Beale might have added that by consciousness we identify our *ego* not so much with the moved limb as with the moving *power*. What moves my body is I.

To illustrate the nature of Life, Dr. Beale goes to its simplest and most primitive instance in the minutest animal form known to science, *the amœbæ:*

> One characteristic of every kind of living matter is spontaneous movement. This, unlike the movement of any kind of non-living matter yet discovered, occurs in all directions, and seems to depend upon changes in the matter itself rather than upon impulses communicated to the particles from without.
>
> I have been able to watch the movements of small amœbæ, which multiplied freely without first reaching the size of the ordinary individuals. I have represented the appearance under a magnifying power of 5,000 diameters of some of the most minute amœbæ I have been able to discover. Several of these were less than $\frac{1}{100000}$ of an inch in diameter, and yet were in a state of most active movement. The alteration in form was very rapid, and the different tints in the different parts of the moving mass, resulting from alterations in thickness, were most distinctly observed. The living bodies might, in fact, be described as consisting of minute portions of very transparent material, exhibiting the most active movements in various directions, in every part, and capable of absorbing nutrient materials from the surrounding medium. A portion which was at one moment at the lowest point of the mass would pass in an instant to the highest part. In these movements one part seemed, as it were, to pass through other parts, while the whole mass moved now in one, now in another direction, and movements in different parts of the mass occurred in directions different from that in which the whole was moving. What movements in lifeless matter can be compared with these?
>
> The movements above described continue as long as the external conditions remain favorable; but if these alter, and the amœbæ be exposed to the influence of unfavorable circumstances—as altered pabulum, cold, etc.—the movements become very slow, and then cease altogether. The organism becomes spherical, and the trace of soft formed material upon the surface increases until a firm protective covering, envelope, or cell-wall results. In this way the life of the germinal matter is preserved until the return of favorable conditions, when the living matter emerges from its prison, grows, and soon gives rise to a colony of new amœbæ, which exhibit the characteristic movements.
>
> A little transparent, colorless material is the seat of these marvelous powers or properties by which the form, structure, and function of the tissues and organs of all living things are determined. But this transparent material possesses a remarkable power of movement, which has already been referred to. It may thus transport itself long distances, and extend itself so as to get through pores, holes, and canals too minute to be seen even with the aid of very high powers. There are creatures of exquisite tenuity which are capable of climbing through fluids, and probably through the air itself—creatures which climb without muscles, nerves, or limbs—creatures with no mechanism, having no structure, capable when suspended in the medium in which they live of extending any one part of the pulpy matter of which they consist beyond another part, and of causing the rest to follow; as if each part *willed* to move and did so, or moved in immediate response to mandates operating upon it from a distance, governed by some undiscovered, and at present unimagined, laws—creatures which multiply by separating into two or more parts without loss of substance, or capacity, or power. It would seem that each part possessed equal powers with the whole, for the smallest particle detached may soon grow into a body like the original mass in every respect; and the process may be repeated infinitely without any loss or diminution in capacity

or power. It may be asked if there is any thing approaching this occurring within the range of physics or chemistry.

Dr. Beale gives the following on the nature and abode of man's designing mind:

> In man there seems to be seated in, and limited to, a special part of his nervous mechanism a still higher and more wonderful power, influencing a very special and easily destructible living matter. By virtue of this power man alone, of all created beings, is impelled to seek for the causes of the phenomena he observes, and is enabled to devise new arrangements of material substances for his own definite purposes, and in a manner in which these substances were never arranged before, and in which it is not conceivable they could be arranged without man's design and agency. The power supposed—totally distinct from any forces or properties of which we are cognizant, and not in any way correlated with any known forms or modes of force of which we have any experience—exerts its sway upon any definite portion of matter during varying, but usually only very brief, periods of time, often momentarily, and is then transferred to, or passes on and influences new particles. From these the powers are transmitted to others, and so on; the amount of matter influenced at any one moment being greater in some situations than in others, and varying according to a number of circumstances. In relation with the delicate living matter, seated near the surface of the gray matter of the convolutions of man's brain, which is alone concerned in mental action, I conceive that vital power attains its most exalted form. It seems to be temporarily chained, as it were, to this matter, which it acts upon, and through which alone it can make itself evident; but seeing that all forms of vital power are transferable, surely there is nothing contrary to reason in supposing that it may be freed from the material and yet be.

From a view of the entire subject, we are again brought to Plato's maxim that *mind is precedent to matter.* Soul molds our fœtal bodies at first in adaption to her own future uses; she molds to the same form the successions of materialism which pass through our bodily shape.

* * *

On the Hypothesis of Evolution: Physical and Metaphysical. University Series, No. 4. By Professor EDWARD D. COPE. 12mo., pp. 71. New Haven, Conn.: Charles C. Chatfield & Co. 1870.

Professor Cope's lecture is an ingenious attempt to reconcile the theories of Darwin and Spencer with the Bible and with religion as held by the evangelical Church. He maintains that man is a development from a race which "would at the present day be called *ape*." The early stage of man's existence as man is that of an irresponsible necessity of action, typified by the innocence of Eden. The *fall* was the commencement of man's free-agency, in which free-agency either of two modes of development is placed at command of his will—that of subjection to materialism, ending in ruin, or that of freedom through the spirit, tending to immortal life.. The latter is attained through the redemption wrought by Jesus Christ. Under his gracious system, duly accepted by the free-agent, the race is to be developed in the future to its highest capacity, and

the individual is to be raised to the highest spiritual and everlasting life.

We give his interpretation of an important Scripture text:

> In Genesis ii, 7, the text reads, "And the Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a living soul." The fact that man is the result of the modification of an ape-like predecessor nowise conflicts with the above statement as to the materials of which his body is composed. Independently of origin, if the body of man be composed of dust, so must that of the ape be, since the composition of the two is identical. But the statement simply asserts that man was created of the same materials which compose the earth: their condition as "dust" depending merely on temperature and subdivision. The declaration, "Dust thou art, and unto dust thou shalt return," must be taken in a similar sense, for we know that the decaying body is resolved not only into its earthly constituents, but also into carbonic acid gas and water.
>
> When God breathed into man's nostrils the breath of life, we are informed that he became, not a living body, but "a living soul." His descent from a pre-existent being involved the possession of a living body; but when the Creator breathed into him we may suppose that he infused into this body the immortal part, and at that moment man became a conscientious and responsible being.

Perhaps the following suggestions would aid Mr. Cope:

1. The word *formed* might be rendered *developed*, being the term that designates the development by the hand of the potter of clay on the wheel into a vessel. An Almighty Potter might take ages to develop man on this revolving round of earth. 2. Before *dust of* (or rather *from*) *the earth* there is no preposition in the original. The rendering might then perhaps be, Jehovah Elohim developed man—dust from the earth—and breathed into his nostrils, etc. *Dust from the earth* is a periphrasis to distinguish man's *body* as antithetic to God's divine *breath—materiality* in contrast with *spirituality*. Were this text thus read for the first time by a man educated from childhood in the development theory he would, probably, mentally construe it entirely in accordance with his prepossessions. He would simply understand that man was developed bodily and inspired spiritually *by Jehovah*. Time forms no element of the statement. Interpret it as to time in the same way as the Mosaic creation is now interpreted, and it is easily reconciled with "Evolution."

On this reconciliation we pen the following notes:

1. Professor Cope makes upon page 36 a suggestive remark, showing that the maxim that "nature never moves *per saltum*, by leaps," has most important exceptions. Vapor cools and condenses quietly through many degrees; when at last, *by a jump*, it becomes water. Water cools evenly through several degrees, when, at the proper point, it *jumps* into ice. There are thus two violations of uniformity, *miracles*, in the series.

2. In the world's history we may reckon three great miraculous

events. The first is the interference of Divine Intelligence with chaos, by which the entire system of things is lifted out of unintelligent disorder and becomes mind-directed and mind-molded. This is the incarnation of the Father, the Creator. The second is the breathing into the body of man immortal Life. And this is the incarnation of the Spirit. The third is the inserting a Divine Birth in a series of human lineage. And this is the incarnation of the Son. This is a pyramid of miracles, broadest at the base, narrowest yet loftiest at the top.

3. From this, even assuming the doctrine of Evolution or Development, according to Spencer or Darwin, we can present, perhaps, a better Adamic theory than Professor Cope's. At Adam's immortalization, the completion of the development of animality, there took place a *saltus*, a leap, a miracle, an incarnation of the Divine, raising Adam to a pure and perfect humanity, the summit to which development can bring the elements of the human race. He was placed in an Edenic scene of probation and fell. He was ancestor of Noah, and father of the Hametic, Shemetic, and Japhetic lines, constituting the Caucasian race. The Mosaic narrative is therefore historically true and chronologically accurate.

In conclusion, we very decidedly recommend Mr. Chatfield's University Series, in which the momentous problems started by science and touching the sublimest hopes of man, which are stirring the higher thought of the age, are shaped into cheap tracts and scattered broadcast before the public mind. They should be read, at any rate, by our clergy, inasmuch as the questions raised cannot be ignored, and the minister who disregards them may not only meet the rebukes of the scientists, but may find his congregation wiser than its teacher. Mr. Chatfield's publications present impartially the various phases of the many-sided discussions.

History, Biography, and Topography.

Methodism in the State of New York, as represented in the State Convention held in Syracuse, N. Y., Feb. 22–24, 1870. 8vo., pp. 150. New York: Carlton & Lanahan. 1870.

We here place the Report of the New York Methodist Convention as the text of a brief discourse, not because it was what it was, an awakener to the vigorous but quiet Methodism of Central New York; nor because it was the first movement of the kind, for New England had its predecessor; nor because it was the last, for it has been followed by a train of equally successful

assemblages; but because it comes in a noticeable volume upon our table, and aids in the suggestion of a few cognate thoughts.

With a fraternal regard for the opinions of those who differed from us, we congratulate the Church on the incorporation of Lay Delegation into her Constitution. We believe that its honest and loyal opposers will rejoice in finding that all their anticipations of danger and harm were mistaken. Nearly all the discussions in our Conventions have conclusively evinced that our people are loyal to themselves, the Church; that our popular heart is true, zealous, and energetic, and the more it is stirred, and trusted, and laden with responsibilities, the more true, and zealous, and energetic it is; and that nothing will so inspire a large body of laymen to work, and labor, and expand, as the feeling that the Church is their own—is THEMSELVES. Whoso has feared that the lay element will be a source of weakness, will find it to be the creation of a new power. Whoso imagines that it will trench upon the just rights and well-being of the ministry, will find that it will give new consequence, efficiency, and enjoyableness to the ministerial office. Whoso dreams that our laymen elect will assume their position as a "dominant party" to proscribe or remember adversely the honest dissenters from their introduction, will find all partisan lines obliterated by their incoming, and men and measures alike obliged to stand upon their own merits. The first assumption of their seats by our laymen elect in the General Conference of 1872 in this city of New York will be welcomed, we doubt not, with a joyful unanimity, will constitute a peaceful revolution full of strength and prosperity to religion and the Church, and become a marked epoch in her history.

And now, this great result secured, *we want no further fundamental changes.* By these words we express no dogged conservatism. We are perfectly aware that any decreeing our own immutability is a chaining the Hellespont. We mean that, while we reject no changes that Providence and the best good indicate, we do not imagine that Providence and the best good indicate any change as desirable. The best use of our eyes we can make renders us firmly conservative. With a General Conference completely representative of the entire Church; with an Episcopacy alert and efficient, yet free from the pressure of a divine successionalism; with a triennial ministry, and a well-framed publishing system, we have the best religious organization of modern times, and all we have now to do is to *run the machine to its highest power!*

Contemporaneous with the Lay Delegation discussion we recognize three important movements of popular feeling, from which

we augur favorable results. The first was our Centenary celebration, which may be in a good measure styled *a great pecuniary revival.* The second is the new unfoldings of our camp-meeting institutions, which bears largely the aspect of *spiritual revival.* The third is this spontaneous upspringing of conventions in behalf of the advancement of the Church, which may be held an *organic revival.* These three have *grown*, not *been made.* Carlyle says that genius is *unconscious* in working its intellectual miracles; it does not know what it is about. So the men engaging in these various developments have not quite known adequately what they were about. Their work grows into incalculable shapes, and the real shape they learn perhaps with a little surprise from outside lookers-on. So it was that Methodism first grew on Wesley's hands. So it will continue to be. We have but to proceed earnestly, performing the duty of the hour, and we shall find that God has been using us to work developments of which we had slight conception.

These Conventions, rising into existence spontaneously, are the true and rich out-growth of the popular energy of the Church, and their result will be the intensification and increase of that energy. They promise to be "a power," and a source of power. Yet, like every power, they have their danger. Power unguided by wisdom is a blind, destructive force. Such Conventions as originate from the loyal heart of the Church, with a well-considered programme planned by wise and loyal heads, cannot fail to energize the Church in every great and good enterprise. The various departments of Missions, Education, Publications, Churches, Revivals, etc., cannot but be quickened with new life. But to be a safe *power* such Conventions are generally to assume that the doctrines, institutes, and constitution of the Church are settled. They are not debating clubs, where garrulous gentlemen may display their oratory; nor constitutional assemblies, where the fundamentals of the Church are to come under question. The conservative-progressive good sense of our laity has thus far displayed admirably itself. In a single instance only, that we have noticed, was a trespass committed on the proper programme, and that was properly checked. It is, we think, the prerogative and duty of the Chair at start to call all such irrelevances to order.

The *Independent* inquires if that peremptory bringing to order is freedom of discussion. Certainly, we reply. It is a maintenance of the right of the Convention to discuss its own selected topics against an attempt to overrule it. Every organized body—a court, a congregation, a committee—has a right to exclude irrel-

evances in order to secure its own *freedom to discuss* its own proper business. He who interrupts *infringes the liberty of free discussion.* Please note, also, Friend *Independent*, that there is not only a freedom of *tongue* to be maintained, but a freedom of *ears.* A man has a right to *say* what he pleases, but he has no right to compel us to *listen.* We warn all twaddlers that come into our office that we lay down our ear-trumpet at our "own sweet will." Our Conventions are under no obligation to be victimized by every inventive genius who has a patent specialty to spring upon them, and so be "turned aside to vain jangling."

If any set of Methodists see fit to call a Convention of their own, taking into its programme our publishing system, our episcopacy, our twenty-five articles of faith, we do not dispute their right, and will not interfere or interrupt. But we can inflict upon them a very severe staying away; our liberty of speech may exercise itself in a very decided condemnation of their course; our liberty of action may be on the alert to defeat their object. The liberty cannot be all on one side. Such conventions, however, as well as any conventions that go into random discussions upon illegitimate topics, would soon bring the entire system of conventions into disrepute.

Finally, upon a survey of our present condition and prospects we may cheerfully say, "The best of all is, God is with us." These developments, that grow uncalculated and unmeasured upon our hands, disclose to us the Divinity that guides and shapes us. God's spirit is within our midst. God's blessing rests upon our work. He calls upon us to bow in humble gratitude before him. By countless indications on every hand he bids us go with joyful energy to our mission.

John Wesley, and the Evangelical Reaction of the Eighteenth Century. By JULIA WEDGWOOD. 12mo., pp. 412. London: Macmillan & Co. 1870.

Julia Wedgwood writes from the Churchly stand-point, but with too little love for her subject and a purpose of true historical candor. Her style is free, fresh, and graceful, and her book is entitled to a respected place in literature. She writes not a biography, but a portraiture of character, and is thus enabled, avoiding details, to range over the most interesting fields of remark.

Julia Wedgwood acquits Wesley of the ambition for being either a leader or a founder, which Southey once attributed to him, but with honorable candor subsequently admitted not to have existed. Her reason for such acquittal is that most of the innovations on which the formation of the Methodist organism were

based, unequivocally appear upon a minute study of facts to have been forced upon Wesley by others much against his previous will. This appears to her to perfectly demonstrate the purity of Wesley's motives, though somewhat at the expense of that great reputation for "statesmanship" attributed by Macaulay and Buckle. While under Dr. Stevens' portrayal Methodism is a great "movement" in which Divine forces and rare human agents revolutionized the age, with Julia Wedgwood it was a great "reaction" in which the natural sea-swell carried the agents onward and upward. This reaction was the nation's spiritual recovery from the terrible ebb consequent upon the revulsion from the Puritan ascendancy. Wesleyanism was, therefore, evangelicism re-arising in a more genial form, after the type of the primitive Church, Arminian, and, as Wesley intended it, within the Establishment. On the folly and wickedness that closed the church-doors, opened the sluices of Churchly controversy, and raised the popular mobs against Wesley, Julia pours the vengeance of history with ample severity.

Julia Wedgwood is more to be credited with intentional candor than with accurate judgment. Isaac Taylor held Wesley's mind to have been rather intuitive than logical; Julia repeatedly asserts its rigidly and coldly logical character. In the calm self-poise of Wesley's character, largely natural, yet wonderfully confirmed by religious assurance, Julia recognizes an unamiable hardness of nature; yet whence shall we trace the rich emotional temperament of Methodism unless it be to the tranquil depth of feeling in her founder? As nature, religion, and living activity molded Wesley, all accounts describe him as a perfect model of clear-eyed serenity. That model, kept before the eyes of his people for scores of years, *created a modern type of primitive Christianity.* It is thus one of the marvels of history, and yet true, that every thorough Methodist of the present day is discernably a reproduction of that type.

For theology Julia has not the head. In the whole Calvinistic controversy she shows the non-committalism, or rather committalism to both sides, not of impartiality but of incompetency, by deciding that each side refutes the other, and both sides as equally true and equally false. Yet her views of the great reaction are often clear and comprehensive, and she may be read with pleasure and profit as contributing with more than ordinary ability her phase of the subject. In her preface she says: "I cannot include in this list the work of the Rev. Thomas Jackson—by far the most interesting Methodist biography of the Wesleys—without a brief allusion to an interview with this venerable man, from which I derived a sense of the vitality of the system of religion represented by him,

which the following record, being wholly occupied with the past, could not attempt to embody."

On Wesley's leaving America she remarks: "Such was the disastrous and humiliating experience of John Wesley in that continent where the religious sect associated with his name was destined to 'spring up,' to use an expression taken from an American Review of the present day, 'like the volcanic mountains of Mexico, which still amaze us by the figure they make in our geography.' Eight millions of religionists now call themselves disciples of a man who left their continent in disgrace which we can hardly refrain from calling well-deserved."

No writer as yet, neither Julia, nor Dr. Stevens, nor Wesley himself, has done full justice to the grandest executive act of Wesley's whole life—his ordination of Bishops for American Methodism. When we read the babyish whimper of the letters of his brother Charles to him, and John's half-apologetic yet firm replies, we seem to wish that for a moment the latter could have been visited with the spirit of prophecy, enabling him to say: "DEAR BROTHER CHARLES: I have now performed the crowning act of my life. By one bold stroke I have emancipated American Methodism from the night-mare of successional Episcopacy, and given her a free, alert, voluntary superintendency. This act in 1784 will give to America a Church, which in 1884 will overspread the continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific, gathering untold millions into her fold, and which with one hand shall check the growth of Popery, and roll back with the other the surging tide of Rationalism. The pure evangelic doctrines and the rich evangelic unction which God has enabled you and me to bestow upon her she will maintain in full power, and she shall be the greatest Gospel agent in the greatest of free Christian nations for spreading scriptural holiness through the land and through the earth." Wesley knew the simple righteousness of his own act, but he dreamed not of its sublimity as measured by its results. That sublimity *we know;* and, realizing its grand measure, we laugh to scorn the puerilities with which the big Episcopal sect in England and the little Episcopal sect in America re-echo the effeminate whimpers of dear brother Charles.

An Alphabetic Dictionary of the Chinese Language in the Foochow Dialect. By Rev. R. S. MACLAY, D. D., of the Methodist Episcopal Mission, and Rev. C. C. BALDWIN, A. M., of the American Board Mission. Foochow Methodist Episcopal Mission Press. 1870.

The dictionary of Messrs. Baldwin and Maclay has several things to commend it to public favor. It has been compiled by men

thoroughly qualified for the work by native sagacity, mature thought, and classical education, combined with more than twenty years daily and hourly study of the Chinese language, both by contact with the native mind as a vehicle of communication, and by reading, close study, and special consultation of books—classical and colloquial, native and foreign, general and local vocabularies—and dictionaries, under the most competent, thorough, and learned native instructors. It is the latest work of its kind, and has the advantage of improving upon all its predecessors by adopting their excellences and rejecting their defects. A full dictionary is a perfect thesaurus of all the words in a language, used and usable comprising terms in all departments, law, theology, medicine, science, arts; but the *working* words of a language, aside from those that are professional and occasional, are comparatively few in number. The Chinese compares favorably with any other language in the number of its written signs. The dictionary before us defines some eight or nine thousand separate characters, and gives us at the foot of the page phrases, or characters combined to express ideas, to the number of thirty to thirty-five thousand more. Johnson's Dictionary has less than forty thousand words; Webster's, about eighty thousand; Worcester's, over one hundred thousand. The Imperial Dictionary of Kanghi, compiled from all previous sources by the eight years' labor of over seventy learned men, and published in 1711, contains forty-four thousand five hundred characters. Morrison translated, and the East India Company published in 1818, the whole of these in six splendid quarto volumes, at an expense of $60,000. Medhurst also published them all in two unpretending but exceedingly useful volumes. The Romish missionaries, Deguignes, Callery, and Gonçalves, more wisely made a selection of the *working* words of the language, and published dictionaries of eleven thousand to thirteen thousand characters. Besides the Imperial Dictionary, arranged after the two hundred and fourteen radicals, foreigners found in existence local dictionaries arranged after the initials and finals. Medhurst Englished one in the Amoy dialect many years ago; Williams, a Tonic Dictionary of the Canton dialect, after a native work, in 1856. The name of the book was not happily chosen. The word "tonic" has a cant meaning. "Tone," or "tonal," would have been better. We mention this here because we have a similar objection to the name "alphabetic" attached to the book before us. It conveys the impression that the Chinese is an alphabetic language, than which nothing could be more erroneous. The word refers merely to the English arrangement of the work. This,

however, is a point of minor consequence. While the Tonal Dictionary of Williams is available for studying the dialect of "six sevenths of nineteen millions of people," the Tonal Dictionary of Maclay and Baldwin is restricted, provincially, to five millions; nevertheless, the authors have ingeniously contrived, by affixing the names of the mandarin or court dialect to the characters, as well as their locally read and spoken sounds, to make their work available for students of the language throughout the empire. In the index of characters according to radicals, the student is referred to the page of the book on which the character is to be found, with its various names in the mandarin, local and colloquial—an improvement on the old mode. To missionaries this work will be invaluable, particularly in Foochow. It will be a wonderful saving in future. Manuscript copying is expensive business. Sixty years ago, when there was not a Chinese dictionary in any foreign dress, it used to cost $200 to have the eight thousand characters defined by the Jesuits copied. It would not surprise us to learn that the Foochow missionaries had expended in twenty years, on manuscript dictionaries, vocabularies, and verbal aids to study, as much as this edition of the new translation has cost. All this will be needless in future.

A curious language is the Chinese. Here is a dictionary with nine hundred words, multiplied by tones, inflections, and combinations to forty thousand meanings! To the eye the Chinese is one of the richest languages in the world. Its expressive symbols flash their meaning on the understanding and imagination as pictures do. To the ear it is the barrenest of all tongues. In this book, for instance, are fifty-six Yongs and seventy-five Ings! whose written characters are perfectly distinct, but whose vocal meaning is ascertained only by tone and position. Full one third of the possible Ings and Yongs are not here represented! Barren as the Chinese is of words, the natives have no lack of ingenuity in naming any new object—a steam-boat is expressively called fire-wheel-ship; a locomotive, fire-wheel-car; a friction match, quick-come-fire; and so on endlessly.

We have room only to say further that the mechanical execution of the volume before us, though done entirely by Chinese hands, is all that one could desire. E. W.

Index to Harper's New Monthly Magazine. Volumes I to XL. From June 1850 to May 1870. 8vo., pp. 433. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1870.

The forty volumes of Harper's Magazine may claim to be *a library of no ordinary* interest and value. Its record of history, travels,

and science, done by the hands of masters in these departments, is very extensive, and constitutes a large body of solid and instructive reading. The various objective points in those departments are plentifully and clearly illustrated with maps and pictorials. The register of current events forms a connected contemporaneous history of the past twenty years. Then the high discussion of the most momentous questions, and the varieties of fiction, poetry, and humor, form a miscellany appealing to every taste. Unquestionably this is the most popular, because the most valuable, monthly published in England or America. Those who have been wise enough to preserve the whole set will need the key to the treasury—this Index.

Outline of Sir William Hamilton's Philosophy. A Text-Book for Students. By the Rev. J. CLARK MURRAY, Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy, Queen's University, Canada. With an Introduction by the Rev. JAMES M'COSH, LL. D., President of Princeton College, N. J. 16mo., pp. 257. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1870.

It is refreshing to escape from the low materialism of the Bain and Huxley school to the free bracing ether of Sir William Hamilton. For, decidedly as we disagree from some of its points, we feel ennobled in according with his high indorsement of man's intuitive and immortal nature. Though it be too much the philosophy of nescience, it is yet the philosophy of an aspiring, confiding faith.

Professor Murray, himself a pupil of Hamilton, has well executed a good work in bringing the utterances of the philosopher, dispersed through stately volumes, into a brief, comprehensive form. Many a scholar to whom Hamilton is not understood, or only taken second hand, will be surprised to find how clear he is, and how light and cheery a task it is fully to learn him.

A General Landscape View of Palestine; or, The Entire Holy Land in Perspective. By Professor W. H. PERRINE, A. M.

Professor Perrine gives us a lofty position over the eastern margin of the waters of the Mediterranean, whence our eye slants down at such an angle as to grasp the surface of the Holy Land in all its picturesque varieties, and to identify its interesting localities. Valley, hill, and mountain, river, lake, and sea, in their individualities, are all there. It is at once map and picture, so richly colored as to seem a reality, yet so extensive as to take in far more than the living eye could realize. It is Sacred Geography made beautiful and made easy.

Heroes of Hebrew History. By SAMUEL WILBERFORCE, D.D., Lord Bishop of Winchester. Second edition. 16mo., pp. 368. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1870.

Bishop Wilberforce, son of the eminent Christian statesman, William Wilberforce, is master of a rich, flowing style, and his portraitures of the prominent characters of Hebrew history are graphic. In the list of heroes are included Abraham, Jacob, Joseph, Moses, Joshua, Samson, Samuel, David, Micaiah, Elijah, and Elisha.

History of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada. By THOMAS WEBSTER. 12mo., pp. 424. Hamilton, Canada: Christian Advocate Office. 1870.

The history of the two Canadian branches of American Methodism possesses much interest. The narrative of both, at some length, has been given in our pages. Mr. Webster's history is clearly and ably written. Whatever the future of his branch of the Church, his work will be a permanent reference. The future of both branches, we are encouraged by late indications to hope, will be *a prosperous reunion.*

Literature and Fiction.

Words and their Uses, Past and Present. A Study of the English Language. By RICHARD GRANT WHITE. 12mo., pp. 437. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1870.

Our readers may remember that not long since we devoted a number of our editorial pages to controverting the views of Mr. White, published in "The Galaxy," in regard to the use of the phrase *is being* in connection with what is commonly called the passive past participle, as *done*, *struck*, etc. To this editorial Mr. White replied in "The Galaxy;" but as it seemed to us that no one who had well read our criticisms would be likely to fail of seeing the fallacies of his response, we did not devote any space to a rejoinder. His replies, however, he has in a measure embodied in this volume, and, as the volume appears upon our table, a rejoinder fairly comes within the range of a "Book Notice." Varying his order, we shall touch upon every important part of his replies. We must assume that our former criticisms are in the memory of our readers, and begin where they left off.

But, first, however we may differ with Mr. White in details, we must express our favorable opinion of his book as a whole. He is to be highly commended for giving to the public the rich results of his great mastery of the English classics. We receive with pleasure the announcement that his further productions are to appear in the future numbers of "The Galaxy." If through the rest of

this notice we do nothing but find fault, it is by no means because there are nothing but faults to be found.

Mr. White says that if the verb *to be* were not irregular, if it were regularly *is* or regularly *be* through all its parts, no one would ever say *It is issing done* or *It bes being done;* and so he maintains that it is the irregularity of the verb that conceals the absurdity of the phrase, *It is being done.* To this we reply that if the verb in either form were regular, were it regularly *is*, for instance, then the phrase *It is issing done* would be perfectly correct. Mr. White ought to see that in the ultimate analysis *is* and *issing* designate each a different elementary thought. *Issing* designates the undergoing of the *done*, or the *striking;* that is, the *being under* the performance or infliction of the act; while the *is* connects the being under the infliction with the subject. *Being struck* expresses the being under the blow; *is* connects the being under the blow with the subject *anvil.* What misleads Mr. White is that these two terms of *being* are in such close proximity. But the terms are in close proximity just because the two *beings* they express are in close proximity.

Mr. White repeats his affirmation that the verbs *to be* and *to exist*, even when the former is the copula of a logical proposition, are exact synonyms. And so he thinks he argues conclusively when he says that "The anvil is being struck" is just equivalent to "The anvil exists existing struck." Then we reply the latter phrase is correct. If *existing struck* means *undergoing the blow*, then to say "The anvil is existing struck" is just as correct as to say "The anvil is undergoing the blow." And if *exists* is also synonymous with the copula *is*, then "The anvil exists existing struck" is a perfectly correct sentence.

But we again deny that *exists* and the copula *is* are synonyms; and we think the following considerations will demonstrate the negative.

One of the best tests of the synonymy of any two terms is their interchangeability. Now, before Mr. White was born no one ever would have substituted the verb *exists* as an equivalent of the copula; as, for instance, "This sheep exists black." Let one farmer use that phrase to another, and farmer second would look at farmer first with an eye that interrogated his meaning. Should a loving friend of Mr. White, as we trust he has many, call at his door and ask, "Is Mr. White in?" and receive in reply from the servant, "He exists not," would not the inquirer turn pale to learn the annihilation of his late comrade? What would be his vexation to discover that his fright arose from the fact that the servant,

like his master, was unaware of the difference between *is* and *exists!*

"Is Sakya-Muni's soul in Nirvana?" is a very different question from "Exists Sakya-Muni's soul in Nirvana?" The former inquires whether the soul has gone to Nirvana; the latter whether in Nirvana it is or is not annihilated; including, in fact, the interesting question as to the real nature of this Nirvana. *Exists* and *annihilation* are contradictions; *is* and *annihilation* are not. We can truly say, Annihilation of the human soul *is* the dread of the human spirit; we can with little propriety say, Annihilation of the human soul *exists* the dread of the human spirit. The latter, if it has a real meaning, would affirm the reality of the annihilation of the human soul.

If the *copula* and *exists* are synonym, then every logical proposition is two propositions. "This sheep is black," means that this sheep is existent, and also blackness is on this sheep; or, symbolically, all logical propositions affirm not only that X is Y, but also that Y is Z.

In all propositions in symbol, as Y is Z, the symbol is competent to designate any thing whatever, whether existent or not. The subject of the symbolical proposition has no actual existence, and the copula cannot therefore express the actual existence of the designated subject.

If the copula is synonym with *exists*, then the copula is a predicate and needs a copula, and no pure copula exists. The phrases, "Socrates is existent," or, "is in existence," are pleonasms, equivalent to "Socrates exists existent," or, "Socrates exists in existence." And so all phrases denying the existence of a subject are contradictions. To say, "This dead brute's soul is annihilated," is to say, "This dead brute's soul exists annihilated." "The griffin exists," is a falsehood; but "The griffin exists an imaginary animal," or "The dodo exists extinct," is a contradiction, saying and unsaying itself.

Mr. White is sure that in the phrase "Socrates is speaking" *is* predicates existence of Socrates. Very well. Then *Socrates is* is a complete independent proposition by itself, equivalent to "Socrates is existent." We have then "Socrates is existent speaking." Where, then, is the copula tying *speaking* to Socrates?

Obviously the main purpose of the utterer of the phrase is to predicate *speaking* of Socrates, and so the intentional predicate has no copula. All profound logicians, from Aristotle to Mr. White exclusive, have understood that the true predicate is to be connected by the copula to the subject. But if "Socrates is" is a

complete proposition predicating existence of Socrates, then the intentional predicate *speaking* is loose and unconnected, a mere boulder tumbled into independent proximity. And so, universally, in X is Y, the real predicate is the *is*, equivalent to *is existent*, and, letting *existent* be represented by Z, the real proposition is X is Z, and poor Y is a supernumerary pig unable to get at the maternal teat. But then in X is Z, Z is also crowded out by an interloper, for this *is* too contains a predicate in its belly, and so poor Z is the superfluous swine. And so on *ad infinitum.*

Should Mr. White commence a public lecture with "I *am* speaking," certainly his audience would no more understand that Mr. White informed them, by the word *am*, of his existence, than if he had said, "I speak." In the former case they would understand the *speaking* to be connected by *am* with Mr. White; and in the latter case implied by the proximity of the words. In both cases the existence of the speaker would be assumed but not *thought* as a distinct item; assumed *remotely*, simply because he could not speak without existence. Knowing, yet not thinking, of his existence, they would only think *Mr. White speaking.* It is one thing to think a man before your eyes and another to think his *existence.* And this prepares us for the following point.

Mr. White quotes, as a finisher, Horne Tooke as saying he "would rather choose in the scale of beings to exist a mastiff than a lap-dog;" and Mr. White thinks no man who has preserved all his senses would doubt that *to exist* here is the synonym of *to be.* Now, not having *all* our senses in good preservation, it may be our exceptional province to assure Mr. White very positively that Tooke would not have accepted *be* as the equivalent of *exist.* Tooke would have instantly seen that there is all the difference between them that there is between a mathematical point and a mathematical strait line. *Exists* presents to the mind's eye a continuity of life under brute conditions; *is* simply presents the man in a brute shape. *To be a dog!* is not a thousandth part as bad as *to exist*—a dog!

Mr. White, to the question, "Should we say, 'While the boy was whipping,'" etc., answers, "Yes, why not?" and denounces the affectation of the opposite practice. The "why not" we have amply given. Let us now put a case. The learned Dr. Wordsworth, in his great commentary on the Hebrew and Greek Bible, thus corrects the translation of, Acts vi, 1, *their widows were neglected,* "Παρεθεωροῦντο αἱ χῆραι αὐτῶν—Their widows *were being neglected.*" By the use of this forbidden idiom Dr. Wordsworth had

the presumption to make the English an exact parallel of the Greek imperfect tense. The adoption of the term increased the capacity of our language for precision of expression. We think that even the heroic Mr. White would flinch at translating it, "The widows were neglecting in the daily ministrations," a rendering not only insufferably clumsy, disgracefully so to our language, but entirely ambiguous.

Mr. White quotes the phrase, "On the brink of *being born*," and argues that as *being born* is equivalent to *birth*, so we might as well say "he was birth" as say "he was being born." In so arguing he very curiously confounds a *gerund* or *verbal noun* (*nascendum*) with a participle, (*nascens.*) In the phrase, "On the brink of *being born*, or *being-born*," or *the being-born*, or a *being-born*, or birth, the italicised words are each a verbal noun. But in the phrase, "He was *being born*," *being* is a participle, as is clear from the fact that you cannot put the article before it. But when Mr. White further argues that just as the gerund *being born* means *birth*, so the participle *being struck* means *blow*, he abdicates his good sense; for every reader must know that *being struck* is not the *blow* but the recipience *of the blow*. And when, finally, from these repeated blunders he actually infers that inasmuch as "he was being born" is synonymous with "he was birth," so "he was being struck" is synonymous with "he was blow"—Shoo, Mr. White!

Miscellaneous.

Memoir of Washington Irving, with Selections from his Works and Criticisms. By Charles Adams, D.D. 16mo., pp. 299. New York: Carlton & Lanahan.

Witch Hill: A History of Salem Witchcraft, including Illustrative Sketches of Persons and Places. By Rev. Z. A. Mudge, Author of "Views from Plymouth Rock." 16mo., pp. 322. New York: Carlton & Lanahan.

Thomas Chalmers, A Biographical Study. By James Dodds, Author of "The Fifty Years' Struggle of the Scottish Covenanters. 16mo., pp. 338. New York: Carlton & Lanahan.

Irving, Chalmers, and Salem Witchcraft—two great men in different spheres, and one great problem in human history—are here presented in a beautiful and compendious form by the publishers, as furnished from three very competent pens. They are no enervating fiction, but attractive and instructive truth, suited for the young and old alike.

The Proverbs of Solomon. Illustrated by Historical Parallels, from Drawings, by John Gilbert, and Prefaced by Introductory Remarks. 8vo., pp. 148. New York: Carlton & Lanahan. San Francisco: E. Thomas.

The words of the Wise Man done up in holiday splendor. Holidays will have passed when our Quarterly reaches our readers, but

the wisdom of the wise words of the wise man will never have passed while earth remains. Let every parent furnish a copy for his son as a guide to the paths of his youth and manhood.

The Life of Christ. By Rev. WILLIAM HANNA, D.D., LL.D. Vol. I. Earlier Years and Ministry in Galilee. Vol. II. Close of the Ministry, and Passion Week. Vol. III. Last Day of our Lord's Passion, and Forty Days after the Resurrection. 12mo., pp. 360, 344, 324.

A handsome edition of this noble work, in red and gilt, with fine steel engravings. The style of Dr. Hanna is fresh and eloquent. Though the results of scholarship are given its processes are seldom traced. Dr. Hanna is as careful to conceal his erudition as some are to parade it.

The History of Rome. By THEODORE MOMMSEN. Translated, with the Author's Sanction, and Additions, by the Rev. WILLIAM P. DICKSON, D. D., Regius Professor of Biblical Criticism in the University of Glasgow. With a Preface by Rev. Dr. LEONARD SCHMITZ. New Edition in Four Volumes. Volume IV. With a Complete Index of the Work. Pp. 708. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1870.

This great work of Mommsen has been amply characterized in our Quarterly, both in editorials and in contributed articles. This volume extends from the time of Sulla to the close of the Republic.

Life of the Rev. John Milne, of Perth. By HORATIUS BONAR, D.D. Fifth Edition. 16mo., pp. 488. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1870.

Scotland and the Carters have lately been marvelously rich in Christian biography. The life of Milne is worthy to stand beside those of Hamilton and Burns, and that is very high eulogy.

Marguerite; or, The Huguenot Child. By Miss T. TAYLOR. 16mo., pp. 188. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1870.

Labor Stands on Golden Feet. A Holiday Story. By HEINRICH ZSCHOKKE. Translated by John Yeats, LL.D. 16mo., pp. 162. New York: Dodd & Mead.

A Treatise on the Preparation and Delivery of Sermons. By JOHN A. BROADUS, D.D., LL.D., Professor in the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Greenville, S. C. 12mo., pp. 513. Philadelphia: Smith, English, & Co.

A School History of the United States. From the Discovery of America to the Year 1870. By DAVID B. SCOTT. Illustrated with Maps and Engravings. 12mo., pp. 425. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1870.

Willson's Intermediate Fifth Reader: On the Original Plan of the School and Family Series; Embracing in Brief the Principles of Rhetoric, Criticism, Eloquence, and Oratory, as applied to both Prose and Poetry. The whole adapted to Elocutionary Instruction. By MARCUS WILLSON, Author of "Primary History," "History of the United States." 12mo., pp. 370. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1870.

Saving Knowledge. Addressed to Young Men. By THOMAS GUTHRIE, D.D., and W. G. BLAIKIE, D.D. 12mo., pp. 344. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1870.

Life and Deeds Worth Knowing About. With Other Miscellanies. By the Rev. WILLIAM F. STEVENSON, Author of "Praying and Working." 12mo., pp. 374. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1870.

Bible Notes for Daily Readers. A Comment on Holy Scripture. By EZRA M. HUNT, A.M., M.D., Author of "Grace Culture," etc. Vols. I and II. 8vo., pp. 576. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1870.

Puss-Cat Mew and other Stories for My Children. By E. H. KNATCHBULL-HUGESSEN, M.P. Blue and gilt, with fancy illustrations. 12mo., pp. 317. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1871.

The Dying Saviour and the Gypsy Girl. A Parable of Religious Life and Duty. By MARIE SIBREE. 24mo., pp. 83. New York: Carlton & Lanahan.

My Apingi Kingdom, with Life in the Great Sahara, and Sketches of the chase of the Ostrich, Hyena, etc. By PAUL DU CHAILLU. 12mo., pp. 254. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1870.

The Victory of the Vanquished. A Story of the First Century. By the Author of "The Chronicles of the Schonberg Cotta Family." 12mo., pp. 520. New York: Dodd & Mead.

The Adventures of A Young Naturalist. By LUCIEN BIART. Edited and Adapted by PARKER GILLMORE. With One Hundred and Seventeen Illustrations. Green and gilt. 12mo., pp. 491. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1871.

Light at Evening Time. A Book of Comfort to the Aged. Edited by JOHN STANFORD HOLME, D.D. Brown and gilt. 12mo., pp. 352. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1871.

Wonders of Bodily Strength and Skill, in all Ages and all Countries. Translated and Enlarged from the French of Guillaume Depping. By CHARLES RUSSELL. With numerous Illustrations. 18mo., pp. 333. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1871.

The Bible Hand-Book. For Sunday-Schools and Bible Readers, with One Hundred and Fifty Engravings, and Twenty-Five Maps and Plans. By ALBERT L RAWSON. Fourth Edition. 8vo., pp. 256. New York: R. B. Thompson & Co. 1870.

History of the Inquisition, in every Country where its Tribunals have been Established. From the Twelfth Century to the Present Time. By WILLIAM HARRIS RULE, D.D. 8vo., pp. 464. London: Wesleyan Conference Office. 1868.

The Theology of the New Testament: A Hand-book for Bible Students. By Rev. J. J. VAN OOSTERZEE, D.D., Professor of Theology in the University of Utrecht. Translated from the Dutch by MAURICE J. EVANS, B.A., Translator of Dr. Hoffman's Prophecies of our Lord and his Apostles. 12mo., pp. 446. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1870.

Fiction.

Gwendoline's Harvest. A Novel. By the Author of "Carlyon's Year," "One of the Family." 8vo., pp. 85. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1870.

A Dangerous Guest. By the Author of "Gilbert Rugge," etc. 8vo., pp. 116. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1870.

True to Herself. A Romance. By F. W. ROBINSON, Author of "Stern Necessity." 8vo., paper, pp. 173. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1870.

Estelle Russell. By the Author of "The Private Life of Galileo." 8vo., pp. 177. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1870.

Veronica. A Novel. By the Author of "Aunt Margaret's Troubles," "Mabel's Progress." 8vo., pp. 175. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1870.

Stern Necessity. A Novel. By F. W. ROBINSON, Author of "Poor Humanity." 8vo., pp. 154. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1870.

The Heir Expectant. By the Author of "Raymond Heroine." 8vo., pp. 167. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1870.

The Mystery of Edwin Drood. By Charles Dickens. 8vo., pp. 104. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1870.

PLAN OF EPISCOPAL VISITATION FOR 1870-71.

Conferences.	Place.	Time.	Bishops.
Texas	Houston	Dec. 14	Scott.
South Carolina	Orangeburgh	Dec. 21	Simpson.
Louisiana	New Orleans	Dec. 22*	Scott.
North Carolina	Lincolnton	Dec. 29*	Simpson.
Mississippi	Holly Springs	Dec. 29*	Scott.
India	Lucknow	Feb. 8	
Liberia	Not given	Feb. 8	Roberts.
Virginia	Alexandria	Feb. 23*	Simpson.
Lexington	Lexington, Ky	Feb. 23*	Clark.
Washington	Frederick City, Md	March 1	Simpson.
Kentucky	Louisville	March 1	Clark.
Baltimore	Broadway Ch., Bal	March 1	Janes.
St. Louis	Trinity Ch., St. Louis	March 8	Ames.
Wilmington	Dover, Del	March 8	Scott.
Central Pennsylvania	Carlisle	March 8	Janes.
West Virginia	Parkersburgh	March 9*	Clark.
Philadelphia	Reading, Pa	March 15	Scott.
Kansas	Paoli	March 15	Ames.
Pittsburgh	Steubenville, O	March 15	Clark.
Newark	Morristown, N. J	March 22	Simpson.
Providence	Norwich, Ct	March 22	Janes.
Missouri	Savannah	March 22	Ames.
New Jersey	Salem	March 23*	Scott.
Nebraska	Lincoln	March 29	Ames.
New England	Boston	March 29	Clark.
East German	Poughkeepsie, N. Y	March 30*	Janes.
Wyoming	Norwich, N. Y	April 5	Simpson.
New Hampshire	Rochester, N. H	April 5	Janes.
New York East	Stamford, Conn	April 5	Scott.
New York	Peekskill	April 6*	Clark.
Troy	Troy, N. Y	April 12	Simpson.
North Indiana	Huntingdon	April 12	Ames.
Vermont	Northfield	April 12	Janes.
Central New York	Rome	April 20*	Ames.
Black River	Adams, N. Y	April 20*	Janes.
Maine	Portland	April 27*	Ames.
East Maine	Dexter	May 31	Ames.
Germany and Switzerland	Frankfort-on-the-Main	June 22	
Colorado	Denver City	July 6	Simpson.
Delaware	Salem, N. J	July 20*	Scott.
Oregon	Portland	Aug. 16	Simpson.
East Genesee	Geneva, N. Y	Aug. 28	Janes.
Cincinnati	Dayton, O	Aug. 23	Ames.
Indiana	New Albany	Aug. 30	Clark.
North Ohio	Cleveland	Aug. 30	Ames.
Detroit	Monroe, Mich	Aug. 30	Janes.
California	Sacramento	Sept. 6	Simpson.
Michigan	St. Joseph	Sept. 6	Janes.
Central Ohio	Kenton	Sept. 6	Ames.
Southeastern Indiana	Jeffersonville	Sept. 6	Clark.
Erie	Meadville, Pa	Sept. 13	Scott.
Central Illinois	Peoria	Sept. 13	Ames.
Northwest Indiana	Crawfordville	Sept. 13	Clark.
Nevada	Reno	Sept. 14*	Simpson.
Northwest German	St. Paul, Minn	Sept. 14*	Janes.
Central German	Alleghany City, Pa	Sept. 20	Scott.
Minnesota	Mankato	Sept. 20	Janes.
Des Moines	Sioux City, Iowa	Sept. 20	Ames.
Illinois	Jacksonville	Sept. 20	Clark
Southwest German	St. Joseph, Mo	Sept. 27	Simpson.
Upper Iowa	Clinton	Sept 27	Ames.
Southern Illinois	Cairo	Sept. 27	Clark.
Tennessee	Shelbyville	Oct. 4	Scott.
West Wisconsin	Mineral Point	Oct. 4	Janes.
Iowa	Mount Pleasant	Oct. 4	Ames.
Genesee	Buffalo, N. Y	Oct. 5*	Simpson.
Holston	Greenville	Oct. 11	Scott.
Wisconsin	Summerfield Ch., Milwaukee	Oct. 11	Janes.
Rock River	Aurora	Oct. 11	Ames.
Ohio	Washington C. H., Fayette County	Oct. 12*	Clark.
Georgia	Atlanta	Oct. 18	Scott.
Alabama	Cornhouse Creek, Randolph County	Oct. 26*	Scott.

* Thursday.

METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

APRIL, 1871.

ART. I.—EDMOND DE PRESSENSÉ.

EDMOND DE PRESSENSÉ was born in Paris on the seventh day of January, 1824. The *de* which links his baptismal with the family name indicates that his forefathers belonged to the old nobility of the French realm. We learn from a remark in one of his works that his ancestry adhered to the Protestant party, and that its members bore their full share in those stern conflicts and bloody persecutions in which the Huguenots, fairest hope of France, went down. These facts should not be lost sight of in estimating the molding influences which surrounded the childhood of Pressensé. Noble ancestry is as potent a stimulus for high-toned natures to a life of lofty endeavor, as it is enervating in its effect on good-natured dullness or vicious stupidity. When we note Pressensé's indignant horror for every form of oppression, his manly confidence in the free action of responsible and intelligent men, and his eager care to show that only an independent Church can fully develop the Christian life in its members, we should remember that these convictions are an heir-loom inherited from generations of persecuted ancestors. They revive and speak in him. Thus

> "Our souls grow fine
> With keen vibrations from the touch divine
> Of noble natures gone."

Concerning his early education, we only know that his classical studies were pursued in Paris till his eighteenth year,

That he was a diligent and successful student is evident from the fact that at so early an age he was transferred to Lausanne, to study theology under the direction of the celebrated Vinet. We should be glad of some extended and faithful picture of the domestic and religious training of the youth up to this critical period. His family is described as devoted to the religious trifles of that time. The relevancy of this charge cannot be estimated without some reference to the position of the French Protestantism of that epoch. When the Church of the Desert, as its members fondly styled it, had secured, not simply toleration, but recognition and support from the French government, superficial observers might have looked for strenuous efforts to renew and complete the work of the sixteenth century in France. But no such efforts were disclosed. It soon appeared that the proscribed and humiliated Church had not escaped the influence of its age. It had suffered profoundly from its long period of forced inaction. Most of its pastors had been too poor to obtain thorough and wide-reaching culture. They fell into habits of clerical routine, and of narrow and unintelligent orthodoxy. The few who sought reputation for learning and success in literary labors found little to encourage them. The great majority of their Catholic countrymen could feel but little interest in the talents and fame of humble and despised sectaries. Freethinkers were not inclined to exchange the severity of Catholicism for the stricter severity of Reformed Churches. They had but a limited audience in the intelligent members of their own restricted communion. Great talents, wisely consecrated to themes of general interest, might secure the attention of the learned in foreign lands, but their works could reach no large public without risking the perils of translation. Hence few French Protestant pastors rose during that period to literary eminence. They were excellent preachers, faithful expositors of the divine word, and skillful in caring for souls. Yet this description does not apply to all. In some, interest in learning had absorbed interest in the Gospel. One was strong in mathematics, another skillful in botany, and a third deep in Oriental studies. Some were rigidly orthodox, and others were in a condition of incipient rationalism. Thus the germs of the great intellectual and religious struggles of our century were ready to burst into full development in the bosom of French Protestantism.

Religious freedom at once put all these diverse tendencies into action. For a time men did not clearly distinguish the old from the new, indifferent from important questions. Such was the state of the French Reformed Churches when the parents of Pressensé had their religious development. They lived too much in the memories of a gloomy, though splendid past: obsolete questions still seemed vital to them, living questions were deemed intrusions, and domestic piety was severe and formal in its manifestations. We can readily understand that a lad of quick wits and earnest temper would not be greatly aroused and inspired in such a religious atmosphere. It was too cool and self-contained, too remote from the daily struggles of men, to influence his youthful heart. We are told that at home he learned to feel a chilly reverence for Jesus Christ. The phrase is admirably chosen to express those sentiments toward the Saviour which rigid Calvinism is apt to produce in young, intelligent, and susceptible minds. Precisely the same feeling toward Christ shows itself in Jonathan Edwards before his conversion, and in Horace Mann under the ministry of Dr. Emmons. Fortunately for himself and for the Church, Pressensé was destined to study Christianity under a more favorable light.

Entering the Theological Seminary at Lausanne, he was permitted to witness the operation of evangelical faith on a man in whom purity of heart and acuteness of intellect dwelt in married harmony.

Suggestively enough, Vinet is the only one among the professors at Lausanne whom Pressensé mentions as exerting a powerful influence upon his development. With theological and other faculties the reverse of what befell the kine in Pharoah's dream often happens—the fat swallow the lean; but, alas for their useless pains! they are not perceptibly jucier for the shadowy banquet. French by ancestry, Swiss by birth and constant residence, Vinet exerted a most potent influence on the Protestantism of France. The son of a lowly school-master, he was intended and trained for a country pastorate. His early studies revealed a decided inclination to literary pursuits. Professor of French literature at Basle at twenty, he speedily attracted the attention of thoughtful minds in France by the freedom, geniality, and vigor of his criticism. Every shade of

opinion in letters and religion found in Vinet an intelligent and impartial judge. These studies communicated to his writings solidity of information and a vigorous and sprightly style. As a preacher, he was very effective; while as professor he was the charm and the glory of Lausanne. Sainte-Beuve, who knew him intimately, paints Vinet as admirable in all these particulars. It is no small tribute to his memory that this eminent critic and elaborate historian of Port Royal should have pronounced the Swiss preacher, by his genius, moral character, intellectual sympathies, and special studies, the most competent judge of that Pascal whom Chateaubriand styles a "*frightful* genius." Even a finer tribute was paid him when Guizot and Sainte-Beuve, conversing together of their common friend—the latter citing him with affectionate reserve, the former with unqualified admiration—alike agreed in their high estimate of his talents. If *laudari a viro laudato* be the true láurel crown, then the tomb of Vinet was honored on that day with a double wreath of bays! Such a person could not fail deeply to impress the sprightly and thoughtful youth who for three years waited on his instructions. Pressensé calls Vinet his master, and testifies that his influence upon himself was profound and permanent.

In what direction was that influence chiefly felt? Probably in habits of study, modes of thought, and literary cultivation. It is doubtless to him that Pressensé largely owes his force and polish as a writer—gifts which happily distinguish him from other writers of Church history. From Vinet he unquestionably derived his firm and hearty repugnance to State Church Establishments. If he then accepted the somewhat rigorous Calvinism of his teacher, it was only that he might afterward reject it for more scriptural views. But the main thing which Pressensé had to learn of the Professor of Lausanne was, in Pascal's words, how far it is from the head to the heart, from speculative to experimental Christianity. He felt the difference between his own chilly reverence for Jesus Christ, and his teacher's warm and loving confidence in the Redeemer. He learned that love for the Saviour is the best interpreter of his words. It was not in Pressensé's nature to remain unmoved under such influences. His choice was doubtless as promptly made as it has been firmly maintained.

But the Swiss Churches were blown upon by the breath of change. By indirect approaches the Wesleyan revival had aroused them from their slumbers in formalism and unbelief. The struggle between these two tendencies must have been in its full sweep while Pressensé was studying theology in Switzerland. Other influences were at work. Gaussan had recently published his *Theopneusty*, which may be justly characterized as an interpretation of the inspiration of the Scriptures on the basis of Calvinistic fatalism. The gifted Scherer made the publication of this work the occasion for turning his back on orthodoxy. It was with these events, and the controversies they awakened, fresh in his mind, that Pressensė left Lausanne on the completion of his seminary studies. Before entering the pulpit he passed a year in Germany. He spent one semester at Halle, where he was chiefly attracted and interested by the profound Julius Müller, and the genial, devout, and learned Tholuck. The difference between Pressensé's theological views and those of Vinet is probably due chiefly to the influence of Müller. It may be defined as a return from Calvinism to New Testament theology. Two years ago, when Pressensé was subjected to certain harsh attacks from the partisans of an ultra-orthodoxy, Dr. Tholuck spoke of his former pupil with great enthusiasm and affectionate interest. The second semester was spent in Berlin. Its chief interest centered in the lectures on Church history of the gifted, learned, and apostolic Neander. There the youth caught an enthusiasm for the study of the history of the early Church, which is now culminating in his great work on that subject.

Here we have all the prerequisites for a noble career. Fortunate in his ancestry, early education, and natural gifts, Pressensé was even more fortunate in passing, during his most susceptible period, under the direct personal influence of such minds as Vinet, Tholuck, Müller, and Neander, men whose brilliant talents and vast learning were only surpassed by their tender and profound piety. Returning from Germany in 1847, he was immediately installed Pastor of the Chapelle Taitbout at Paris, a position he still retains. In the pulpit he is learned, instructive, devout, and earnest; yet it may be feared that the scholar and author have somewhat oppressed the pulpit orator. A Parisian clergyman, who does not share Pressensé's views,

told the writer that he was the charm and the tempest of their clerical gatherings—charming in his personal relations, and breezy as a northwester in the keen discussions he never fails to awaken.

His published works bear the following titles: "Jesus-Christ, son temps, sa vie, et son œvre;" "Histoire des trois premiers siècles de l'Eglise chrétienne;" "L'Eglise et la Révolution Françoise;" "Le Pays de l'Evangile;" "Le Redempteur;" "La Famille Chrétienne;" "Discours Religieux;" "Etudes Evangéliques;" "Rome Italy, and the Council;" and "La vraie Liberté." He also edits "La Revue Chrétienne," a monthly journal of high character. To speak of these productions in detail is needless. Worthy of their author's head and heart, they disclose the same great qualities, and exhibit the same grand convictions, which he has embalmed in his masterly work on the history of the first three centuries of the Christian Church. This last has been his cherished dream and his favorite task; it first made him known throughout the Christian world. The appearance of the first two volumes was rewarded with a doctorate of divinity from the University of Breslau; the second series was crowned by the French Academy, and on the value of the whole the future reputation of the writer will chiefly rest. Translations of several of these works have appeared in German, English, Swedish, and Dutch. Fruit, ripe and toothsome fruit, on the ground; while the noble tree, still clad in summer verdure, promises the richer abundance of a golden autumn!

When Pressensé was settled, in 1847, over the congregation of Chapelle Taitbout, his first impulse, doubtless, was to look about him and grow acquainted with his surroundings and opportunities. The prospect was not brilliant. Paris—gay, frivolous, literary, scientific, ambitious, skeptical, sensual, materialistic, and Catholic Paris—was not exactly the field where a young Protestant clergyman might enter on his work with exalted hopes of success. What his reflections were in those dubious days we know not, but certainly he needed to hear the assurance, "Lo, I am with you," often repeated for his consolation. He appears to have formed plans for literary labor at an early date, since in the last volume of the history he speaks of that work as conceived twenty years ago, in the days of valiant youth. Literary labor was, indeed, a necessary

part of his task under the circumstances in which he was placed. German skepticism was already leavening the French theological world. Littré's translation of Strauss's Life of Jesus had appeared eight years earlier, and was gradually performing its work. It had been succeeded by a version of Neander's book upon the same topic. But neither treatise was destined to a wide circulation in France. The results of German philosophy and biblical criticism had to be wrought over into French forms and adapted to French taste ere they could greatly affect public opinion. Renan was already dreaming his dream, and tinting his Galilean idyll for Baur and Strauss; while Pressensé was preparing to render a better service to the evangelical scholars of Germany.

The best defense of Christianity is Christianity itself. When it transforms sinful souls by its sanctifying grace, makes the peasant's Saturday night of revelry give place to the cotter's Saturday night of prayer, founds hospitals, orphanages, and asylums for old age and want, changes savage Tahiti and cannibal Fiji into civilized and Christian lands, all men confess its excellent fruits, if not its celestial origin. . When any divine thought is molded into human lives and institutions, something of its original purity disappears. The corruption of human nature asserts its power, and the fine gold of the Gospel turns dim. Extending through ages, Christianity traverses different types of civilization, forms of civil government, different social, intellectual, and moral conditions. Extending over the earth, it encounters different languages, literatures, religions, and political systems. What it imparts is divine; what it receives from without is earthly alloy. It has had but one perfect exemplar—that glorious Christ whose heart is its fountain, and whose hand prepares its bed and guides its stream. Its perfect history would consist in the exact separation of the divine element from its earthly alloy, and the full exhibition of its proper effects on mankind. When Neander proposed to display, as in a mirror, all the glorious things which the Holy Spirit had accomplished for the salvation of men, from the foundation of the Church to the present age, he had rightly conceived the task of the Church historian. But how should he, an uninspired man, execute such a vast and delicate design? If one could be sure that he had fully conceived the thoughts, plans, and works

of Jesus, that he was able to detect every deviation from these and every embodiment of them, then he might hope to make his work a true copy of the real history. None but the Redeemer is competent to write the history of redemption. The last judgment will be the first complete Church history. Meantime men must instruct us as they are able. It is better to see through a glass darkly with Neander, Niedner, Gieseler, and Pressensé, than to grope in the gloom of total obscurity.

Pressensé differs from most other writers of Church history in the fullness with which he develops the story of the period he treats. The American translation of Neander's work embraces in one large volume the story of the first three centuries. Pressensé devotes at least thrice that space to the same period. The first three hundred and forty pages of the work are employed in the discussion of the relation of Paganism and Judaism to Christianity. Paganism is not germinal Christianity; that character belongs to Judaism alone. But if pagan religions are not direct preparations for Christian faith, they are efforts of uninspired reason to comprehend the nature of God and of man, and to define the relations subsisting between them. The assertion of Schelling that each of the great historical religions marks a crisis, and a further development of the religious consciousness of mankind, is heartily indorsed. The discussion of pagan religion which ensues is merely the application of this great idea to its successive systems. This difficult task is accomplished with lavish and varied learning and rare artistic skill. The religions of Scythia, Arabia, Babylon, Phœnicia, Egypt, Persia, India, and Greece pass in mournfully magnificent review before us. Each is made to proclaim its own insufficiency to save mankind, and to confess its despair of finding out the Almighty. The careful student and critic may doubtless detect imperfections in this comprehensive picture. But these deficiencies, so far as observed, are not in the nature of over statements of the insufficiencies of pagan faith. In a notable instance Pressensé seems scarcely to have portrayed the weakness of false religion in sufficiently striking colors. Bournouf, the weightiest authority in such matters, always affirmed the essentially atheistic character of Buddhism. J. Barthélemy Saint Hilaire and Max Müller also accept this conclusion. Against this position no recent testimony of any

real value can be cited. It surely is an instructive spectacle, this religion which has forgotten sin but cannot get clear of sorrow; which cannot remember a Creator nor prophesy a Saviour; which finds existence an inexplicable curse, and death the guide to a more wretched doom; which gropes for relief from misery, and can only hope to snatch it from the silent and gloomy abysses of annihilation. Yes, if the cultivated Greek, after listening in sadness to Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, and Zeno in their confused metaphysical inquiries, following the solemn and majestic strains of Æschylus with awful rapture, and laughing while Aristophanes scoffed both at his philosophers and his gods, could still proclaim his bitter discontents and his lingering hopes by rearing an altar to the unknown God, the Indian Ascetic had proclaimed the abdication of human faith in deity, and asserted extinction of being as the only good yet to be expected. It is a moving spectacle, that of countless devotees in numerous nations, through so many generations, living without God and dying without hope. Mr. Alger thinks their dim notions of duty admirable, their devotion to their obligations heroic, and their stoical encounter with the inevitable sacred. We feel the moral grandeur of these generations of mendicant monks clad in tatters, gleaned up solely in graveyards, living in the unsheltering forest, fasting till noon, feeding on food begged in silence, and sleeping only against trees in a leaning posture. But theirs is the grandeur of despair. These frightful aberrations proclaim the misery of the soul that has forgotten God; they assert the power of conscience, and they re-affirm the majesty of the eternal law. Yet these men are not so disinterested in their conduct as to follow the Emersonian command, "Be good, and turn thy back on heaven;" they deny self to escape the sorrows of existence; they abstain from pleasure that they may die out into Nirvana; and after them Hegel might growl as he did at Heine, "Must you have a crust of bread not to murder your own mother?"

Despair, in a greater or less degree, then, is the historical outcome of every pagan system of religion. To all but believing souls among the Jews the same feeling was familiar. The law, whether revealed in the Old Testament or in the consciences of those who were a law unto themselves, made nothing perfect. It was not a school-master that prepared men for

the tuition of Christ. He brought in a better hope which brings us nigh unto God.

Christ came as the fulfillment of Jewish prophecy and Gentile hope. To trace the foundation of the Christian Church by the Saviour, its spread and triumph under the apostles and their successors after three centuries of toil, sacrifice, and martyrdom, would seem the proper task still to be accomplished. At this precise point, however, we encounter a singular defect in the work of Pressensé. He passes directly from the discussions of the preface to the events immediately succeeding the ascension of Jesus Christ. Thus we have a historical narrative of the first three centuries of the Christian Church, without any full treatment of the personal history of Christ. This error was due to the influence of German example. Neander's Life of Christ was written long after his Church History had been fully planned and partly executed. Indeed, its existence was due to the appearance of Strauss's famous book. Pressensé has since corrected this error. He has virtually replaced the original preface by his treatise on the Life, Times, and Work of Jesus Christ. He thus perfects his plan, and imparts a much greater unity and higher value to his work. Pressensé has a great advantage over Baur, Strauss, and Renan, in the fact that history in his hands is not philosophy teaching by examples. It is an honest effort to elucidate the past, not by the application of philosophical theories, but by calm and impartial inquiries into the facts. There is no danger that he will interpret Christ into a charlatan, and see in the resurrection a pitiful cheat; that he will detect in the Pentecostal baptism a descending flash of lightning, or hear in the heavenly voice that arrested Paul a thunder-peal reverberating from the crests of Hermon.

The story of the Saviour's life falls naturally enough into five books: the first discusses such preliminary questions as the supernatural, religions of the past, sources of the history of our Lord, and the credibility of the Gospels; the second exhibits the preparation of Jesus for his work in his birth, the mission of John the Baptist, the temptation in the wilderness, his plans, doctrine, and miracles; the third discusses the ministry of Jesus during its first period, beginning soon after his baptism and closing with his discourse at Capernaum, (John vi, 24, *et*

seq.); the fourth pursues the tale down to the meeting of the Sanhedrin, consequent on the raising of Lazarus; and the fifth includes the Passion week, the resurrection, and the ascension. The first series (of two volumes) carries the story forward through the days of the apostles and those who immediately followed them; the second series portrays the struggle of the Christian faith against paganism, the age of the martyrs and the apologists; the third series presents in the volume already published the history of Christian doctrine through this entire period, and will present in the final volume the Christian life of those days in the Church and in the believer's domestic abode. Never before was this great epoch depicted on so grand a scale, nor invested with so many charms.

The fullness and perfection of Pressensé's learning within the field of his chosen labors impress the reader more strongly to his latest chapter. It matters not what topic he is discussing, his acquaintance with it seems perfectly familiar. If he deals with pagan religions, he is always found abreast with the foremost investigators of those early forms of faith. Let Buddhism be the theme, and he shows that he is acquainted with all accessible materials for its history. If he estimates the testimony of ancient art and literature to the religious sentiment and ideas of the nations amid which they were developed, his information is always fresh and trustworthy, his generalizations wide and brilliant, and his suggestions provocative of earnest thought. When he deals with the Life of Christ, every theory is held in mind, every error is directly exposed or indirectly overthrown, and all the great outlines are developed so as to group around them the minor but essential details in luminous array. The fragments of Basilides contained in the *Philosophoumena* of Hippolytus yield their confirmation to the genuineness of the Gospel of John, while the work itself pours upon the darkness which has so long brooded over the early heresies an unexpected flood of light. When he speaks of Christian burial in those happy days, portrays the worship of the early Churches, or depicts the domestic life and devotions of the primitive disciples, Piper yields his tributary wealth, and Di Rossi surrenders his latest discovery in the Catacombs for our entertainment and instruction. When we remember that Pressensé assures us that he has taken nothing on trust, ad-

mitted nothing without knowing its value, we may easily conceive the thoroughness as well as the charm of his narrative.

The obvious peril of such great learning is, that its possessor may not have strength and skill to handle it with ease and effectiveness. What Atlas may have been before he was condemned to bear up the world on his head we do not know; but since he undertook that remarkable feat he has ever presented a grotesque figure. There is a burden, as well as a gait, which robs movement of its grace. This applies to literary motion as well as to locomotion. Read the Magdeburg Centuries, Tillemont's Mémoires, and Basnage's Histoire Ecclésiastique, and you will see what indigestion results from mere unassimilated knowledge. We need hardly say that ecclesiastical historians have mostly been plodders.

Yet the history of the Christian Church has materials which, in the hands of a real master, would yield a story as brilliant as Macaulay's England. It begins with the radiant and majestic figure of its Divine Founder, the perfect flower of humanity and the incarnation of absolute Deity. It reveals in the fishermen, who were its first witnesses and propagators, the power of its mighty inspiration to exalt humble men to sublime duties and yet sublimer sacrifices—a power possessed by nothing else in an equal degree. It presents the transition of Judaism from its original type as a national religion into its progressive development as the ultimate and universal faith of humanity. In Paul, Peter, John, James, Apollos, and Timothy, appear types of men strikingly different from each other, and surprisingly unlike any that had before appeared in history. The martyrs, apologists, and heresiarchs all have their peculiar features, and impart their wonderful interest to the records of their period. False systems of religion stand in gloomy contrast with the stainless purity of the new faith. Persecutors become an impressive foil to apostles; judges and executioners to martyred saints; the massive corruption of the old world to the rising purity of the new. In those notable histories appear the germs of manifold revolutions. The unity of mankind is proclaimed, not as a cold speculation nor a scientific fact, but as the basis of the right of all nations to enter the Christian fold. Freedom of conscience is asserted as indispensable to any really

sincere moral life. Slaves are treated as brethren; the poor are cherished as friends of Him who had not where to lay his head; the first hospitals are founded; gladiatorial combats are condemned; the Christian family is created; Christian missions multiply, and the Christian literatures begin.

It would be saying too much to declare that Pressensé has made the best possible use of these varied materials; but he has wrought them into a delightful, faithful, and instructive history. From his hands it has regained color and life. In his pages we grow familiar with Paul, as in the pages of Motley we grow acquainted with William the Silent. A strong conviction of the truthfulness of the portrait takes possession of us, which we always miss in the highly-colored and seductive pages of Renan. It is in this power of imagination to rescue the actors of that wonderful past from oblivion and restore them to the vivid light of reality, that Pressensé exceeds all his competitors. The peril of imagination is that it may refuse to submit its creations to the test of ascertained facts. Such is the error of Renan. Jesus, for whom he has a liking, becomes in his hands a young democrat, full of enthusiasm, but destined to disenchantment. He seems an embodiment of Renan's early dreams and of his later disappointments. Paul, whom Renan cannot conclude to like, accordingly becomes a singularly grotesque figure in his narrative. He thinks that the apostle might one day write the thirteenth chapter of Second Corinthians, and the next day, like a Mormon chief, condemn a recusant disciple to die by the dagger of the secret assassin. "He lacked the adorable indulgence of Jesus, his fashion of excusing every thing, his divine incapacity of seeing evil." If Paul really lacked the charity that thinketh no evil, he is a much nearer kinsman to Renan than we had supposed! We see here to what dangerous results an imagination uncontrolled by facts may lead. Pressensé has that sober but subtile fancy which illuminates without dazzling the historical inquirer in his investigations. He has the grace of his own nation in combination with the best qualities of the Teutons. This combination may appear well-nigh impossible. The two nations differ so greatly—their good traits, their strong points, are so diverse, that they can hardly be said to comprehend each other. The question of the witty Abbé, whether a German can have *ésprit*, remained near two hun-

dred years without an answer, till Heine, a German Jew, achieved it for his mother tongue. The German has a thoroughgoing honesty which the modern Gaul finds it hard to translate into any thing else than dullness, while the Teuton sees little else in French archness and grace than lying vanities. There is an anecdote in which Voltaire figures, which exhibits and, in just the measure required for emphasis, exaggerates the characteristics of the two nationalities. Monsieur Arouet had cited something hap-hazard from Habakkuk which was none of his. A profound German scholar examined all editions of the prophet in a vain effort to verify the citation. He finally went to the great oracle, announced himself very meekly, and said that he thought Habakkuk could not possibly have spoken as was alleged. Imagine his consternation at the following reply: "You scarcely know this Habakkuk; the rascal is equal to any thing." Could people so opposite ever understand each other? The masses cannot, but exceptional persons may. Littré contrived to comprehend Strauss, but in return the French public has failed to comprehend him. Pressensé, a true Teuton in learning and honesty, is French in all those lighter and more brilliant qualities which are the glory and the charm of that versatile race.

See what figures individuals cut in the hands of Schaff. Take Saint Stephen, the proto-martyr. Peruse carefully all that Schaff has to say about him and his mission, and you are not in any great degree better acquainted with that mighty witness for God. In Pressensé's story Stephen means something; he is a man who counts, and who by his daring initiative appears worthy first to snatch the crown of martyrdom. The temptation would be strong to illustrate these ideas further in the cases of Paul, James, and John. But as the first volume of the history is now accessible to the English reader, we shall defer the pleasure to a later occasion. The early life, religious development, spiritual struggles, and conversion of Saint Paul are presented in a style which carries the conviction of reality to the reader's mind. In its way nothing can be finer than this resuscitation of his early personal experience from the hints scattered throughout the writings of the great Apostle, and their combination in a full, luminous, and convincing picture of that spiritual crisis in a noble life. His Pharisaic training, devel-

oping the seriousness of his moral nature; his early life amid the abominations of idolaters at Tarsus, awakening a deep repugnance for paganism; his careful education in the rigidly orthodox school of Gamaliel, making him alive to the serious demands of the divine law; his strenuous exertions to satisfy those exacting requirements; his outward success beyond most of his fellows; his inward defeat and rising doubts of a system that promised so much and fulfilled so little, opening the way to something more satisfactory; his anger at the success of the Nazarenes; his persecuting zeal, intensified by this secret uneasiness of his own bosom; his share in the death of Stephen, and the striking contrast between the serene peace of the dying Saint and the raving storm in his own heart; his angry rage against those who were likely to convict him of error; the journey to Damascus; the dazzling flood of light from heaven; the figure and the voice of Christ, the solemn vocation to apostolic duties, the sudden blindness, the profound sense of sinfulness; the gleams of coming mercy; the instructions of Ananias; Paul's faith, peace, and baptism—all these are woven together into a tale of marvelous interest and truthfulness. It has the seal of verity on its face. These pages might as well bear the signature of Paul as of Pressensé, for it is the former who really speaks. Thus the story gains that air of truth and sincerity which always appears in narratives of notable conversions. Read the sorrowful but attractive pages where Saint Augustine relates the struggles of the spirit and the flesh which agitated his own heart just before his conversion, the immortal lines in which Wesley lays bare his secret soul on his return from Georgia, or J. H. Newman's *Apologia pro Vita Sua*, and then peruse this recital of Paul's conversion; despite the differences of temperament, times, and questions involved, the same transparent atmosphere of truthfulness bathes them all. When we have also read the subsequent history of the apostle, we part with him as from an old acquaintance. The Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles disclose new meaning and win a greater value from such handling.

When Pressensé approaches the age of the Apologists and Martyrs, this skill of treatment becomes very apparent. Justin Martyr, Origen, Clement of Alexandria, and a multitude of others, revive in their vigorously drawn portraits. We pass

from one to another with growing wonder and interest. Each portrait deserves and would amply repay separate study and analysis. Each has its own individuality, and yet all belong to Pressensé, as in a collection of portraits by Rembrandt, or of landscapes by Claude, where all are alike in style, and yet neither can be mistaken for any other. How calm and pleasing his picture of Clement of Alexandria! Greek by birth, like the Greeks of Paul's Epistle he seeks after wisdom. On this errand he visits strange cities, dwells in foreign lands, and frequents the schools of many teachers. He would know the truth and find repose in its embrace. He listens to Christian teachers, and at first deems their doctrine foolishness. Pantænus wins his attention by sober criticism of the wisdom of the philosophers. He confesses its admirable features, but paints its insufficiency in striking colors. He sets forth the moral superiority of the Christian faith till it seems the divinely intended complement of human wisdom. The young Greek listens, admires, and is persuaded. He turns Christian, and becomes the most successful expounder of the faith in brilliant Alexandria. He accepts no compensation for his instructions. An ardent love of souls consumes him, and inspires him to utter self-sacrifice. Thronged by disciples, he seeks only their salvation. He rejects the profuse rhetorical ornamentation so popular in his time, yet his style does not lack grandeur and beauty. He holds moderate opinions on martyrdom, and comes to a natural end. Indeed, he would have thought it suicide to expose himself to needless death. This type of Christian character re-appears in all ages of the Church, full of gentle and natural grace.

Clement's treatment of the questions in debate between pagan faith and philosophy and the new religion is what we might anticipate. He does not condemn philosophy in the mass; nay, he often finds in it truths akin to those of revelation. It awakens wants which the Gospel alone can appease. He cites the poets with satisfaction and good taste. Truth and beauty, he thinks, belong to God. He presses them both into his service.

Compare with this placid sketch the portrait of Tertullian. African by origin, he had all the fire of his natal skies blazing in his veins. In early life he had trained himself in the schools

of his native city for the legal profession. He had no special acquaintance with good literature or the best philosophy. He haunted the theater and the circus, and illustrated in his own life the unbridled immorality of proconsular Carthage. Full of wine, he fell into the embrace of lust, and scoffed at the sanctity of matrimony. He sought not the delights of wisdom, but the charms of sensual indulgence. As is common in such cases, he found the stings of remorse piercing his soul. Fears of death and retribution beset his mind. He witnessed in the Christians of those provinces a miraculous purity of life, and saw in the martyred saints a singular freedom from the dread of dissolution. His attention was arrested and his heart touched. His conversion was alike sudden and complete. A Christian, he employed his remarkable gifts in a brilliant defense of the Gospel. No other Father of the Church has painted the corruption of pagan society with such strong and gloomy tints as he. The circus, the theater, and pagan society are alike polluted. He would not become a father lest his offspring should fall into corruption. His natural vivacity imparts life to every page he writes, and sometimes lifts him to the noblest oratorical outbursts. But his fiery passion leads him to continual excesses. He congratulates martyrs waiting in prison for the execution of their sentence on their escape from the sight of pagan pollution. He would have all believers strive earnestly to attain the honor of a violent death for their faith. Spectacles and public games are overwhelmed with the same disgrace which he heaps on debauchery. He writes a treatise to prove that the soul is naturally Christian, and yet unsparingly condemns the noblest evidence of that truth in the sublime ideas of the great masters of pagan philosophy. He attaches a magical virtue to the waters of baptism, yet strongly condemns the baptism of children. In a furious discussion he assaults the leaders of the Roman clergy for their lenient treatment of heresy, and then rushes into the error of Montanus. Such are the piquant contradictions of a noble Christian life. Perhaps the blended beauty and deformity of his character nowhere appear more vividly than in what he says of patience—a virtue which he never had: "Her visage is tranquil and serene; her brow is pure, and neither sadness nor anger has left a wrinkle there; her eyebrows rise evenly in token of her joy;

she drops her eyes not from sadness but in humility; a worthy silence closes her mouth; the color of her countenance is that of innocence and security. She defies the devil, and her laughter threatens him. A white robe girdles her breast and is fastened to her body; she is not puffed up nor agitated. She sits on the throne of her mind, which is full of sweetness and compassion, which no whirlwind arouses, no cloud overshadows, but which resembles the open and pure serenity of a soft azure sky." We should hardly expect to hear the writer of such lines exclaim: "Me miserable, ever sick with hot impatience!" or, "I am like the sick who laud the blessings of the health they lack."

That this criticism of himself is not unjust, let the following words on the last judgment attest: "How shall I laugh, how exult, to see so many kings, whom apotheosis had raised to heaven, groaning in the deepest gloom with Jupiter and his witnesses; to see magistrates, persecutors of the name of Christ, devoured by a more terrible fire than that into which they cast Christians! What a sight to behold philosophers confounded with their disciples, who shall burn with them because on their word they believed that God does not trouble himself with us, or at least that the soul was destined to transmigration! What shall we say of those lying poets who shall be dragged, not before Rhadamanthus or Minos, but who shall appear, pale with terror, before the tribunal of that Christ whom they did not expect? But above all, how shall I feast my sight on those murderers of Christ! There he is, I shall say, the Son of the carpenter, born of a humble mother, the destroyer of the Sabbath, the Samaritan, the demoniac. 'Tis he; recognize him! he whom you bought of Judas, smote with the reed, scourged; he in whose face you spit,—whom you gave gall and vinegar to drink!" Ah, Tertullian, now art thou thyself, kinsman of those rude apostles who wished to call down fire from heaven on a peaceful village! Forgive me, noble saint, but on hearing such language from thy lips, thoughts will arise of Nero fiddling while half Rome flares up in many-pillared smoke against the angry sky!

There are characters of darker hue who find a place in these pages. Simon Magus slinks along behind the apostles at Samaria, bearing the gold in his hands with which he thought

to purchase the grace of God. The Gnostic, with his contempt for the simple Gospel and his pride in his greater wisdom, receives his due. We see him superciliously shrugging his shoulders at honest orthodoxy, opening his eyes in wonder at the confused statements of his own teachers of error, and whispering in the perplexed ears of the simple, "There's a deep thing!" Pius the Ninth finds his counterpart in ancient Roman Bishops, well-meaning, pious, and venerable, but controlled by unworthy and cunning subordinates. Antonelli is but Callistus repeated in the nineteenth century. Sly, treacherous, secular, and powerful —these, and worse adjectives, suit both. The arch-heretics form a distinct gallery of portraits. Better than any other historian, Pressensé has grasped the fundamental principle of the early heresies and traced their antagonism to Christian ideas. This arises not only from the richer sources on which the historian can now draw, but, more particularly, from that rarer gift of clear exposition which he possesses. The same qualities disclose themselves in the history of Christian doctrine contained in the fifth volume. Nowhere else are the questions which the student of the doctrinal views of those times is apt to raise so amply and satisfactorily discussed. This volume has been received with a particular favor, which is due not simply to the importance of the subject, but to the breadth, candor, clearness, and interest with which the author has succeeded in investing its treatment.

The limits of the present article prevent an extended consideration of many matters of great moment. Such are, the somewhat peculiar theory of the author on the nature of the apostolate; his exhibition of the relations of the Church to freedom of thought and conscience; his statements on the primitive equality of separate Churches, the nature and authority of Councils, the orders and rights of the clergy, the duties and p[illegible]leges of women in the new society, the influence of the [illegible] on family life—on the condition of slaves and of the [illegible] the gradual organization of the Church on the plan of the State government and the growing authority of the priesthood, and the influence of Christian ideas on burial rites and art. Especially should we be glad to discuss the doctrinal systems ascribed to Peter, John, and Paul. These are, on the whole, quite satisfactory, and yet they leave some things to be

desired and some to be modified. The discussion of these topics is more than once kindled up and illuminated by touches of genius; as where, before discussing the ninth chapter of Romans, he quietly observes that a single page of Scripture ought to be interpreted in the light of its general tenor, and not the whole Bible by one page.

The positive defects of the work result from certain exaggerations of good qualities. For instance, the author thinks that whatever is traditional, accepted on authority, and void of that personal faith which is derived from our own life and experience, is of no real worth before God. Apply this principle to the absolution of sins by priestly authority, as held and practiced by the great majority of Romanists, and Protestants in general would have no objection to present. Pressensé goes further, and applies it to the Sabbath. His view is that Christian holiness requires the believer to make every place a sanctuary by his prayers, and every day sacred by his worship; that, consequently, no place possesses more sanctity than another, no day is more sacred than the next. The entire life is to be the voluntary, sweet, and solemn commemoration of our redemption. Such, he thinks, are the principles of the New Testament in the matter. The arguments by which he supports this view are: (*a*) The Christians of Ephesus assembled every day to hear Paul; (*b*) The Sabbath was closely connected with the Old Covenant, and has vanished with it; (*c*) It has not the practice of the apostles in its favor; (*d*) The statement of the historian, Socrates, that the Lord and his apostles did not establish festivals by law; and of Justin Martyr, that Christians are not Sabbatarians. He admits the value and legitimacy of Sunday observance, but denies its divine institution. To support this position he says that to refer the origin of the Sabbath to the Garden of Eden is to forget the true conditions of innocence, which does not admit the distinction of days into sacred and profane, and that the appeal to the Decalogue is set aside by the fact that it contains the law of holiness only in an imperfect form, and is abolished with the rest of Judaism. He thinks Acts xx, 7, and 1 Cor. xvi, 2, too vague to furnish us any real light.

The fact that the Ephesian Christians assembled daily to listen to Paul proves nothing against their special observance

of Sunday as a day set apart for the worship of God. In seasons of religious interest among American Churches, daily worship is frequently held for months, without any derogation from the pre-eminent sacredness of the Lord's day. If the Sabbath was closely connected with the Old Covenant, it no more follows that it has ceased with that Covenant than that prayer and worship, also closely connected with the Old Covenant, have ceased with it. The practice of the apostles, so far as we have any light on it, is in its favor. When Paul was at Troas he appears to have waited a full week in order to meet the Church on Sunday, apparently its fixed day for assembling, when he kept them up till midnight with his preaching, and the next morning set sail without having slept. Paul recommends deeds of charity to be done "on the first day of the week, when ye are come together," a plain implication that they were wont to meet on that day especially for worship. Saint John speaks of being in the Spirit on the Lord's day, an appellation which implies that it was observed in memory of the Saviour. The statements of Socrates and Justin Martyr imply nothing more than that Christians, like their Master, kept holy-day not in the Jewish but in the Christian spirit—a change which Christ, as Lord of the Sabbath-day, authorized and encouraged his disciples to make. Even Pressensé is constrained to admit that the tendency of the Apostolic Church was to celebrate worship on Sunday with especial care. Whatever may have been abolished with Judaism, all that the Jews had in common with the Patriarchal Church, based on permanent human wants and social necessities, would be retained in the ultimate faith of the race. Prayer, praise, exposition of religious truth, union in such services, would therefore be retained. Strange if the fixed period for such united worship should be left to human caprice! While innocence does not allow a distinction of days into sacred and profane, in the sense that we are to be holy on the former but may be wicked on the latter, it does allow the setting apart of special seasons for special religious acts. Even unfallen man might set apart periods in which to dress and keep the garden of Eden, while other hours were given to meditation and prayer. Under moral trial, man would need to devote special seasons to reflection on his duties and prayer for assisting grace. Open the book of Genesis and read the first chapters. In those

pages we learn that God is one, spiritual and free; that creation is his voluntary act, and no necessary evolution of an eternal substance; that man is free and responsible; that the race is a unit, and that God established marriage. Among these truths, which underlie all human society as its granitic foundations, the institution and sanctification of the Sabbath are mentioned. Thus the Sabbath was ordained before the fall for man in his innocence, amid the bliss and peace of Eden. If he needed it then, how much more does he need it now in his sins, dangers, and anxious cares? On this point Pressensé has yielded to unwarrantable claims. Yet it is only simple justice to say that he believes in no vulgar degradation of Sunday to secular labors or to holiday sports.

The author's view of baptism is vitiated by the same excessive notion of the importance of freedom in all that is done for God. Omitting other statements which we should have to discuss and reject, let us consider his conclusion that infant baptism has no sufficient sanction in the New Testament. It should be observed that Pressensé is not led to this position from what is expressly taught in the Bible, so much as from certain general principles which he thinks must govern and decide the question. He denies that baptism is an *opus operatum*, conveying of itself sacramental grace. The author speaks of it somewhat confusedly as the sign of admission into the Church and as the sign of conversion. In all who receive it baptism is said to be connected with personal faith, the most free and individual act of the human soul. Thus it becomes, in Saint Peter's phrase, the answer or pledge of a good conscience before God. Pressensé then adds that "baptism is no more than faith transmitted as an inheritance. This is the great reason which leads us to think that in the apostolic age it was not conferred on infants." In a note at the close of the volume, the author freely admits that the child enjoys the benefits of redemption. He strikingly says, "He is enveloped in salvation; salvation belongs to him." It is then added that "the question is whether baptism represents objective grace, or grace received and assimilated?" For the sake of brevity, only so much of Pressensé's view is stated as is vital to the point under debate; since it is obvious that, if his great argument breaks

down, the minor ones can oppose no effectual resistance to the truth of Pedobaptism.

We assent heartily to all that Pressensé asserts against the notion of an *opus operatum* in this sacrament, against any magical virtue of the waters of baptism to wash away sin. We freely confess that most of the baptisms mentioned in the New Testament are cases of adult baptism. But the Church was then in its infancy; all who entered it must enter by the door of baptism, since the rite was then first administered, and sufficient time had not yet elapsed for persons baptized in infancy to reach the years of understanding and ratify a covenant made in their name. In such circumstances most of the baptisms would be of adult persons, and of course would be connected with their profession of faith; so that these facts may be accounted for without any implication that infant baptism did not exist.

Why does Pressensé speak of baptism as the sign of admission into the Church, and also as the sign of conversion? Surely conversion and admission into the Church are not the same thing. There must then be something in both which is signified by baptism. What then is this element, common to both, the soul of both, which is figured in the sacrament? When conversion begins it finds man dead in trespasses and sins. When completed, it renders him dead indeed unto the world, but alive unto God through our Lord Jesus Christ. Paul does not hesitate to tell believers, "Christ is our life;" nor to say, "For me to live is Christ," and "Christ liveth in me." What baptism represents visibly, as really existing in conversion and in admission to the Church, is this vitality of the believing soul in and through the Saviour. This vital relation always exists between the renewed soul and the Redeemer. It is the essential ground of fellowship in the true Church of believing souls, the spiritual fold of Christ. It should exist, and indeed is always supposed to exist, in all who enter the communion of the visible Church. The real question, then, is, whether the infant child stands in this vital relation to the Saviour? Pressensé affirms that infants are "placed under the benefits of redemption." This phrase is comprehensive enough, surely; but how barren of meaning would it be should it be found that their life is not hid with Christ in God! Personal faith is indispensable to this spiritual life in adult and

responsible souls. For infants it cannot be, since then the kingdom of heaven could not be of such as they. To suppose that children do not sustain such relations to the Redeemer would compel us to assert that they are not meet for the kingdom of heaven. The truth is, that Pressensé has been misled here by his supposition that the free consent of the human soul must be secured before any real covenant can be established between it and its God. He forgot that into all the implied contracts of civil society thousands are yearly born, and on no other ground than this do they bear their obligations and enjoy their benefits; that in the preceding dispensation children were sharers in the covenant of promise. But he regains his usual good sense and candor when he affirms that there is nothing wrong in infant baptism, provided due care be taken to instruct baptized children in the faith, and to enforce upon them their duty in riper years to assume and fulfill the obligations of the baptismal covenant.

The reader will owe us hearty thanks if this article shall lead him to a better acquaintance with one of the ripest scholars, ablest thinkers, and best writers of the Protestant Church. When Father Hyacinthe had read Pressensé's Life of Christ he sought out the author, warmly pressed his hand, and thanked him for the valuable service he had rendered to the Church universal. Every Christian reader of his works will often long to emulate the generous example of the noble Carmelite. May this work come to due completion in these troubled days when, amid tumbling thrones and all the clangor of war, the kingdom of God moves on to its glorious triumph. Late, and burdened with many sheaves, may the author enter his rest!

Art. II.—SPECTRUM ANALYSIS.

[SECOND PAPER.]

PHYSICAL CONSTITUTION OF THE SUN—SOLAR SPOTS AND PROTUBERANCES.

BEFORE passing from our consideration of the sun, let us notice some of the indications which have been obtained relative to its physical constitution. Scarcely a month passes that fails to shed some new light upon this important question. In

Fig. 8.

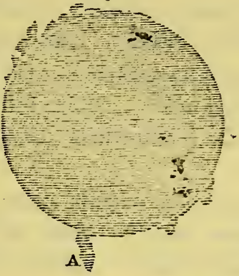
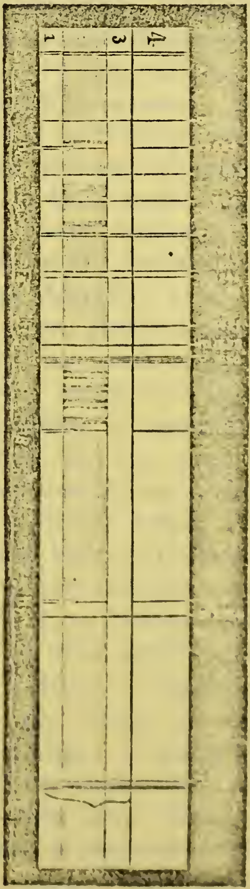


figure 8, we have a representation of the solar spots upon the sun's disc. They are frequently of immense extent, and seem to be undergoing an almost constant change, which, in some cases, is very violent. They are immediately surrounded usually by a surface not as dark as themselves, called the penumbra; but in some cases, two spots situated near each other are separated only by a narrow strip of bright surface, with no adjoining penumbra, and to which the term "bridge" is applied. We will soon notice its character. It will be easily seen that such a locality must offer peculiar advantages for spectroscopic observation. By placing the slit of the spectroscope transverse to the length of the bridge, and making the slit of a sufficient length to admit light from each of the surfaces mentioned, four spectra would thus be obtained in convenient juxtaposition, as represented in figure 9, in which 1, 2, 3, 4, show the spectra respectively of the bridge, spot, penumbra, and regular solar disc. And now let us mark the principal differences which are shown by these spectra. It will be noticed, first, that the spectra of penumbra and solar disc correspond, with but a single point of difference: the hydrogen absorption lines represented by $H\alpha$, $H\beta$, $H\gamma$, are entirely wanting in the penumbra. A second peculiar feature is the appearance of *bright* hydrogen lines in the bridge which extend a little into the spectrum of the spot. It will be observed, thirdly, that a number of absorption lines appear broader in the spectrum of the spot than the prolongation of these lines in the other spectra, as for, example, the calcium lines, 719·5 and 864.

Fig. 9.



[illegible]

Fourthly, *new groups* of absorption bands appear in the spectrum of the spot, as between 719·5 and 864. Lastly, several bright lines will be noticed between *E* and *F* in the same spectrum, which do not appear in any of the others. The significance of these features will be more readily understood after a brief notice of *solar protuberances.*

By reference to figure 8, it will be seen that a number of cloud-like masses appear in the sun's limb. These masses extend to a height of thousands of miles. Their forms are almost constantly varying, sometimes undergoing such rapid and radical changes as to convey to the mind the idea of storms upon the sun, compared with which the most violent terrestrial tornado is a mere zephyr. Until quite recently it was believed that the observation of these protuberances was impossible save in the case of a total eclipse, when the light of the sun's disc was obscured by the moon. But it has been discovered that by means of the spectroscope even the figure of a protuberance may be traced with ease, by observing when the bright lines which occur in their spectra appear. Thus, if the spectroscope is pointed toward the sun's *disc* a spectrum of *absorption* bands will be seen; but the instant the limb of the sun is reached these absorption bands vanish, and *bright lines* appear. It seems clearly established from the observations made during the total eclipses of 1868 and 1869, and from still more recent investigations, that the protuberances consist principally of luminous hydrogen; and it is generally believed by the most trustworthy investigators in this department that the sun is entirely surrounded by a gaseous envelope composed largely of this element. The interior, whether solid, liquid, or gaseous, is supposed to be more luminous, and to have a higher temperature than that of the gaseous envelope, or, as Lockyer terms it, the *chromosphere.* But from time to time eruptions occur. From the heated interior immense volumes of incandescent gases are driven outward. That the masses or "protuberances" are composed largely of hydrogen is shown by the spectrum, in which the lines known to be characteristic of this element are the principal ones that have been clearly determined. That the protuberances consist of luminous matter is shown by the fact that the spectrum consists of *bright* lines. It

should be carefully borne in mind that in the observation of the protuberances we do not have the interior of the sun as a background, and consequently no absorption of the light radiated from the interior can take place. And now, coupling the facts observed in the protuberances and spots, one of the theories respecting their nature may be presented, but which of course may be greatly modified, or even entirely discarded, by subsequent study. Indeed, this subject has been presented in this article mainly for the sake of showing one of the many inviting fields for investigation which this new science is destined to explore.

It has been theorized that the spots are depressions in the gaseous envelope of the sun, primarily caused by the eruption of gases from the more intensely heated nucleus. Hydrogen, from its well-known lightness, would rise to a great height above the remaining gases, and hence the prominent part which this element plays in the spectra of the protuberances. After the eruption has taken place chemical combination ensues, and the settling down of the gaseous compounds thus made forms the spot. If this is true the absorption bands in the spectrum of the spot ought to be more prominent than upon the other parts of the disc, since a larger quantity of gases would be there accumulated, and probably in a less luminous condition. Figure 9 shows this to be the case. It would follow from this view that these elements are present in larger quantity and less luminous condition where absorption lines suffer the most increase in breadth. The fact that the main body of the sun-spot appears black is no proof of absolute opacity, but merely of less luminosity than the surrounding solar surface; for the most intense light which we can produce appears as a black spot when held between the eye and the unclouded surface of the sun. The sun-spots, then, according to this theory, may be regarded as depressions in the sun's gaseous envelope, in which are collected comparatively dense masses of those elements where absorption lines appear more prominent than in the ordinary disc—as iron, calcium, barium, magnesium, sodium, hydrogen.* But why do the hydrogen lines appear *bright* in the bridge? In answer to this, it is believed that the bridge represents a protuberance

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* Recent investigations strongly indicate the presence of vapor of water in the sun's atmosphere, and especially in the spots.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

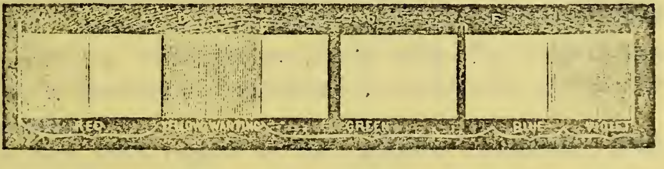
upon that part of the sun's disc which is turned toward the observer, and that the only essential difference consists in this: in the case of the bridge we are looking *vertically* upon the eruption; the current of the ascending gas is moving more or less directly toward us. In observing a protuberance we are looking horizontally upon the eruption, and the direction of the ascending current is at right angles to the line of direction of our vision. If now, in the case of the bridge, the light produced by the immense mass of luminous hydrogen is of sufficient intensity, it will produce bright lines in the spectrum, since absorption lines are only formed when rays of *superior* intensity are made to traverse others of less intensity on their way to the prism. The bright hydrogen lines then indicate an extraordinary degree of luminosity in the mass of hydrogen of which the bridge is largely composed, and the extension of them for a little distance into the black lines of the spot, as shown in figure 9, indicates a lateral motion of the hydrogen flames, and a consequent impinging of them upon the surface of the "spot." To explain the disappearance of the hydrogen lines in the penumbra we have only to refer to the principle explained in the forepart of this article, that the distinctness of the absorption band depends upon the absorptive power of the gas next to the prisms, and upon the relative intensities of the two sources of light; and it will easily be seen that in this case a point might be reached at which the amount of hydrogen light radiated by the penumbra would exactly equal that absorbed by it from the interior, and consequently the disappearance of the lines would result.

SPECTRA OF THE PLANETS AND MOON.

It is a matter of much interest to trace the relationship of the members of our solar system with their center, the physical and chemical constitution of which we have just considered. Since these bodies shine only by reflected solar light, their spectra would resemble that of the sun, excepting such changes as are caused by the reflection of the solar rays from their surfaces, or from passing through their atmospheres. As regards the moon, not the slightest variation has been detected; and the conclusion drawn from former astronomical observations of the absence of a

lunar atmosphere is thus confirmed by the spectroscope. Observations upon Venus seem to leave us somewhat in doubt respecting the existence of an atmosphere of any considerable degree of density. In the spectra of Saturn, Mars, and Jupiter, distinct and characteristic absorption lines are observed, although sufficient information has not yet been obtained to warrant positive conclusions as to whether they tell us of aqueous vapor upon their planets, or of the presence of some elements which are not found upon the earth. But the most interesting of the planetary spectra is that of Uranus, represented by fig. 10. It consists of a broad black absorption band in the green-blue near the hydrogen line *F*, but not coinciding with it; a second broad dark band in the green at *N*. Passing toward the less refrangible end of the spectrum we come to a broad space covering the entire portion occupied by the yellow, in which the spectrum disappears completely. In the part of the spectrum which is usually occupied by the red a little light again appears. It thus appears that the yellow rays of the sun are all absorbed by the atmosphere of Uranus. The cause of this strange appearance is not yet discovered. It is surmised that the planet may be self-luminous, that it may have a heated center, and be surrounded by a vapor envelope, which gives rise to its peculiar spectrum; that it may now be undergoing a cooling and condensing process, such as our own earth passed through ages ago, according to the Kant-La Place hypothesis. But, like many other points named in the present article, this must be submitted to future examinations.

Fig. 10.



SPECTRA OF THE FIXED STARS.

Much attention has been paid of late to this subject by Secchi, Huggins, and others; and results of great interest have

crowned their labors. Some idea of Secchi's studies may be drawn from the fact that he has made observations on more than six hundred stars. In the observations made upon stars of low magnitude, the light of the star itself is frequently too feeble to produce a spectrum of sufficient distinctness. In these cases recourse is had to the telescope, by means of which the entire quantity of light from the star is concentrated into a small space, and then by suitable arrangements is caused to pass through decomposing prisms, and its spectrum is obtained in a proper form for examination. By producing spectra of terrestrial elements in juxtaposition to those obtained from the stars, the coincidence of the lines may be very accurately determined. And now let us briefly notice the revelations which the persevering investigations made upon this subject have given us of the chemical and physical constitution of these far-distant orbs.

And first, with regard to their *physical* character. Their spectra consist of absorption lines; hence, according to previous principles, they are luminous bodies surrounded by an atmosphere of less luminosity than themselves. The hypothesis, long prevalent among astronomers, that these bodies are suns, central bodies for their systems of worlds, thus finds in spectrum analysis strong evidence in its favor. Were these bodies non-luminous they could give no spectrum; if they were incandescent solid bodies, a *continuous* spectrum would be given by them; while if they existed as masses of luminous gas, with no center of superior luminosity, spectra of *bright lines* would be observed in connection with them.

Of still greater interest are the evidences of the *chemical constitution* of the fixed stars. In fig. 11,[*] 1 and 2 represent respectively the spectra of Aldebaran and Betelgeux. The short lines crossing the space between the two long parallel lines in each spectra are the absorption bands given by these stars. Immediately below the spectra are shown the bright lines given by known terrestrial elements, and designated by their chemical symbols. Whenever the latter lines coincide, or are continuous with the former, the presence of the elements which correspond to these lines is shown; a want of this coincidence indicates their absence. Suppose we wish to examine these

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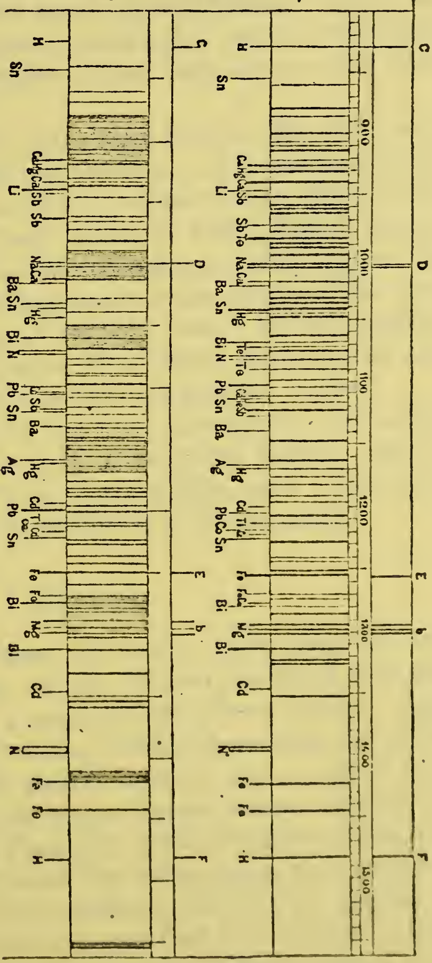
[*] Referred to in previous article as Fig. 12.

spectra with regard to the presence of hydrogen. We look for its symbol *H*, and find that its bright lines coincide precisely in position and breadth with as many absorption lines in Aldebaran; while in Betelgeux no absorption bands are found corresponding to the bright ones. The presence of hydrogen is therefore concluded in the former, its absence in the latter. So in the case of iron, (*Fe.*) We find four lines in each of the spectra exactly corresponding; we therefore infer its presence. In a similar manner the presence of magnesium, (*Mg.*,) calcium, (*Ca.*,) mercury, (*Hg.*,) antimony, (*So.*,) tellurium, (*Te.*,) sodium, (*Na.*,) bismuth, (*Bi.*,) thallium, (*Ll.*,) are inferred in Aldebaran; and calcium, sodium, bismuth, thallium, iron, and magnesium in Betelgeux. The elements whose bright lines have no corresponding absorption bands are assumed absent. It will be noticed that there are many absorption lines in each of the spectra which have no corresponding bright lines in the spectra of any of the numerous elements with which they were compared. This would lead to one of the following inferences: first, that some elements may exist in these stars which do not occur upon our earth; second, there may be bright lines given by known

Fig. 11.



terrestrial elements with which we are as yet unacquainted, and which future investigations may reveal; third, owing to the temperature or pressure to which these bodies *may* be subjected, secondary spectra are formed. Whichever of these alternatives may be correct, the number of terrestrial elements which are shown to exist upon these far-distant bodies are sufficient to establish quite a relationship between them and our earth, as well as to render a closer acquaintance with them highly desirable.

A relation has also been established between the colors with which the stars shine and their spectra, and it has been shown that these various colors are due to a difference in chemical and physical constitution. Much variety in their physical characteristics is also observed, some indicating a much higher temperature than others. It has also been ascertained that those strange objects known as "variable stars" are accompanied with a change in their spectra, thus clearly showing that their changes are produced by chemical and physical causes.

The immense number of the fixed stars which are of a magnitude sufficient to make their investigation feasible with instruments and methods even now available, open a field to the scientific investigator as boundless as it is interesting.

NEBULÆ.

These mysterious masses of matter have been the subject of much discussion. It was formerly believed that they represented matter in a more or less primeval state. Some of them are shapeless masses, while others seem to possess a center of apparently greater density, with a spiral form, conveying to the mind the idea of motion around a center, and suggesting the Kant-La Place plan of the evolution of planetary masses. But as telescopes of increasing power were constructed, the nebulæ which were rendered visible by the smaller instruments were more and more resolved into clusters of stars, while new and fainter nebulous masses were discovered which were not to be seen by the aid of previously existing instruments. The question then became an interesting yet perplexing one: May not all the so-called nebulæ be merely clusters of stars which cannot be resolved into stars by instruments now in use?

No solution of this interesting problem lay within the power of the telescope. It remained for the spectroscope to solve the problem.

We have seen that only solid or fluid incandescent bodies (or gases under unusual conditions of temperature or pressure) give continuous spectra; while, as a rule, we obtain spectra of bright lines only from luminous gases; and when Huggins, in 1864, first pointed his telespectroscope to one of the nebulæ, his "surprise was very great, on looking into the small telescope of the spectrum apparatus, to observe no appearance of a band of colored light, such as a star would give, but in place of this there were three isolated *bright lines* only." A grand problem was thus solved, and the results obtained by this first attempt were very fully confirmed by many subsequent investigations made by Huggins and others. It was thus settled definitely that *nebulæ do exist*, that there are now in space many agglomerations of matter which are perhaps undergoing a gradual evolution into suns and subordinate planets.

But what does this new method of analysis teach us respecting the chemical composition of these strange masses of matter? Their spectra seem to vary considerably. In some but a single bright line appears, indicative of a simple chemical constitution; while in others the presence of several lines indicates a more complex chemical structure. The elements hydrogen, nitrogen, and magnesium seem to comprise the entire list of elements which can with safety be definitely ascribed to any of the nebulæ, and in some cases only a single one of these elements are present. Surely a greater triumph of human genius can hardly be imagined than that which detects some of the elements of which our own globe is composed, in bodies situated at almost inconceivable distances from us. And it is interesting to observe the confirmation by the spectroscope of telescopic observations. In all cases where the telescope has succeeded in resolving the apparent nebulæ into stars, the spectroscope has given *continuous spectra*. In some of those which have not yet been thus resolved continuous spectra have also been obtained, thus indicating that increased telescopic power is necessary to reveal to the eye of the astronomer the true character of these masses. It is also found that some of

the nebulæ give continuous spectra, interrupted by bright lines, showing the probable existence of incandescent cosmical masses of more or less consistency, surrounded by luminous gaseous matter. Can it be looked upon as impossible that the truth of La Place's theory may yet be demonstrated by actual observation, and that our future physicists and astronomers, with their vastly improved means of observation, may watch the giant process of the formation of new worlds with the same ease with which the chemist, in his laboratory, watches the building of the beautiful and symmetrical crystal?

DETERMINATION OF THE MOTIONS OF THE HEAVENLY BODIES.

Attempts have been made quite recently to apply the results of spectrum analysis to the determination of the relative motions of the heavenly bodies toward or from us, and also to the like motions of the gaseous constituents of the solar atmosphere. The principles upon which these ingenious calculations are based are essentially the following:

A luminous body which is moving toward us will cause a larger number of waves of light to strike upon the retina of the eye in unity of time than one that is motionless or moving in the contrary direction. If the number of the waves be increased or diminished to a measurable extent, the velocity of the moving body in the direction of the line of vision can be determined. If a star now shining with a red light, or any light of low refrangibility and small number of waves, commences moving toward us with a very great velocity, the tendency is to cause it to appear of some color situated in the continuous spectrum nearer the violet, since under this condition a larger number of light waves would strike the retina in unity of time. And the reverse is true of a receding star. If shining with a color of high refrangibility and large number of waves before commencing its retrograde motion, it would tend to shine with a light approaching more nearly to red. But it is hardly possible that a star could possess a motion sufficient to cause a change of color to the naked eye.

The spectroscope, however, furnishes a much more delicate

method. If, for example, the exact normal position of the green-blue hydrogen line be noted, and it is observed that the corresponding absorption line in the solar spectrum suffers a *slight* displacement toward either end of the spectrum, it would go far toward showing that the solar atmosphere was in a state of violent commotion at the place toward which the spectroscope was directed, and that the hydrogen cloud at this point was in rapid motion. If the line was displaced toward the violet end, the inference would be that the cloud was moving toward the observer, thus increasing the number of waves, and hence the refrangibility of the line. A redward displacement of the line would indicate a retrograde motion of the cloud of hydrogen. Similar displacements of a spectral line would result from the sufficient motion of any star. As yet, notwithstanding the care taken to secure accuracy of measurement, the extraordinary delicacy necessary to insure strictly reliable results has prevented a very extended practical application of this method to the purposes indicated. Already, however, conclusions entitled to a good degree of credit have been drawn relative to stellar motion and to "solar tempests." An improved form of spectroscope has been recently invented by Zöllner, by which the displacement of the lines is doubled; and it can hardly be doubted that a new and most interesting field is opened for investigation, the results of which must prove of the highest interest to science.

NEW CHEMICAL ELEMENTS DISCOVERED.

No less than four new members have been added to the list of chemical elements by this new analytical method. All of them are found only in very minute quantities, though some are quite widely distributed. Previous to the discovery and practical application of spectrum analysis, the analytical tests were not sufficiently delicate to detect their presence in the substances in which they occur. It seems befitting that one of those eminent scientists to whom we owe most largely our knowledge of the science itself, should first apply his own brilliant discovery to the finding of new elements. It was in the year 1860 that Bunsen, in the spectral examination of the water of a spring, discovered that sev-

eral bright lines appeared in the spectrum, which he was unable to refer to any of the characteristic lines of the known elements. The idea at once suggested itself that here were new elements. A number of tons of the water were evaporated to dryness. The solid residue thus obtained was subjected to skillful chemical manipulation, and a small quantity of *two* new elements, cæsium and rubidium, were obtained from it. This discovery of these may serve as an illustration of the method by means of which thallium was discovered by Crookes in 1861, and indium by Reich and Richter in 1863. Thus of the sixty-three elementary forms of matter with which we are at present acquainted, four are due to the delicate method of spectrum analysis; and it may be safely affirmed that without it we must have remained ignorant of their existence until the progress of analytical chemistry had found other and more delicate tests. While it would be idle to speculate on the future additions to our knowledge of the elements which it will furnish us, it is hardly supposable that discoveries in this department are now completed.

In other and numerous directions have investigations been prosecuted. The COMETS have been examined, and have been found to present some points of resemblance to the nebulæ. Their spectra consist usually of bright lines, accompanied sometimes by faint continuous spectra. The number of bright lines is never great, and they have not been sufficiently determined to warrant conclusions of any degree of certainty relative to chemical constitution. The METEORS which appeared so abundantly in August and November, 1868, were found usually to give continuous spectra, in which, however, the violet was wanting when the light from their *nuclei* was decomposed. In some cases yellow predominated; in others, green. No marked difference seemed to exist between the spectra of the *nuclei* in the August and November meteors. Not so, however, with the spectra of the *trains* of the meteors. In those of August there appeared usually but a single *yellow* line of great brilliancy, and which it is believed can be referred only to sodium; while in the November meteors the yellow band failed to appear, with but a single exception.

The spectra furnished by *lightning* has been observed to

contain numerous bright lines in addition to continuous spectra. Among the bright lines those of nitrogen and hydrogen are observed. The *Zodiacal Light* and the *Aurora Borealis* show striking resemblances in their spectra, and promise future results of great importance.

It will be readily seen that spectrum analysis is yet in its infancy. A decade of years is quite insufficient for a new science to arrive at any great degree of perfection; and yet what brilliant results has it already yielded! Its discoveries enrich our knowledge of the elemental forms of matter of which our earth is composed, reveal to our astonished gaze the physical and chemical characteristics of our sun, bring our earth into a near relationship with the heavenly bodies, and strongly indicate the physical unity of the universe. And thus is the mind instinctively directed to the one Omnipotent Creator, by whom only could this vast family of worlds have been formed.

ART. II.—WESLEY AND METHODISM.

[TRANSLATED FROM THE REVUE DES DEUX MONDES.]

[FIRST ARTICLE.]

ANY one walking the streets of Paris may read over the doors of certain buildings the words "Wesleyan Chapel." The majority of persons in the great metropolis know little or nothing of Methodism, and the qualifying term, Wesleyan, would not be likely to aid essentially their comprehension of it. The temptation, and also the facility, for presenting the subject to the public were set before me in reading the excellent Life of Wesley by Pastor Matthieu Lelièvre. The want of a popular life of John Wesley has been expressed among the French Methodist Churches, and this work was written in obedience to an order of their Conference. The recital is candid and sincere; the evident earnestness of the author is never betrayed into merely rhetorical expression, nor is he often led astray by his admiration for the personage whose life he records. This work would suffice to acquaint us with Wesley, but there are also several others which could advan-

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tageously complete the sketch attempted by M. Lelièvre. Without including particular histories of Methodism, like that of Stevens, we have the memoirs of Southey, poet-laureate of George III. and chief singer of Toryism, whose devotion to the Anglican Church did not, however, incapacitate him from a just and friendly estimate of the originator of a powerful schism. We have also the volumes which are the basis of Southey's; Wesley's own journals, wherein he recorded the smallest events of his life, during a period of fifty-five years, (from 1735 to 1790.) To these sources we must subjoin a recent History of the Free Churches of England, by Mr. Skeats, which conveys in an abridged form much instruction and interest.

The whole of the English Reformation was promulgated by its first standard-bearer, Wickliffe. Far away in the fourteenth century he contended for the supremacy of the power of the king against that of the Pope, and denounced the vanity and danger of the works of the Romish ritual. Opposition to these inevitably led to the assertion of faith as the only condition of salvation. He maintained also the unchangeable decrees of God, who, in his sovereign omnipotence, has chosen his elect from all eternity—which led to the stern dogma of absolute predestination. Two hundred years later all the Protestants of Great Britain accepted either wholly or in part these three points of doctrine. Henry VIII. adopted the first, and rebuilt his Church upon it, with great satisfaction to himself. The Puritans who separated from the Church accepted the second as including the whole of the Reformation, and were divided on the third. Those who adopted it were called Calvinists; those who wished to moderate its severity, Arminians. When, finally, the Catholic unity was broken and a universal authority was disregarded; when the individual reason was applied to the Scriptures; when all dogmas were subjected to the test of examination—the spirit of Arminianism, which is only the natural theory of free-will, boldly undertook to investigate all mysteries, even to that of the Trinity; and there followed a freedom of interpretation which approaches more and more closely to the faith of pure reason. This liberty, which the orthodox regard as a more or less dangerous laxity, variously affects the doctrines of belief, but it does not always injure piety. From the reign of Henry VIII. to

the death of Charles I. numerous dogmatic variations were promulgated, and maintained with more or less zeal and intelligence. These gave rise to permanent sects, which oppression, persecution, tortures even, could not suppress. The Episcopal Church, the religion of English royalty, maintained in its articles the doctrines of justification by faith, and absolute predestination; but it varied on the latter. Whitgift, a primate under Elizabeth, pronounced it one of the fundamental articles. Laud, his successor, in the reign of Charles I., abandoned it for a qualified Arminianism, which was maintained after his day, and was considered one of the chief doctrines of the Church. The leaders of a monarchical clergy were inclined to adopt a political theology which should gain the lukewarm and indifferent. The dissenting sects or separatists were more strict and zealous, as a rule, and thereby gained the name of Puritans. They were unitedly opposed to the authority of Rome, but were divided on the other doctrines. The first, and for a long time the most numerous sect, Royalists like the Church, but active Parliamentarians, attacked the hierarchy, opposed many of its liturgical forms, and contended even to intolerance for pure Calvinism. The other Puritans were either Independents or Baptists. They were generally Republicans, and combined against the domination of the Presbyterians, when the latter, having overthrown the Episcopal supremacy, had recourse to a republic. Cromwell, Fairfax, Saint John, Milton, Vane, were Independents. Ludlow, Harrison, Fleetwood, Colonel Hutchinson, were Baptists. With the exception of the Protestant principles of justification, they did not unexceptionally adhere to any exclusive doctrine; but while generally inclined to extreme opinions, they had one characteristic in common, that of introducing a republican spirit, or, in a word, freedom, into the Church. The Independents, particularly, reduced their ecclesiastical organization to its lowest terms, and accepted no religious authority. To them belongs the honor of being the first to claim and to practice, so far as the passions of the times would allow, the new principle which we designate by the ungracious name of toleration.*

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* It is worthy of passing note that Jovian, a Roman Emperor, who lived but seven months after his accession, declared in a council at Antioch (A.D. 368) that no man should be molested on account of his religious belief. He allowed Chris-

Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Elizabeth had enjoined religious uniformity by express and penal acts. It was after the victory of the Independents, and, sad to say, after Colonel Harrison had broken up the Parliament, that Cromwell's State Council issued a proclamation declaring that no person should be compelled, (the Gospel term,) by penalties or any other forcible means, to conform to the received religion of the State, (1653.) Then followed, in the republic of sacred letters, a host of eminent men, whose names are scarcely known in France, but who deserve an illustrious record among all peoples. The intellectual power of the English Revolution in attracting noble minds to itself can never be adequately estimated.

The Restoration found public opinion altogether on the side of toleration. The Catholics, it is true, were not included in the rule, but they were not seriously annoyed. An attack upon the doctrine of the Trinity was also punishable by law; but this was easily evaded, and, thanks to certain artifices of language, almost any phase of unbelief could be made consistent with apparent orthodoxy. Arianism, more or less modified, had its partisans in every sect. The latest of them all, the Quakers, professed it openly. In religion, as in politics, a tendency to compromise was dominant. The King was not averse to it. He had secretly embraced Romanism, but with a dispensation from practicing it. He attended the Anglican worship, but did not believe in it. In effect he was neither Romish nor Protestant, but simply indifferent. His example encouraged irreligion; and, to his disgrace, libertinism, in the every sense of the word, had full sway at court. The public sense confounded faith with fanaticism, and estimated religious zeal as a revolutionary, and therefore dangerous, passion. This was the opinion of Charles II., who was always suspicious of the Separatists. The Anglican Church was a monarchical institution, in virtue whereof he was bound to protect it; but many of the Dissenters also, particularly the Presbyterians, were Royalists, and by slight concessions could easily have been won to the ranks of the Church. But the latter, assured of victory with the return of the Stuarts, was in no mood for con-

tians a social and civil equality with pagans, and accorded them the same privileges and immunities. Thus this wise and clement, though heathen, sovereign anticipated by thirteen hundred years the principle of toleration as announced and maintained by the English Independents.

cessions; and, though royalty occasionally practiced tolerance in order to favor the Catholics, it fell back as often, out of love for authority, upon the political, rather than the religious intolerance of the High Church. Vexatious and oppressive laws re-established uniformity in principle, made requisition of the clergy, and compelled all dissenting sects to a definite separation. Under the general name of Dissenters were thus gathered all the disgraced persons and malcontents of the religious strife, and thereby a powerful re-enforcement was added to the party of political liberty. James II., after long hesitation, endeavored to effect a change in this arrangement. By his avowed Romanism he had alienated the Church, and as a compensation he strove to gain over the Dissenters. But he succeeded only in raising against himself the accusation of indirectly favoring the Papacy. He soon had all English Protestantism arrayed against him, and the Revolution of 1688 was the next leaf in the national history.

That movement restored liberty to the nation. William III. was disposed to grant it fully to all creeds and consciences; but, obliged to treat the prejudices of his party with tenderness, he could do nothing more than establish a general toleration, instead of including all degrees of belief under a common protection. The Church yielded acquiescence. Dissent was satisfied. Although it still accepted and adhered to the severest creeds, and manifested the strongest zeal, yet it grew calmer from day to day. The enthusiasm of the early times had disappeared; faith by expansion had become weak; science and talent were declining in its ranks; the very name of certain sects was lost. On the other hand the Church, now in the majority, Arminian, or, to speak plainer, moderate in theology, was gradually opening to liberal influences.

The throne gave it the example; and an intellectual movement which had its rise in the universities, and was attributed to the writers known as the Cambridge Platonists, had infused a new and living spirit even into the episcopate. Jeremy Taylor, Barrow, Burnet, Tillotson, Stillingfleet, the latitudinarians of history, maintained with breadth, as well as elevation and dignity, the doctrines of their party. In religion as in government, the line of excesses had gone by. Every thing tended to the quest of Liberty. Reason, especially practical

reason, the presiding genius of modern England, resumed its empire over all departments of life. The great philosopher, Locke, who is its most faithful interpreter, published his *Reasonable Christianity*, and, notwithstanding certain dissenting opinions, all Christian minds sought, like himself, to found their faith upon reason. Men no longer directed their appeals to the religious passion; they had ceased to regard faith as a supernatural inspiration, or even as a spontaneous sentiment, which is native to the heart, and reigns over it. Christianity was looked upon as a system of doctrine whose excellence is essentially moral. When it had been proved to be the system best fitted to elevate the soul and purify the conduct, nothing remained to be done but to authenticate the historical evidences on which it rests. Celebrated books and eloquent sermons were composed in this design, and this method of defending and advancing Christianity was admirably suited to the prevailing opinion of the time. It was certain to give pleasure; it was all-sufficient for calm and intelligent minds, and, indeed, it is held in honor to this day among the English. But we must remember that it is adapted to cultivated minds alone; it is unimpassioned, cold; it does not address all the feelings or faculties which are subject to the sway of religion, and it is in no way calculated to commend itself to the common people. During a period which began with the seventeenth century—a century that has left a noble record for the enlightened world—the Anglican Church consisted of a believing and literate aristocracy; but it forgot that a national religion must also be a popular one.

The various efforts of the ancient Episcopal party to restore an exclusive rule only served to excite afresh the desire for independence, and strengthened public opinion against all official or State religion. Moral sense, more potent than law, was opposed to such a reaction, and the concessions of the enlightened leaders among the clergy opened the way to liberty of thought. These latter were almost Unitarians; Locke himself was nearly a deist; his immediate successors went as far as deism and beyond it. During the first thirty years of the century the political and literary world were divided into rationalistic Christians and rationalistic infidels. The higher clergy were led by the Bishops, some of whom were Absolutists, more of

them Constitutionalists, most of them Arminians, and all of them free interpreters of the Athanasian Creed, to which they had subscribed. All, moreover, were nearly strangers to the flocks of which they were the nominal Pastors. Dissent shared, likewise, in the general coldness of religious life, and protested against it only by rare and isolated examples in favor of the doctrines and practices of the primitive Reformation. England was given over to religious indifference. It was not astonishing that Voltaire, when led thither by exile in 1726, affirmed that they were so lukewarm in that country "that there was no longer much chance of success either for a new or a renewed religion," thereby expressing an opinion on the tendencies of the English people which his century retained long after it had ceased to be correct; and if we take exception to the testimony of Voltaire, we have that of another observer, unequaled for discernment, Montesquieu, who made the same journey three years later, and wrote in his notes, "There is no religion in England."*

There are periods in the history of societies which compel such a judgment, and it is usually sufficiently well founded to convince many good minds that all return is impossible, and that faith can never rise again above the prevailing skepticism and indifference. There is nothing really fatal, however, in such apparent suspensions of belief. The decline of religion is sooner or later checked by what in France is called a reaction, and in England a revival, or, to use the Protestant word, an awakening. There is this difference between reactions and awakenings: the former are effected by a change of opinion that is favorable to the traditions of the past, while the latter are the product of a religious movement which has its spontaneous origin in souls; ordinarily in a few souls, from whom it spreads far and near. When, for instance, in view of the French Revolution, Burke was recreant to the best memories of his career, when he opposed the complete emancipation of Dissent, and gave the signal for that crusade ordered by George III., and led by Eldon, Sidmouth, and Liverpool, for the coalition of High Toryism and High

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* And further on, "Whenever any one speaks of religion every body begins to laugh." "In France I am thought to have too little religion," he says elsewhere, "in England I am thought to have too much."

Church, there was in that movement a reaction only—a rising tide in politics. But when, somewhat later, in 1730, Wilberforce and the Evangelicals succeeded, by a direct appeal to the purely religious feeling, in rekindling it in many hearts, that was in fact an awakening, and something not unworthy of comparison with the wondrous conversions of the apostolic age. It is the first of these awakenings that we would summarily describe.

It is not needful to pause and narrate here in detail the early life of John Wesley, the founder and apostle of Methodism. His training in a rigorously ordered but happy home; the remarkable character of his mother; the opportunity, finally declined by his brother Charles, of becoming the adopted son of an Irish gentleman whose family subsequently counted four peers, among them the Marquis of Wellesley, Duke of Wellington; John's education at the Charter House School, and his honorable record as student of Christ Church College, Oxford; these are facts which are known to most persons acquainted with Methodism, and which may be found in all the memoirs of its founder, or in the several histories of the denomination.

This young man, who at the age of twenty-three (1726) was appointed moderator or president of the logical discussions of his College and professor of Greek, was endowed with no ordinary character. His mental faculties were sound and penetrating, his soul firm and pure, but mild and patient. He loved order, discipline, and obedience. His piety was scrupulous; his opinions were such as in this day would be called conservative. The Sovereign and the Church inspired him with a profound respect. It would seem, then, that in his early manhood he was in no way calculated for a schismatic—an instigator of a kind of religious revolution. Yet this was his destiny.. His religious education had not been coldly peaceful. The indifference and dissipation that was rife in the University surprised and troubled him. Still retaining that general faith in the Gospel which he had derived from the teachings of his father, and still more from the ardent exhortations of his mother, he was nevertheless harassed with theological doubts. He wavered in his adherence to the great Protestant doctrine of justification by faith alone. The "Imitation of Jesus Christ," and the writings of an eloquent enthusiast, William

Law, led him to mysticism; but a practical piety regulated his life, and preserved him from the aberrations of a dreamy exaltation. He seemed made to think like Mary and to live like Martha.

He was recalled home to serve as assistant to his father, but soon wearied of the routine of a subordinate position, and returned to the University, wherein he found greater independence. Here had been already formed the Godly Club by certain devout students, including Charles Wesley, who surpassed his brother in enthusiasm. The fixed rules or methods of sanctity adopted by these young men gained them the *sobriquet* of Methodists. John naturally became the leader of this band by virtue of the authority of his counsel and example, for he was born to organize and to rule. He inspired with his own spirit this gathering of devout young men, prescribed for them certain austerities, together with regular visitations among the poor, and the partaking of the sacraments. "He inclined to the error of confounding sanctification with justification," says his biographer; "forgetting that good works, though they serve to complete the first, are utterly useless in obtaining the second, by which the religious life must begin."

Wesley, however, felt vaguely the need of enlarging the circle of his activity. He had refused the position of successor to his father, who had just died. "The world is my parish," he was one day to affirm. It was proposed to Wesley to go to Georgia—the name given to certain lands granted to General Oglethorpe—and serve as missionary and chaplain to the colonists. He declined at first, being reluctant to leave his mother; but she assured him that had she twenty sons she would gladly give them all to such a work, though at the risk of never seeing them again. Accordingly he set sail (1735) with his brother and two friends. While engaged in his duties as chaplain he entertained various projects for evangelizing the Indians, establishing schools, orphan asylums, and private societies for the advancement of holiness. The latter project he early attempted, but, notwithstanding his zeal, these undertakings were hindered by obstacles which proceeded not so much from the people as from the administration of the colony, whose opinions were sometimes at variance with those of the chaplain. But he gained thereby some experience, at least,

which was likely to prove of value to him in after life. He had crossed the ocean with certain Moravian families, who were on their way to join the nucleus of a society in Georgia. Nearly thirty years had elapsed since Count Zinzendorf had instituted that Christian Brotherhood, which, freed from the yoke of formulas and traditional worship, was united solely by the Lutheran confession of faith in Jesus Christ, practiced a community of goods, works of Christian charity, and the humblest labors of a simple life. Wesley, up to the time of his acquaintance with these Brethren, had been simply a faithful minister of his communion, imbued with High Church principles, and never separating the idea of religion from that of a hierarchical establishment, a divinely transmitted authority, and a legally prescribed liturgy. His intercourse with the Moravians led him to reflection. Despairing of success in his mission, such at least as he had hoped for, he returned to England, his inner life disturbed with doubt, inquietude, and repentance. He had heard from his Moravian friends that faith does not consist in an adherence to revealed truths, but in an interior sentiment of love to God, and of such confidence in Christ as assures us that our sins are atoned for by him, and that through his merit divine pardon is vouchsafed to us. This doctrine, though common to all the Reformed Churches, was well-nigh lost sight of in that of England. The interior life Wesley sought for in vain within his own heart. He feared death; he was terrified at the future life; he knew that he was a sinner, and unpardoned. His days were passed in anxiety and despair. At London he sought out the Moravian societies, and made the acquaintance of one of their members, Peter Boehler, who had lately arrived from Germany, and who became his spiritual guide, although they could converse only in Latin. He attended assiduously the meetings of a small congregation under Boehler's charge, and was instructed by the latter to expect conversion neither from the mystics nor the theologians, but only by the illumination of the Holy Scriptures. Diligent reading and meditation of the Sacred Book produced at last the effect that it almost invariably produces on the soul of him that opens it feeling an urgent need of finding therein what he cannot find in himself, and who has a profound consciousness of the impotence of nature and

the omnipotence of faith. He sought in the Scriptures for justifying grace; a day came when he knew that he had found it. He mentions it specifically, even to the hour, in his Journal, affirming that his spirit was possessed of perfect tranquillity and assurance, though without any sudden accession of joy; and he affirms himself to have been guided through this solemn crisis by the aid of a verse of Scripture opened on by chance, in connection with a passage from one of the Fathers. These aids were accepted by him as celestial messages; his recourse to them and to several others in after life testify to his belief in these kind of providential manifestations.

The lives of the saints afford numerous examples of this recourse to lot, as declarative of the divine will, and in the Middle Ages many a decision on which depended salvation for this world and the other was made in obedience to the significance of the first lines read on opening at random the Bible or Virgil: *sortes Biblicæ*, *sortes Virgilianæ*. Wesley has been severely criticised for this superstitious faith in chance. It is said that he introduced it among the Methodists. His defenders have maintained that he consulted this oracle but rarely, and only in his youth, and that, after all, an example furnished by the apostles could serve him as an excuse. Often, doubtless, the incompetence of reason in directing the will has led perplexed minds into this momentary fatalism; but to the Christian, who believes in the special care of the divine government over all things, why should not any incident whatever, a word, a dream, be an indication of the divine will; provided always that the indication is not opposed to the clearest possible exercise of the believer's reason?

It is said that Wesley borrowed this practice from the Moravians, whom his orthodox critics accuse him of having heeded too implicitly. It is certain that during two important years of his life he accepted them for his guides. To become still more acquainted with those who had pointed out to him the way of salvation, he journeyed to Holland and thence to Germany. At Marienbourg he met Zinzendorf, and informed himself fully upon the plan of ecclesiastical organization that the count had adopted from Spener, the founder of Pietism, or German Methodism. He pushed forward to the confines of Bohemia, where lies Herrnhut, the cradle of the sect that is called by its name;

and on beholding this Christian organization, so different from a political Church like that of England, he thought, he said, that he had seen the city of God.

When he returned from the Continent, still more confirmed in a regenerating faith, he found himself in entire concord with two of the former members of the Holy Club—his brother Charles, and George Whitefield. The first had been led through a like experience with his own, and had been assured of his reconciliation to God three days before the conversion of John. The second was a young man of an indigent family, whose mother, a servant in Pembroke College, Oxford, had procured, by arduous efforts, a clerical education for her son. His fervent nature had at first led him to the practice of extreme austerities, yet his soul found no security therein—no *assurance*, as the English term it—the first, the only blessing of the Christian who has been illuminated by grace. The most spiritual and most fervent of the British sects are powerful in that they regard the human soul as the only acceptable offering to the God who is to be worshiped in spirit and in truth. Whitefield understood this truth, when a dangerous illness turned his thoughts inward upon himself.

He was inferior to Wesley in many respects, but he was more absolute in doctrine, and his eloquence as a preacher was most extraordinary. He suffered himself to be led to the very extreme of Calvinism in the doctrine of predestination—an excess which Wesley was wise enough to avoid. Whitefield, by his boldness, was more inclined to enter the unknown realms of religious speculation. Ordained in 1736, and sincerely attached to the Church, which he never abandoned, he preached his first sermon at Bristol, and preached it with such ardor that the whole assembly was moved, and he was accused of having rendered fifteen of his auditors crazy, simply because he had aroused them from indifference to alarm, and awakened their anxiety concerning a future state. Similar effects resulted from his sermons at London and at Gloucester, where a revival—the first ever known in the place—ensued from a discourse that he preached on the necessity of a new baptism in Christ. He was welcomed by the Dissenters and the people, but was attacked by the regular clergy, who stigmatized him as "a spiritual pickpocket," because he drew away their congrega-

tions. His zeal led him to Georgia with Wesley, where they emulated each other in missionary labors. On his return to England he found the churches closed against him, and as preaching in private houses was forbidden by law, it occurred to him to deliver his message in the open air, inasmuch as against this there was no law. He had the examples of the prophets as a precedent, and of several mendicant orders of the Romish Church.

At the close of this year (1738) the three friends, John Wesley, his brother Charles, and Whitefield, were reunited. "This reunion," says the former, "was a pentecost indeed." The apostolic fire was kindled in their breasts; the desire of communicating it abroad absorbed all their thoughts; and this is the period whence more than one historian has dated the religious revival of England.

While Whitefield was proclaiming the Gospel throughout Gloucestershire, Wesley, still hoping well of the Church, and unwilling to break with it, had begun to preach in several parishes of London. But though united by his will to the hierarchy, he was practically estranged from it by the spirit of his preaching. With the single purpose of proclaiming the ancient faith of the Reformation and the Anglican Confession, he uttered from the pulpit the most effectual statements of the principle of justification by faith, and scandalized Churchmen, both lay and ecclesiastical. The churches were quickly closed against him, and, weary of speaking to a people deaf to his appeals, he determined to announce the good word to the ignorant peasants of the field, who knew little, indeed, of Christianity, but who at least made no effort to pervert it. There, falling as in virgin soil, the seed could germinate of itself. Souls, awakened by a sudden emotion, would submit without resistance to the operations of grace, which should permanently reform them. His sole thought was to speak to assemblies of people. At once organizer and enthusiast, practical and contemplative, he dreamed of evangelizing the world, of forming associations, of journeying like an apostle, of directing "class" or "band" meetings by those particular rules that properly constituted Methodism. Though he adhered steadily to the resolution of gathering the faithful into the Church, connecting them with it by the bond of the sacrament, he yet felt the

necessity of leaving the beaten track of pastoral instruction, and of working like a missionary in an unchristian country. He was prepared, therefore, to listen to an appeal from Whitefield, who had met with marvelous success, to come and join him. He had proclaimed his Gospel message to the miners of Kingswood, near Bristol, at first to two hundred, afterward to two, five, and fifteen thousand. These are the figures of Methodist chroniclers, whose narratives recall the ministrations recorded in certain passages of the Acts of the Apostles.

Wesley rejoined his friend. He had long hesitated to follow his example. To preach in the open country—anywhere, indeed, than in the consecrated house of God—was an innovation that startled his prudence and his conscience; but the attempt once made dispersed all his doubts, and in a field near Bristol he preached to three thousand persons. In the profound emotions evinced on that occasion he recognized the triumph of grace; and, while continuing his public exhortations, he gave himself immediately to the task of gathering all the mining population into small bands or class meetings, each one directed by a leader of the same sex as the members, and pledged to unite regularly for prayer, reading of the Bible, and religious conversation. The religious organization of so degraded a people, and the great moral change that was wrought among them, was the first convincing testimony to the two evangelists that their work was good. Thereafter they had no doubt that the undertaking thus begun was destined to become effectual and permanent. The new congregation required a place of refuge and worship, whereupon the first Methodist chapel was built. Thus these still respectful sons of the Church were led to raise altar against altar. All this was the work of a few months. Whitefield's first sermon was preached February 17, 1739, Wesley's, April 20, and the corner-stone of the chapel was laid the 12th of May. These three dates are red-letter days in the Methodist calendar.

By the end of the year Bristol and its vicinity, a part of Wales, Oxford, and London itself, had heard the preachers of the people. They had spoken at Moorfields to audiences of twenty and thirty thousand, gathered from the lowest strata of the metropolitan population. An austere, yet enthusiastic eloquence, that yielded to no weakness of those whom it sought

to warn, which condemned sin and alarmed the conscience, stirred with the deepest emotion multitudes who till then had lived the life of the flesh only. Tears, sobs, ejaculations of grief, overwhelmed at times the voices of the preachers. Sinners, seized with terror or enraptured with enthusiasm, fell to the ground with almost convulsive tremblings. These physical phenomena accompanied strong and sudden emotions, especially among those who believed that their souls had been touched by the Divine hand. Wesley has carefully described these singular manifestations, which astonished him at first, and whose reality he thoroughly verifies. What was remarkable, they were produced more particularly among his own hearers, although his discourses were gentle and penetrating rather than vehement and impetuous. He testifies that these phenomena were neither simulated nor forced. They were readily explicable by purely natural causes, but he was disposed to attribute them to supernatural influences. Though neither seeking for miracles, properly so called, nor desiring that the laws of the world's order should yield to his voice, yet nothing forbade him from believing that God manifested the power of his grace by extraordinary effects, and that the regenerating inspiration, by suddenly taking possession of the soul, should disturb the whole organization. But the learned and the scorners did not thus regard them. They are still considered as simulations or mummeries; witness the name *mummers* applied to the Methodists of Switzerland. The more charitable of the clergy held that these phenomena, when not counterfeit, were the evidences of a rude fanaticism. Orthodoxy has its incredulities like philosophy, and whatever disturbs faith is not more acceptable than whatever eludes science. Wesley replied to the doubts and reproofs of his brother Samuel, who approved neither of his ideas nor his course; and the letter is still extant that contains the significant facts witnessed by himself. In his presence, persons passed instantly from a state of despair to one of hope; from terror to joy. These transitions from the power of Satan to the power of God were made sometimes in sleep, sometimes they resulted from a vivid presentation to the spiritual vision of the Saviour on the cross, or in his glory. And these changes were not only attested by tears, sighs, groans, but by a permanent amendment and a new life. The rude, the fierce, the cruel,

[illegible]

became mild, peaceable, tractable. We must either consider Wesley as a false witness, or acknowledge in his account the work of God. The gifts of the Holy Spirit are not the mere fancies of a visionary.

It is certain, at least, that these natural though exceptional results of powerful and popular preaching may be attended with genuine conversion, and the instances attested by Wesley filled him with joy, though they aroused still more a hostile clergy and public against him. Every day he encountered new difficulties. Up to that time he had been in accord with the Moravians; but some brethren lately come from Germany introduced a dogma which perverted that of justification by faith, by affirming that perfect faith dispenses with the works of the law, both Judaic and moral, inasmuch as they are made for an imperfect or more or less impure state of spiritual life. Thereby they rendered valueless all outward duties, even to the reading of the Scriptures and prayer. This doctrine was called the True Tranquillity, or Inward Stillness—Antinomianism among the Protestants, Quietism among the Romanists. Wesley entertained a reverential regard for the character of Madame Guyon, perhaps the most eminent exemplar of Quietism, but he feared the contagion of these dangerous errors among his disciples. At a general reunion of the Moravians he announced his definite separation from them; and, noting the spread of the Calvinistic doctrine of Predestination among his people, he insisted more strenuously upon the Arminian principles of his belief; that is, he maintained the responsibility of the will, and its power to attain, or at least to respond to the grace of election. Thereby he tacitly opposed himself to the teaching of Whitefield, who had returned to America, where he was spreading the principles of a vigorous Calvinism, which is far from having disappeared to-day. A well-known sermon on Free Grace gave the summary of his objections, and his censors themselves have conceded to the production the merit of forcible reasoning and effective statement. Whitefield, on hearing what Wesley was doing, wrote a hasty response, full of bitterness, which was sent to England and printed there, though, it is thought, without the knowledge of the writer. Wesley called attention to it in the pulpit before a large assembly, and tore the unfortunate document in pieces. Whitefield was recalled by his friends.

He was of an impetuous, irritable disposition, and, after some futile attempts at reconciliation, the separation of the two friends led to the division of Methodism (1741) into two branches, which still exist independently of one another.

By his adherence to Arminian principles Wesley still maintained his connection with the Established Church, which he always respected, and from which he never formally detached himself. At the same time he braved its authority by upholding and urging a doctrine that it had practically ignored, by forming societies that it refused to recognize, and by resorting to methods of preaching and regular observances that it discountenanced. Hence, of necessity, he incurred remonstrances, interdictions, polemic strifes with the Bishops and their clergy. Not seldom the multitude was incited against him, pursued him with its menaces and maledictions, and strove to prevent his preaching by mobs, which remind us of the welcome that Paul and Silas received at Iconium, Philippi, and Antioch of Pisidia. But this resistance, like all opposition to a reform that meets a need of the time, only served to manifest the expansive power of the new faith. So expansive was it that, erelong, instead of a dearth of audiences, the preachers were too few for the people. The leaders appointed by Wesley over the local societies were charged only to maintain the rules ordained by him, but not to instruct the people. One of them, however, Thomas Maxfield, oppressed by the spiritual poverty of his community, and urged by a zeal that seemed to him like an inspiration, began to preach at London in the gatherings of the society, and had great success. Wesley, hearing of this proceeding at Bristol, hastened back, disturbed, displeased even. He feared the innovation as a disorder, and an infringement upon the strict obedience in which he so firmly believed; but his mother, who, after sore anxiety and hesitation, had given her countenance and approval to his work, counseled him to decide nothing without deliberation and examination. He heard Maxfield, and said, "This is of the Lord." John Nelson, a humble mason of Yorkshire, was the next to follow the example. He thus writes of Wesley, after hearing him preach for the first time: "This morning was a benediction to my soul. When he rose to speak on the platform he pushed back his hair, and turned his face toward the place where I stood, and it was as if

he fixed his eyes on me. His countenance struck me with such a respectful fear, before I had heard him say a word, that my heart beat like the pendulum of a clock, and when he spoke I thought all his sermon was addressed to me." This, in fact, describes the manner of Wesley. His sermons had the character of direct personal appeals. He seemed when speaking to have some one in view whose heart he knew, and whose conversion he desired. To his audience he was like those portraits whose eyes seem always to be looking at each beholder.

The action of Maxfield and Nelson was decisive. Wesley consented to institute a lay ministry. The societies, divided into classes, each directed by its leader, were authorized to unite themselves under a Pastor, subject to Wesley's approval. This Pastor was most often a man of humble life, pursuing his daily avocation, but empowered to dispense the bread of heaven to his people to the best of his ability and the utmost of his zeal. This organization was the initiative step toward constituting Methodism a separate sect. It took the character of a Christian democracy, yet a democracy that submitted to a master. By the supremacy of eloquence, faith, and character, by his simple presence, his entire *personnel*, Wesley was made for a leader, a commander.

Art. IV.—GENERAL CONFERENCE OF 1844.

This Conference was held in Greene-street Church, New York city, commencing the first day of May, and continuing until the eleventh of June. It was the first General Conference the writer ever had the honor to attend, and was the longest, most laborious, and, perhaps, the most important, of the *seven* in which he has been called to participate. It is impossible for those who have come upon the stage since that time to appreciate the difficulties of the hour, or to comprehend the reasons why certain measures were adopted instead of others, which, in their judgment, would have been more appropriate. It is not remarkable, therefore, that they should reach different conclusions from those arrived at by the General Conference. If any wish to investigate the matter further, they

will do well to read Dr. J. T. Peck's article in the April number of the Quarterly for 1870, which fairly states many facts, and indicates something of the opinions and policy of at least one of the grand parties to the contest. Dr. D. A. Whedon's article in the same number very conclusively proves that the separation of the South from the Methodist Episcopal Church "was a SECESSION," entirely unauthorized by that famous document miscalled "The Plan of Separation." The object of the present writing is to glance at the subject from another stand-point, and present other facts, with their relation to the final result.

For the information of any who are not familiar with the *situation* of affairs at that time, it is proper to say in the outset that the Conference was composed of about one hundred and eighty delegates, nearly one third of whom were from the slaveholding States. Many of these were firm believers in the righteousness of slavery. The old Methodist doctrine "that slavery is contrary to the laws of God, man, and nature, hurtful to society, and contrary to the dictates of conscience and pure religion," had become to them arrant heresy. Their views were better expressed by the action of the Georgia Conference, which declared that "slavery is not a *moral* evil." They were fully committed to it in all its Southern forms and accompaniments, except its abuses, both religiously and politically, and were bound to defend it against every measure that could be construed to its disadvantage. Their hatred of abolitionism was correspondingly bitter. Nothing that could be done to suppress it seemed to them too severe. One of their number assured us, in his address to the Conference, that if we abolitionists would come South we should be treated to a coat of tar and feathers, and paraded through the streets, tied to the tail of a cart drawn by a donkey; and no one of his associates seemed to doubt it, or to demur at the proposed reception! And they felt *strong* and confident in their position, as well they might, looking only to the human side of the question; for Bishop Andrew had lately become a slaveholder, and was in full sympathy with them. Bishop Soule, too, was bound to them by the strongest ties, which no measures, however extreme, would be likely to sunder. Besides, the slave power in the nation had been steadily increasing

for many years, and was about adding Texas to its domain in spite of Northern remonstrance. Not only was the legislation of the country largely in its hands, but also the executive and judicial departments. The wealth, commerce, and literature of the North worshiped at its shrine. Outside of the thin, but growing, abolition ranks, Churches, seminaries, political and other parties and associations vied with each other in courting its favor: some from business considerations, hoping to secure Southern patronage; some from patriotic reasons, fearing the disruption of the Union; some from denominationalism, seeking to preserve their respective Churches from threatened division; and others from family relationship. And New York, where we were convened, and where the battle was to be fought, was the focal point of Northern pro-slavery sympathy and power.

Besides, Southern delegates had reason to believe that three fourths of their brethren from the free States would stand by them in maintaining their present disciplinary *status*, and, perhaps, in rebuking abolition, and restoring the old peace under which they had so long lived and *ruled*. Former General Conferences had been frightened by their threats and yielded to their wishes, and why should not the present one imitate their example? That of 1836 rebuked two of its members for lecturing upon slavery, and declared itself "decidedly opposed to modern abolitionism, and wholly disclaimed any right, wish, or intention to interfere in the civil and political relations between master and slave, as it exists in the slaveholding States of this Union." (See *Journal*, p. 447.) It said and did other things of the same character and bearing. The General Conference of 1840 indicated a little less subserviency to Southern feeling, but unfortunately adopted a resolution offered by I. A. Few, of Georgia, declaring "that it is inexpedient and unjustifiable for any preacher among us to permit colored persons to give testimony against white persons in any State where they are denied that privilege in trials of law." (See *Journal*, p. 60.) Add to these facts another, which is undeniable, namely, that they embraced in their delegation several of the ablest legislators, debaters, and tacticians of any Church, and it will be difficult to see how they should feel otherwise than strong and hopeful, believing, as they appeared to do, that they were in the right.

Had they been modest and wise enough to be satisfied with the position they had occupied by Discipline and usage, they might have carried some anti-abolition measure that would have driven New England to the wall. But they were in no mood for the exercise of such virtues. The settled purpose of the South was to make slavery general, that is, to secure its toleration every-where in the country in spite of State laws. This was significantly expressed afterward by one of its high political functionaries, who predicted that the South would yet call the roll of its slaves under the shadow of Bunker Hill monument. And none were more enthusiastic or efficient in the enterprise than leading Southern Methodist preachers. To have asked no advance privileges for their idol would have proved them false to "the spirit of the age," and out of harmony with the dominant political tendencies of the country.

The delegates from the free States were *divided.* A few evidently harmonized with their Southern brethren in regard to "the great evil." The most of them, probably four fifths, held slavery in the abstract to be sin, but justifiable as restricted and regulated by our Discipline and usages. Some might have been willing to diminish its privileges, but could see no way to do it without endangering the peace of the Church. It was creditable in them that they were as scrupulous in maintaining our *usages* as our Discipline, particularly that by which we had kept slavery out of the Episcopacy. Nevertheless, they were bitterly opposed to abolitionism, and agreed with the South in denouncing it. Still they loved the unity of the Church, and would rather tolerate both slavery and abolition than have it divided. In their *conservatism* they condemned both parties by turns, as they judged it expedient to hold the confidence of both, and prevent an open rupture in the family.

The remainder of the delegates were out-and-out abolitionists, (mostly from New England,) who believed slavery to be sin *per se*, and that the Church had greatly backslidden from original righteousness in tolerating it. They represented a party that had come up through great tribulation, having been traduced in the Southern, Middle, and even Western Conferences without justice or mercy. Our official papers had unanimously berated them, and generally denied them the right of reply. The Bishops employed their great power to

restrain them. In their administration they at first refused to put any motion on the subject in annual Conferences, claiming that it was not Conference business. Southern and Middle Conferences, however, found no such difficulty in justifying slavery, or condemning its active opponents in Conference assembled. Some of the Bishops also wrote and spoke as they were moved by their honest convictions, but often to the great sorrow of the reformers. Many of the preachers, of course, followed their example, and did valiant service in trying to dishonor and destroy the new party. Trustees and other leading minds were not to be outdone, and so in some cases requested their Pastors not to invite any abolitionists to preach in their pulpits, and closed their churches against them; while slaveholders were flattered, and petted, and invited to preach, and advertised, and heard with enthusiasm. The object seemed to be to *hit* these disturbers of Israel every way and every-where, directly and indirectly, and dishonor and distress them (for the good of the Church) as much as possible. Some were censured by their Conferences for real or imaginary sympathy with the "hated delusion." Some were abused, and even mobbed and outlawed. In a word, they were treated much as small minorities on live subjects have been in all ages by their human oppressors, and, so far as this record shall hint to the contrary, from what were meant to be good motives and pious impulses. We refer to these facts historically, and not to implicate the men who participated in the wrongs suggested.

In this state of affairs what could the abolitionists expect to accomplish in that Conference? Certainly, not much. Being as only about *one* to *seven* of their opponents, and without a Bishop to plead for them or a Moses to lead them, it is not remarkable that the enemies of our Church in the East predicted a repetition of the pro-slavery mistakes of 1836 and 1840.

But there was a gleam of light in the cloud. Circumstances foreshadowed a division in the ranks of our opponents at two vital points in which abolitionists were intimately concerned: 1. In the matter of Bishop Andrew, who was elected to his official position as a non-slaveholder, and was reported to have recently become the owner of slaves by taking to himself a second wife. 2. In the appeal of Rev. F. A. Harding, of the Baltimore Confer-

ence, who "had been suspended from his ministerial standing for refusing to manumit certain slaves which came into his possession by marriage."—*Journal*, p. 29. The prospect was that the South would insist that the Bishop should be "let alone," and be allowed to enjoy his new relations without reproach. The persistent refusal of the North to elect a slaveholder to the Episcopacy had long been a source of ominous discontent. Conservatives had been seriously charged with inconsistency, and even hypocrisy, for defending slavery as it existed in the Church, and resisting the abolitionists as they had done, and then refusing to elect a man to the Episcopacy who was acknowledged to be admirably adapted to the office, simply because he was the owner of slaves. They argued that if slavery was good enough for ordinary ministers it was good enough for a Bishop. How tenacious the conservatives would be for our established usage in the premises could not be foreseen. It was evident, however, that many of them would be pretty firm, as they could not fail to see that slaveholders were grasping power both in Church and State, and must be resisted at some time, or Northern whites would have little more liberty than Southern slaves.

It was equally certain that the South would demand that the action of the Baltimore Conference in Mr. Harding's case should be reversed. Abolitionists entertained a trembling hope that the conservatives would demur, and risk the unity of the Church rather than disgrace it by such a surrender to the slave power. And they were encouraged in this hope by circumstances aside from the merits of slavery, or any remarkable improvement in the opinions of their opponents.

Up to 1840 all *threats* of secession had come from the South. The leaders of the antislavery reform, who had often been suspected of secessional designs, positively repelled the insinuation, and avowed their purpose to stand by the Church to the last, whatever might occur. But it is not in human nature to endure beyond a certain point. These brethren became discouraged, and concluded that it was their duty to leave the Church they could not reform. Accordingly they wrote a long bill of grievances and published it in a new paper called *The True Wesleyan*, dated January 7, 1843, declaring that their connection with the Methodist Episcopal Church would

cease with the issue of that sheet. This article was signed by Brothers Jotham Horton, Orange Scott, and Leroy Sunderland. From that time "the good work of secession," as it was called, went on not in New England alone, but in western New York, Michigan, and elsewhere. The next week another distinguished leader announced his withdrawal, giving his reasons for the measure. All agreed in saying, "We have borne our testimony a long time against what we considered wrong in the Methodist Episcopal Church. We have waited, prayed, and hoped, until there is *no longer any ground of hope.* Others must judge for themselves, but we feel it our duty to 'come out of her,' 'to have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness,' but 'to come out from among them and be separate.'" In a few weeks a new Church was organized, called after the new paper, *The Wesleyan*, and the business of tearing down the old Church and building up the new was pushed with tremendous zeal and energy. The battle-cry of the seceders was, "There is no hope of reforming the Church, and it is therefore the duty of antislavery members to secede." It was assumed that the South was incorrigible, and that abolitionists who hesitated to approve of extreme anti-Church measures had succumbed to the slave power. Many believed it, and withdrew—not only individuals, but whole Churches. The movement was greatly assisted by outside pressure. Most eastern Churches of other denominations being *independent*, and holding no official connection with the South, suffered less. The main force of the storm fell upon the Methodist Episcopal Church. We were openly denounced in periodicals, books, and conventions as a "*Brotherhood of Thieves*," and the public were warned against us as the enemies of God and the country.

Considering all the circumstances, it is wonderful that antislavery Methodism was not scattered to the winds. Many who remained differed very little in opinion from those who left. At an antislavery convention held in Bromfield street, Boston, January 18, 1843, less than two weeks after the first secession was announced, the most emphatic antislavery sentiments were adopted, with others which betokened a general stampede in the direction of the new organization. One resolution adopted by that body read as follows:

Resolved, That slavery being a sin, and this sin in the Methodist Episcopal Church, and the Church a unit, nothing short of a speedy and entire separation of slavery from the Church can satisfy the consciences of honest and faithful abolitionists, and therefore reformation or division is the only alternative.

The object contemplated by the first movers in this convention was evidently *loyal.* They intended to correct the false impression which the seceders had unfairly endeavored to make on the Church, namely, that they had abandoned the cause of abolition and gone over to conservatism. And the natural way to do this was to reiterate their antislavery convictions in unmistakable terms, while, at the same time, they should avow their confidence in the salvability of the Church. But they were a little too early to carry out their programme. Several ministers and others, who were in full sympathy with the secession, and who doubtless intended to appear soon in the *True Wesleyan* with their papers of withdrawal, as they afterward did, delayed a week or two to give themselves a chance to speak once more in their Church capacity. They were present in the convention in great force, and used all their influence to procure the adoption of sentiments that should necessitate us to secede if we would be consistent, and they succeeded, in spite of honest and persistent opposition, to the mortification of a respectable minority. They would not allow us even to say that there was the *least* ground of hope, and we did not. The week following the *True Wesleyan* was in raptures over the result, assuming that we had squarely adopted its platform, and could do no less than rally to the new standard. Some of us, who had been active in calling the convention, and who loved the Church so much that we could take no part in destroying it, profoundly regretted having moved in the matter at all. *Zion's Herald* made the best of it, while the Church officials condemned the whole thing, and expressed much alarm.

But after all the convention was a *grand success* for the Church in two respects at least: 1. It *disabused* many who had been made to believe that antislavery brethren who opposed radical measures had become "*conservative*," and would make no further effort to "extirpate the great evil," so that some, who had not already committed themselves to secession, con-

cluded to stay in the old Church a little longer. 2. It assured the conservatives that if they desired New England to *remain* in the Church they must treat her in a different manner from what they had done. This lesson was effective, and exerted great influence on the General Conference of 1844, which occurred some fifteen months after.

On reaching New York the day preceding the opening of the Conference, the writer was invited to a private interview with a prominent actor in the scenes, whose influence was hardly equaled by that of any other man in the conservative party. Being seated in his room, the first question asked was, What does New England want? to which we replied, 1. That Bishop Andrew should be required to purge himself of slavery or vacate the episcopal office. 2. That Baltimore should be sustained in the case of Mr. Harding. 3. That the infamous Few resolution against allowing colored members to testify against white persons in Church trials should be rescinded. 4. That no further abuse of abolitionists shall be perpetrated. 5. We added that we wanted several other things more decidedly antislavery in their character, but could hardly expect them under existing circumstances.

His next question was, If the Conference will adopt the first four points, can New England live and sustain herself against the seceders? to which we replied, She can, though not without considerable loss. He then said, These measures are reasonable, and Baltimore will go with you in carrying every one of them. This led to a conference of several Northern delegates with other leaders of the party, who fully committed themselves and their associates as far as they could to these measures. We then suggested that such was the *prejudice* in the Conference against abolitionists, that if we should make ourselves prominent in pushing the measures agreed upon they might be defeated, and proposed to them to take the laboring oar into their own hands, and leave us to vote, and otherwise aid the desired result as we might be able. By a private understanding this method was informally accepted and carried out to a successful issue in every particular. Our masterly inactivity was deeply felt by Southern delegates, and they sought to draw us out in our wonted style of denunciation against their "peculiar institution." They abused us

stoutly, as their speeches show, evidently to bring us "to the front," but we as stoutly endured in silence. One brother, however, becoming a little excited under their scorpion lash, clamored for the floor, when they tumultuously insisted on his speaking, and almost forced him to indulge them with a few *burning* words. But the excitement was so intense, and speaking so difficult, he soon subsided, and little damage was done. (See *Debates*, pp. 108, 109.)

We have stated these facts for the special information of many who have wondered at the almost undisturbed quiet of the abolition delegates during that long and tedious debate. But it must not be inferred that they were inactive or unimportant members of the body. They did much hard work, and fortunately were in circumstances to be effective. The conservatives were as anxious to keep them in the background on the main subject, as the South was to have them speak out. They could but see that the South would sooner or later leave the Church, unless it should be indulged in all its proslavery demands, and they really desired to save the abolitionists. So that if there was any indication of surrender to the South on their part, we were in condition to counteract it.

The case of Mr. Harding came up in due course of business May 7, and was discussed in a masterly manner by Dr. W. A. Smith of Virginia for the appellant, and John A. Collins for the Baltimore Conference, from whose decision the appeal was made. On the eleventh of May a motion of Mr. Early, "that the decision of the Baltimore Conference be reversed," was negatived by one hundred and seventeen votes to fifty-six in favor. This was a grand struggle of *conservatives*, for even Dr. Smith claimed to belong to this class, and antislavery at that, but not an abolitionist. Though this action was not conclusive as to the *status* of the Conference on the merits of slavery, it checked the proslavery influence of the body, and gave us one step back toward primitive Methodism, from which we had been drifting under Southern dictation.

Monday, May 20, Bishop Andrew's case was introduced by J. A. Collins, of Baltimore, who offered the following:

> *Whereas* it is currently reported, and generally understood, that one of the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church has become connected with slavery; and whereas it is due to this

General Conference to have a proper understanding of the matter; therefore,

Resolved, That the Committee on the Episcopacy be instructed to ascertain the facts in the case, and report the results of their investigations to this body to-morrow morning.—*Journal*, p. 58.

This was adopted, and the next day the Committee on the Episcopacy reported the following communication from Bishop Andrew, (*Journal*, p. 63:)

To the Committee on Episcopacy.

Dear Brethren: In reply to your inquiry, I submit the following statement of all the facts bearing on my connection with slavery. Several years since an old lady of Augusta, Georgia, bequeathed to me a mulatto girl, in trust, that I should take care of her until she should be nineteen years of age; that *with her consent* I should then send her to Liberia, and, in case of her refusal, I should keep her, and make her as free as the laws of Georgia would permit. When the time arrived she refused to go to Liberia, and of her own choice remains *legally* my slave, though I derive no pecuniary advantage from her, she continuing to live in her own house on my lot, and has been and still is at perfect liberty to go to a free State at her pleasure; but the laws of the State will not permit her emancipation, nor admit such deed of emancipation to record, and she refuses to leave the State. In her case, therefore, I have been made a slaveholder legally, but not with my own consent.

2. About five years since the mother of my former wife left to her daughter, *not to me*, a negro boy; and as my wife died without a will more than two years since, by the laws of the State he becomes legally my property. In this case, as in the former, emancipation is impracticable in the State; but he shall be at liberty to leave the State whenever I shall be satisfied that he is prepared to provide for himself, or I can have sufficient security that he will be protected and provided for in the place to which he may go.

3. In the month of January last I married my present wife, she being at the time possessed of slaves inherited from her former husband's estate, and belonging to *her*. Shortly after my marriage, being unwilling to become their owner, regarding them as strictly hers, and the laws not permitting their emancipation, I secured them to her by a deed of trust.

It will be obvious to you, from the above statement of facts, that I have neither bought nor sold a slave; that in the only circumstances in which I am legally a slaveholder emancipation is impracticable. As to the servants owned by my wife, I have no legal responsibility in the premises, nor could my wife emancipate them did she desire to do so. I have thus plainly stated all the facts in the case, and submit the statement for the consideration of the General Conference.

Yours respectfully, James O. Andrew.

This brought the rumors of months to a focus, and forced the delicate question of slavery or no slavery in the Episcopacy upon the Conference. It was a trying moment. Who would speak first was a question which few could answer. But we were not long left in suspense. Most fittingly, old Baltimore stood forth in two of its oldest and most distinguished delegates, Alfred Griffith and John Davis, and offered the following, (*Journal*, p. 64:)

> *Whereas*, the Rev. James O. Andrew, one of the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church, has become connected with slavery; and whereas it has been, from the origin of said Church, a settled policy and the invariable usage to elect no person to the office of Bishop who was embarrassed with this "great evil," as under such circumstances it would be impossible for a Bishop to exercise the functions and perform the duties assigned to a General Superintendent with acceptance in that large portion of his charge in which slavery does not exist; and whereas Bishop Andrew was himself nominated by our brethren of the slaveholding States, and elected by the General Conference of 1832, as a candidate who, though living in the midst of a slaveholding population, was nevertheless free from all personal connection with slavery; and whereas this is, of all periods in our history as a Church, the one least favorable to such an innovation upon the practice and usage of Methodism as to confide a part of the itinerant General Superintendency to a slaveholder; therefore,
>
> *Resolved*, That the Rev. James O. Andrew be, and he is hereby, affectionately requested to resign his office as one of the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

This resolution was directly to the point, and should have been adopted. But it was a little too explicit for the Conference and the times. Accordingly the next day Rev. J. B. Finley, a noble Western pioneer of the Ohio Conference, offered a substitute in the following words, (*Journal*, p. 65:)

> *Whereas*, the Discipline of our Church forbids the doing any thing calculated to destroy our itinerant General Superintendency, and whereas Bishop Andrew has become connected with slavery by marriage and otherwise, and this act having drawn after it circumstances which, in the estimation of the General Conference, will greatly embarrass the exercise of his office as an itinerant General Superintendent, if not in some places entirely prevent it; therefore,
>
> *Resolved*, That it is the sense of this General Conference that he desist from the exercise of this office so long as this impediment remains.

The debate that followed was very long and able, the most of the time being occupied by the opponents of the measure. Never did men plead with stronger determination to win, or with more skill and persistence. Mr. Blake, of North Carolina, did not speak without reason when he said, in opposition to restricting the discussion, that it "had already brought the majority to tears—to a legal repentance; and the prosecution of it would bring them to evangelical conversion." The South and two Bishops were firmly opposed to doing any thing. The other Bishops hesitated—did not know what would be best. Conservatives vacillated. Rev. J. A. Collins, the champion of his Conference in the Harding case, was willing to let the good Bishop off with the following resolution:

> *Resolved*, That Bishop Andrew be, and he hereby is, affectionately and earnestly requested to take the necessary measures to free himself from connection with slavery at the earliest period practicable within the ensuing four years.—*Debates*, p. 147.

As the Conference seemed to be about to vote on the question, May 30, "Bishop Hedding suggested that the Conference have no afternoon session, and thus allow the Bishops time to consult together, with a hope that they might be able to present a plan of adjusting our present difficulties. The suggestion was received with general and great cordiality."—*Journal*, p. 74.

Abolitionists regarded this as a most alarming measure. Accordingly the delegates of the New England Conferences were immediately called together, and after due deliberation unanimously adopted a paper, declaring in substance that it was their solemn conviction that if Bishop Andrew should be left by the Conference in the exercise of Episcopal functions it would break up the most of our Churches in New England: and that the only way they could be holden together would be to secede in a body, and invite Bishop Hedding to preside over them. The proposition was also concurred in by some of our most distinguished laymen who were present, and a committee of two was appointed to communicate this action to Bishop Hedding before he should meet with his colleagues. But so much time was consumed by the meeting, and in copying the document, that we were too late, and did not see him, deeming it dangerous to our interests to call him out, believing it would be construed and used in a way to defeat our object.

The next morning the Bishops* reported unanimously, "recommending the postponement of further action in the case of Bishop Andrew until the ensuing General Conference."—*Journal*, p. 75. Their report was laid over one day. On the morning of June 1 Bishop Hedding invited one of that committee to the vestry of the church, where he was fully informed of the aforesaid action. He thought our fears well founded, and deeply regretted that he had not known of our action before he signed that report, and said he would go right into the Conference and withdraw his name. He did so, stating that he had signed the document presented yesterday as a peace measure, but that facts had come to his knowledge since which led him to believe that it would not make peace, and that it might be productive of a lengthened debate, and instead of removing would only increase the difficulty. (*Journal*, p. 81.) This so impaired the influence of the Bishops' recommendation that the Conference laid it on the table by a vote of ninety-five to eighty-four, showing very clearly that it would have carried had not Bishop Hedding withdrawn his name.

Thus we passed another dangerous crisis, and, on motion of John A. Collins, the substitute of J. B. Finley was taken up and adopted by a vote of one hundred and ten in favor to sixty-eight against it, which seemed to the uninitiated to be the conclusion of the contest. But it was not. Monday morning, June 3, Henry Slicer and T. B. Sargent of Baltimore offered the following resolutions:

> *Resolved*, 1. That it is the sense of this General Conference that the vote of Saturday last in the case of Bishop Andrew be understood as advisory only, and not in the light of a judicial mandate.
>
> *Resolved*, 2. That the final disposition of Bishop Andrew's case be postponed until the General Conference of 1848, in conformity with the suggestions of the Bishops in their address to the Conference on Friday, 31st of May.

These resolutions were laid on the table "*for the present*" by a majority of only *seven*. (*Journal*, p. 85.) Then followed resolutions by Dr. Capers and others, proposing a division of the Church, which were referred to a committee of *nine*. Two days later came the declaration of the Southern delegates, predicting a state of things in the South arising from the recent

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* Bishops Soule, Hedding, Waugh, and Morris.

action, especially in Bishop Andrew's case, which would render the continued jurisdiction of the General Conference inconsistent with the success of the ministry in the slaveholding States. This was also referred to the committee of *nine*, and formed the basis of its report, which was adopted. Immediately upon this the Bishops came forward with several questions as to the *status* of Bishop Andrew, what work he should perform, and how he should be supported, the answers to which seemed considerably to soften the action had in his case. In the midst of these rushing events we were informed that the Hon. John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina, a man of surpassing influence in the councils of the nation, had been consulted, and had given an opinion fully sustaining the worst predictions of Southern brethren relative to the effect of our action bearing upon slavery. The excitement in the city was intense. Thundering applause rolled along the galleries of the Conference Room, responsive to the powerful appeals of Southern delegates, despite the rules of the house. A mob was loudly talked of, and some members apprehended a general outburst of proslavery indignation to such a degree that the Conference would after all retract and leave Bishop Andrew in full canonicals.

It was in this state of things that the Committee of *nine* prepared their report. Guarded as it was, some thought it unconstitutional, because it looked too complacently to a threatened secession not provided for in our organization. But it was replied that all constitutions are inoperative in *revolutions*. The conservatives wished to be conciliatory, and if there must be a secession they desired to have it as fraternal as possible. One of the Committee, at least, assented to the measure to prevent the repeal of the action of the Conference in relation to Bishop Andrew, and the consequent necessity of secession in the East. He preferred that the South and slavery should secede rather than the East and antislavery, even if they should take all the Church property with them. Had the South acted in accordance with the spirit of the declaration of its delegates to the General Conference, and their subsequent professions and promises before that body, there probably would have been no secession, certainly none of the character of the one which led to the organization of the Church South. Still it was not rea-

sonable to expect that they would do so. The Southern heart was bent on justifying and extending slavery at every hazard. This mad scheme shaped all their thoughts and plans. The Church was of no account in comparison with it. Had the General Conference yielded every thing the secession might have been postponed, but it would have come, plan or no plan; and the seceders would have demanded their full share of the Church property, and the courts would have granted it, and the rebellion would have come also. God seems to have given them up, as he did Pharaoh, to follow their own delusions with greediness, that they might be compelled to let his people go. And they imitated that old oppressor in many respects. Their plans were bold and far-reaching, covering not only Kansas and Nebraska, but every part of American soil, and that at every sacrifice which might be found necessary. But they were too self-confident and hasty to succeed. Every seeming advantage they secured for many years worked against them, revealing to the free States the boundlessness of their ambition, and the impossibility of satisfying them by any means short of complete surrender to their dictation.

What would have been the result had our ministry in the South stood up firmly to the principles of John Wesley and his early associates on the subject of slavery we are not permitted to know. They might have been driven from the field, or murdered outright, as some were. Possibly they would have molded public sentiment so as to have lifted the burden from God's suffering poor who cried day and night unto him for deliverance, and thus have saved the nation from the terrible Rebellion and waste of life and treasure which seemed necessary to the overthrow of the darkest, broadest, and most thoroughly fortified system of human oppression that ever existed.

Though the Church was at fault in conniving at this great iniquity, she only followed in the wake of public sentiment and the practice of other denominations. Her Book of Discipline always recognized slavery as "a great evil." And she was also foremost in the North to speak out against it. Other Churches which jurisdictionally and fraternally embraced the slaveholding States have taken no action against it *to this day;* nor have some which held no official connection with the South. Hence, the General Conference of 1844, in refusing to allow a

Bishop to hold slaves in the mildest and least objectionable form, is entitled to more credit than it has received. Considering the circumstances and the times, this was a long step in the right direction; and the act by which it repudiated the vile slave code that disallowed colored persons testifying against white persons was another. Add to this its justification of Baltimore Conference in suspending Mr. Harding because he would not manumit his slaves, and we have a trinity of anti-slavery measures that had no equal in any denomination in the country at that time.

If our sad experience with this "great evil" shall teach us the sin and danger of letting down our moral standard to secure the patronage of rich and worldly men it will not be in vain. Such a policy may seem to be wise, and may secure temporary benefit, but it will be ruinous in the end. Slavery will never again demand our approval, but other popular evils will. And they will promise grand results of political and social influence and financial aid. Let us not be deceived. "*Righteousness* exalteth a nation," but "sin is a reproach to any people." Once admitted, it will eat as doth a canker, and sooner or later neutralize our religious power, and leave us to be the prey of our enemies, and another monument of God's displeasure at the worldly wisdom of his people.

ART V.—THE MODERN THEOLOGY OF HOLLAND.

Die Moderne Theologie in den Niederlanden, nach den Hauptwerken ihrer berühmtesten Vertreter. Von P. HOFSTEDE DE GROOT, Dr. Theol., Professor in Groningen. Bonn: Adolph Marcus. 1870.

THE conflict between evangelical and skeptical theology is waged with no less spirit in Holland than in Germany, France, Switzerland, and most recently in the Scandinavian countries. Dutch theology is largely affected by that of Germany, and sooner or later passes through pretty much the same stages. We do not mean that it is not original. Some of the strongest thinkers on the Continent are connected with the Universities of Groningen, Utrecht, and Leyden, and their works are hardly from the press at home before they are translated into both German and French, and often into English, and their

field thus indefinitely amplified. The Dutchman, in the use of both his original and suggested material, has the advantage over his German neighbor of being more practical, more direct—in a word, more Anglo-Saxon. This we see especially in both the skeptical and apologetical literature of Holland during the last ten years. The appeals of the two great parties to the conflict are cast in such popular mold, and are so pointed and concise, that one is never in doubt as to the meaning; and, as might be expected, the effect upon the masses is immediate, albeit the Dutch are not celebrated for hasty conclusions.

The controversy between orthodox and skeptical theology that has been waged in Germany largely by ponderous volumes, has been conducted in Holland very much by pamphlets. Many of these are of local interest only, and, even when they are not, the chances are that their small size causes them either to be overlooked, or regarded as unprofitable investments for the foreign book-market. Dr. Hofstede de Groot has clearly made good use of this ephemeral class of works—and our obligation to him is therefore all the greater—though he claims to bring to view only the principal works of representative Dutch Rationalists, in order to present a picture of the most recent Dutch skeptical tendency, or, as its adherents take special pleasure in calling it, the *Modern Theology.* He had presented it in the first instance as a lecture before a conference of Dutch and German clergymen, which convened in Wesel on the 11th and 12th of October, 1869. It has been translated into German by Dr. Wolters, and edited by Dr. W. Krafft, of Bonn University. In its present shape, while preserving the form of a lecture, we suspect from the elaborate tell-tale foot-notes that it has undergone considerable emendation and enlargement. It may be regarded as in some sense a sequel to the same author's elaborate article on "The Modern Theology: its Importance, Nature, and Origin," (published in the *Waarheid in Liefde*, a Dutch theological Review, 1864, pages 291–391,) and the two as a complement to the much-lauded address of Professor Doedes, of Utrecht, delivered on the opening of the new scholastic year, 1861, entitled, "An Examination of the So-called Modern Theology."

The Modern Theology of Holland falls naturally into the three departments of History, Philosophy, and Dogmatics.

I. The first work emanating from the school of Dutch Modern

Theologians—in fact, the one that gave origin and organization to it—was "Letters on the Bible," by Busken Huet, who was at the time, now eleven years ago, a Walloon pastor at Harlem. The book was not distinguished by its originality, but by its striking way of putting old and long-refuted skeptical objections. Its style was attractive, and its negative dealing with the historical features of the Bible uncompromising and unblushing. Uhlich, of Germany, and Heinrich Lang, of Switzerland, have written in quite the same vein, and with hardly less skill. Huet attempts to show that the Biblical history, from Genesis to the end of Acts, is inconsistent with itself, unworthy of God, and therefore unreliable. This position he undoubtedly adopted from Professor Kuenen, of Leyden University. The latter makes a distinction between the *history* and the *historiography* of Israel, and would have us believe that the historians often modified, amplified, ornamented, and even falsified events, that had transpired before their day, and that they did this especially in the interests of the priests.

The two works in which Kuenen has presented his views at length are his "Historical-Critical Inquiry into the Books of the Old Testament," and his "History of the Israelitish Religion." The former is written in a forcible style, and can compete in every respect with the chief products of rationalistic criticism in Germany. In negation it goes far beyond De Wette, Ewald, and Hitzig. For instance, according to him, we have but one Psalm by David, and not a single Proverb by Solomon. And why not? Because the only reliable history there is of these two men teaches us that it was as impossible for them as for their contemporaries to compose such pious Psalms and wise Proverbs! Their own character was too far below the moral standard of their alleged writings to admit such a supposition. "It is inconceivable that Solomon or his contemporaries ever reached the stand-point of religious or moral development which the Book of Proverbs exhibits. . . . Even the songs which Ewald and Hitzig assume to be Davidic, display a stand-point of religious development which was never reached in the Davidic period; they cannot be much older than the time of Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, or Micah, and it is even probable that some are still later." *

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* Historical-Critical Inquiry, vol. iii, pp. 83, 266.

As for really historical ground, according to Kuenen we cannot go farther back than the eighth century before Christ, or the time of Hosea and Amos. All the preceding times are enveloped in hopeless myth. Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, the founders of Israel, are not persons, but personifications. They are purely ideal figures, for modern historical inquiry teaches us that races are not derived from one progenitor, but many. The development and preservation of Israel—its whole history—were the result of purely national causes. The religion of the Jews was of divine origin, just as other religions and the best systems of philosophy are divine. Here Kuenen digs a pit into which he afterward falls himself. He says expressly on pages 7, 9, 11, 12 of his "Israelitish Religion": "Between the religion of Israel and all other religious forms there is no real difference. . . . We cannot admit of a specific difference between the Jewish religions and its sisters. . . . The religion of Israel, like every other form, is the fruit of man's spiritual activity." In an essay in the "Godgeleerde Bydragen," (October, 1860,) he says: "The supernatural would be the superdivine!" But in the latter part of his "Israelitish Religion," on pp. 228, 290, 372, he contradicts his first position, and concedes to the Israelites a higher form of religion than any other nation possessed. "The great service of Moses," he says, "was to combine religion with morality. Jehovah appeared before this people with moral requirements and commandments, and here lay the starting-point of Israel's rich religious development, the germ of all the glorious truths that were destined to ripen in the coming age. . . . Jehovah is distinguished from other gods not only in allowing himself to be worshipped by offerings and fasts, but by the observance of *moral* prescriptions which constituted the main import of the Decalogue. . . . To the prophets it was *revealed* [how could Professor Kuenen ever let such an orthodox word escape his pen?] that Israel's salvation rests alone in true faith in Jehovah, and in unqualified surrender to his law."

There was, then, after all some difference between the God of Israel and the Baal, Ashteroth, Moloch, Venus, and Bacchus of the pagans! This contradiction pervades Kuenen's whole work—nay, his whole system—and is another specimen of what the Rationalists offer as a substitute for what they toil to

destroy. We prefer to keep what we have until they give us something that is at least self-consistent.

Scholten is the only other writer in the historical department of the Dutch Modern Theology we shall mention. In 1856, while yet orthodox, he wrote an introduction to the Books of the New Testament, which he aimed directly at the negative criticism of the Tübingen school. His most important work since his somersault is his "Gospel of John, Critico-historically Examined," (1864,) a book defending Baur's view that what has been alleged as John's Gospel is not by John at all, but dates from the middle of the second century. This work has been ably reviewed in the "Waarheid in Liebe" (1865) by Dr. Thoden van Belzen, who demonstrates from Scholten's own premises and proofs that John was the real author of the Gospel, and that Scholten only arrives at a different conclusion by doing violence to his own argument. The reply is exquisitely conceived and very trenchant, and leaves Dr. Scholten in a most unenviable plight.

II. The philosophical element of Dutch Modern Theology has been less elaborated than the other two. The works of Professor Opzoomer, of Utrecht University, comprise the most important contributions in this field. He is the founder and representative of the empirical philosophy prevailing in the Netherlands. His work on Religion, which appeared in installments in 1864–1868, contains his whole system of the philosophy of religion. He here professes great respect for Christianity—that is, *his* Christianity, one without either miracles or doctrines. In the following words of his we are reminded of that class of German Rationalists who are so cautious and conservative in their concessions to the evangelical school that, if they said less than they do, they would say nothing at all: "God is Father, the almighty and wise love; and Jesus of Nazareth is, by his life and example, the noblest incarnation of the service of this Father." Opzoomer makes the sad confession that his Christianity is that of Lessing, Goethe, and Schiller. He talks much of irresistible and unchangeable natural causes, forces, laws, but never seems to bear in mind that these cannot operate without, first, One to establish them, and then One to execute them. Sin is in the world; hence God willed it so. With him there is no difference

[illegible]

between good and evil. The four usual ways of proving the existence of God are invalid. As to the theological proof, for example, Opzoomer says we do not know God's purposes. All things have been shaped by the iron law of necessity.

One would think from Opzoomer's frequent use of the terms faith and redemption that he has at least some appreciation of the objects represented by them. But not at all. "Science," he thus sums up, "is not to appear before the bar of faith, but faith before that of science; for it is not the credibility of knowledge, but of faith, that is to be proved.... Science needs no justification. . . . The believer, on the contrary, must justify his faith, and that before the bar of science. Thus, as a matter of course, the final decision and the supreme power rest with science." Great indeed is the science of Opzoomer, and in like ratio is the insignificance of the thing he calls faith. His manner of rejecting miracles is the same old threadbare argument of Hume. "Modern science is established on the experience acquired by the observance of nature. What experience teaches is the touchstone for testing the historical value of the accounts that reach us from past ages."* Again, and more positively: "It is the duty of the historian to reject every narrative which is in manifest contradiction with every thing known to him concerning the time of its alleged occurrence.... Nothing in all nature gives probability to the supposition that moral and religious greatness can be established by dominion over natural phenomena."† "We know nothing of the supernatural; to us there is not a single miracle."‡ "Experience—it, and it alone! What is beyond it is from an evil source. For our knowledge there is but one way—the way of observation." §

The defect of Opzoomer's philosophical principles is that he gives us nothing positive. His is a destructive hand, and his thoughts seem to fall into shape only when intent upon attack. Even then they are not free from glaring inconsistencies and contradictions, as Dr. Hofstede de Groot very clearly shows. Opzoomer, however, is a reverend man, and on all the pages he has written against the supernatural character of Christian-

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* The Truth, and its Sources of Knowledge, p. 43.

† The Nature of Knowledge, pp. 31, 33.

‡ The Spirit of the New Tendency, p. 28.

§ Free Science, p. 26.

ity, not a word can be found that smacks of the wanton and frivolous Rationalism of Schenkel, and his plaything, the German Protestant Association.

III. The acknowledged representative of the *doctrinal* department of the Modern Theology of Holland is Allard Pierson, now private lecturer in Heidelberg University. He was formerly Pastor of the Walloon Church in Rotterdam, but he renounced the pastorate because of a growing disinclination to remain connected with any confession. Even while he was yet preaching he made use of such expressions as these: "No religious reformer is comparable with Buddha. . . . The time will soon come when India will rank higher than Palestine in theological study." He claims that his effort is "to promote the principles of humanity, good taste, and the perception of spiritual things; to bring our social life under the influence of the noblest humanism."

In "Direction and Life," the work in which Pierson lays down his doctrinal system, he goes as far as Opzoomer in repudiating a divine revelation. He uses the word revelation, but only in the sense that Jesus is *the most attractive revelation of the truly natural man!* (Pp. 98, 414.)

The Modern Theology of Holland is, according to this ardent adherent of it, man's faith in himself; by it he satisfies his passion for reality. Sin is a defect in our development. Since no revelation is given as an infallible means for acquiring a knowledge of the real, the existing, we must look about for other means. These are, fortunately, not far from us, namely: Perception, capacity, religious feeling, empiricism, Protestant Christian training, doctrine and example of Jesus, [Pierson fails to tell us why we should show a preference to *this* Teacher,] human society, and conscience. But "conscience," according to him, "is man's inmost conviction erected on the basis of reason."

Pierson's faults lie mainly in his theology. Heidelberg, in drawing on Leyden for him, has secured one of the most respectable representatives of Continental Rationalism. That his lectures are heard by far more students than any other theological professor in that institution is no great compliment since the passage of Heidelberg; and even the whole government of Church and education in the Grand Duchy of Baden,

into the hands of the Rationalists. Schenkel can feel himself flattered if he has a score of auditors; the cold deliverances of Gess are heard by only those who are required to hear him in order to pass their examination as candidates; Hitzig has a few more, attracted rather by his real scholarship and dry humor than his theology. Rothe's mantle has fallen on no one, though it seems to have dropped nearer Pierson than any other. This man is highly esteemed personally by the students, for they believe him sincere and disinterested, which they cannot say of all his associates; while his warm heart, animated style, and courteous bearing toward his theological opponents have secured him respect in circles that have no sympathy with his skeptical opinions.

Albert Réville, the former associate pastor, with Pierson, of the Walloon Church in Rotterdam, is also a Modern Theologian. His "Manual of Religious Instruction" is, perhaps, his most positive work, and contains many useful lessons. Scholten can likewise be regarded as in a certain sense a contributor to the doctrinal department of the Dutch Modern Theology. His "Doctrine of the Reformed Church," "Introduction to Christian Dogmatics," and "Free Will," were published before he had cast himself fully into the rationalistic current. They abound in contradictions, as Dr. Hofstede de Groot has very satisfactorily shown in his "Reply to J. H. Scholten," (Groningen, 1859.)

The object of the Dutch Modern Theologians, taken as a class, may be summed up as follows: 1. History must be reconstructed; for every miracle must disappear from the biblical narrative, since philosophy teaches that there can be no miracles. 2. Philosophy must be liberated from the so-called divine revelation, because the history of the present time, or experience, teaches that there can be nothing supernatural; hence there never was. Thus the argument whirls in a hopeless circle; history demonstrates from (untrue) philosophy, and philosophy from (untrue) history, that there is no such thing as miracle, nor even any thing supernatural! Can we wonder at the sorry plight of the Modern Theologians which Pierson divulges on the very first page of his "Mirror of the Times:" "We do not conceal the fact that our theology is involved in ceaseless vacillation?"

The effect of the Dutch modern theology on the people at large is quite the same as kindred tendencies in other countries. Materialism is gaining ground in the study of natural sciences; science in general is regarded as a substitute for religion. The rationalistic clergy are making themselves more welcome and popular, and are banding into organizations; the number of the theological students is daily decreasing, and the want of preachers is becoming a serious question to the Dutch Church; the journals and periodicals are constantly yielding to the spreading skepticism, and serving it up in popular form for the masses; important defections from the Church, of both clergy and laity, are steadily multiplying. The old pastoral zeal is dying out. Not long ago, when an important secular newspaper was about to be established, some forty preachers announced themselves ready to renounce their ministerial functions and engage in its management. Can we wonder that empty benches are multiplying in the Churches?

But the agencies are at work to arrest these evils. The men who are defending the cause of Christianity are rendering excellent service. Huet's dangerously fascinating book, already noticed, has been admirably answered by Dr. Hofstede de Groot in his "Letters on the Bible," (Groningen, 1859.) But this is only one of many proofs furnished by the brief history of the Dutch Modern Theology, that no new attack which it has made on evangelical truth has had to wait long for a successful reply. But the apologetical labors of Van Oosterzee, De Groot, Doedes, and others, are already bearing fruit, not only in Holland, but in Germany, France, and Great Britain. The spirit animating these writers is at once earnest and hopeful. The Modern Theology is just now the fashion among the Dutch, and they need time to prove the poverty of its service.

The conflict in Holland, however, is only one part of the general warfare. The lines of truth and error extend the whole length of Christendom. No thinking nation can claim exemption from sharing in the general contest for mastery. Even Catholicism and Judaism have their strongly-defined orthodox and heterodox wings, and the measure of intellectual activity and power of a people can be directly determined by the fervor and nerve with which their part in the momentous struggle is carried on. It is yet too soon to calculate results. In some

parts of the field the turning-point has not been reached. In the American Church, for instance, only the skirmishers have been engaged; the time is yet to come—and it will likely reach us before the century closes—when the strife between orthodoxy and skepticism will be as intense, as bitter, and the result as far-reaching, as any page of the history of the Church recalls.

But the cause of truth has never permanently lost ground by these conflicts; it has, on the contrary, always gained in the end. As during the progress of the American Rebellion new and more deadly instruments of warfare were invented than had ever been employed before, owing at once to necessity and to increased mental activity in that direction, so every period of conflict between evangelical and skeptical theology produces a whole new, and hitherto unsurpassed, class of weapons, and new tactics as well, for immediate service. The Church cannot dispense with what she has been thus driven to employ by the malignity and adroitness of her foes. The greatest arguments we have for the divine origin of Christ have been direct replies to skeptical attacks. The best works of Neander, Tholuck, Dorner, Lange, Luthardt, De Pressensé, Van Oosterzee, Riggenbach, and others, have been at once suggested and enforced by the leading rationalistic writers since 1835, and the same necessity is still supplying the arsenal of the Church with its best weapons. Let us go on devising, planning, warming with our work; following our enemies to their own chosen battle-fields, and fighting them with the weapons which they have driven us to employ, never for a moment imagining that the fault is with our cause if victory keeps apace, or that the drones are right who tell us that our efforts only add bitterness to the struggle; cherishing the broadest sympathy with every partner in arms, of whatever name; each one believingly and cheerfully striving for a victory that shall cover every acre of the contested ground.

ART. VI.—EZEKIEL'S VISION.

Commentar über den Propheten Ezechiel. Von HEINRICH ANDR. CHRIST. HÄVERNICK. Erlangen. 1843.

Ezekiel and the Book of his Prophecy. An Exposition. By PATRICK FAIRBAIRN. D.D. Second Edition. Edinburgh. 1855.

Ezekiel and Daniel, with Notes, Critical, etc. By Rev. HENRY COWLES, D.D. New York. 1867.

The Prophecies of the Prophet Ezekiel Elucidated. By E. W. HENGSTENBERG, D.D. Translated by A. C. & J. G. MURPHY. Edinburgh. 1869.

THE introductory vision of Ezekiel's prophecy (chap. i, 1–28) is full of majesty and full of mystery. St. Jerome tells us that the ancient synagogue was silent on the passage, and, deeming it a record of secret theology concerning God and angels, the Jews prohibited any public attempt at exposition, and even suffered not their children to read it till the age of thirty. And all devout readers have felt on perusing it that here they were in the highest realm of sacred symbolism. But these symbols have a meaning, and this whole vision had its special design and deep significance, which every faithful student of the Divine Word will seek to know.*

It will serve the purpose of exposition to arrange and discuss the details of the vision under appropriate headings. The

DATE OF THE VISION, Verses 1, 2,

is definitely given as *the fifth year of King Jehoiachin's captivity.* This Jewish monarch had reigned only three months when he was conquered by the King of Babylon and carried into captivity, he and his mother, and all the princes and mighty men of his kingdom, and all the craftsmen and smiths, and none were left behind except the very poorest classes of the people. (2 Kings xxiv.) This was to the exiles a memorable woe, a national calamity never to be forgotten, and therefore might well form an epoch from which to reckon the time of Ezekiel's prophetic call. But the Prophet alludes to still another epoch which it is not so easy to understand, and which, in

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* The results of the best criticism and the most trustworthy exposition of the Prophet of the Exile are given in the works named at the head of this article. These books we name, not for the purpose of reviewing them, or of showing their comparative merits, but to indicate our guides—so far as commentaries should be used as guides—in the present attempt to explain this sublime vision.

fact, all criticism has thus far failed to put beyond dispute. He tells us that this opening vision occurred on *the fifth day of the fourth month of the thirtieth year.* This is noticeably obscure, and the reader is obliged, to a certain extent, to conjecture the meaning. There are four different opinions from which we may choose. Calvin, following some Jewish expositors, and followed by Hitzig and others, understands *the thirtieth year from the last Jubilee.* But this view, as Fairbairn well says, "rests entirely on hypothesis, there being no historical notice of a Jubilee about the time referred to, nor any other instance of such an occurrence being taken by a prophet as an era from which to date either his own entrance on the prophetical office, or any other event of importance to the Church." There are two other epochs, for either of which more reason can be given. Thirty years from the fifth of Jehoiachin's captivity carries us back to the *eighteenth year of Josiah*, when the Book of the Law was discovered in the Temple. This led to various reforms in the Jewish state, particularly to the holding of "such a Passover as had not been holden from the days of the Judges that judged Israel, nor in all the days of the Kings of Israel, nor of the Kings of Judah." 2 Kings xxiii, 22. Hävernick, who adopts this epoch, remarks that the Prophet thus contrasts the latest national adversity with the latest prosperity. But others, not satisfied with this view, and at a loss to account for the prophet taking two Jewish epochs from which to date his visions, have sought for a Chaldean epoch that might meet all the conditions of the case. And it is claimed that the fifth year of Jehoiachin's captivity was also the *thirtieth year from the beginning of the new èra of Nabopolassar*, the father of Nebuchadnezzar and founder of the Babylonian empire. It is supposed to favor this opinion that Jeremiah, Ezekiel's contemporary, makes a similar double reference in his prophecy, (xxv, 1:) "The fourth year of Jehoiachim, which was the first year of Nebuchadnezzar." But here it will be at once noticed that Jeremiah clearly tells his meaning, and does not leave us to conjecture. How utterly unintelligible would have been his allusion if he had only said, "That was the first year," and had not added the qualifying word, "of Nebuchadnezzar." Here, then, is an insuperable objection to both the last-named hypotheses. If the prophet meant to date this

thirtieth year from either the eighteenth of Josiah or the first of Nabopolassar, or from any other historic epoch, he ought by all means to have specified his reference. "No period of internal reformation, like that in Josiah's reign, is ever taken by the prophets as a chronological starting-point,"* and "of an era of Nabopolassar there is otherwise no trace in Scripture." † In view of these considerations, and in the absence of all qualifying terms to put beyond dispute the prophet's meaning, we incline to adopt the opinion that he means *the thirtieth year of his own life.* It is easier to account for the lack of precision on this hypothesis than on any other. "It was customary for the Levites, and, we may infer, also for the priests, to enter on their duty of service at the Temple in their thirtieth year; and though the prophets were not wont to connect the period when they received their predictions with their own age at the time of receiving them, yet the case of Ezekiel was somewhat peculiar. As the Lord, by his special presence and supernatural revelations, was going to become a sanctuary to the exiles on the banks of the Chebar, (see especially xi, 16,) so Ezekiel, to whom these revelations were in the first instance made, was to be to the people residing there in the room of the ministering priesthood. By waiting upon his instructions they were to learn the mind of God, and to have what, situated as matters now were in Jerusalem, would prove more than a compensation for the loss of the outward Temple service. It seems, therefore, to have been the intention of the prophet, by designating himself so expressly a priest, and a priest having reached his thirtieth year, to represent his prophetic agency to his exiled countrymen as a kind of priestly service, to which he was divinely called at the usual period of life." ‡

The Place, (Verse 3,)

where the prophet received his opening vision was *in the land of the Chaldeans by the river Chebar*, one of those rivers of Babylon by which the tearful captives sat down and wept when they remembered Zion. (Psa. cxxxvii, 1.) It has been common to identify this Chebar with the Habor, "the river of Gozan," mentioned 2 Kings xvii, 6. But the orthography of the names

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* Fairbairn, p. 24. † Hengstenberg, p. 2. ‡ Fairbairn, p. 25.

(כְּבָר—חָבוֹר) could hardly have been thus confounded, and the Habor was in the country of the Medes, beyond the limits of Chaldea, and two hundred miles from Babylon. It seems, therefore, much better to identify this Chebar with the great canal of Nebuchadnezzar, which, according to Abydenus, was called the Royal River, and was dug as a branch stream from the Euphrates, deriving its waters from the latter river. "The word Chebar implies something great and long. The testimony of all history, sacred and profane, locates these Hebrew captives near Babylon, and not in the remote districts of Upper Mesopotamia. It scarcely admits of question that the Jewish captives were employed in excavating these immense canals, and hence would naturally have their homes along their line." *

THE PROPHETIC CALL, (Verses 1, 3,)

is indicated by a fourfold form of expression: "The heavens were opened . . . I saw visions of God . . . The word of the Lord came expressly † unto Ezekiel . ... The hand of the Lord came upon him." The first two were external presentations of the Divine Presence, premonitions of approaching wonders. The opening heavens indicate the source of all divine revelations, and visions are one method of communicating divine thought. The third expression indicates the direct and impressive communication of divine thought to the prophet's mind, and occurs very frequently in Ezekiel and Jeremiah. The last expression serves to indicate the imparting of divine energy to the prophet to qualify him for his holy work. (Compare Ezek. iii, 14–22; xxxvii, 1.) As Ezekiel in his thirtieth year by the river Chebar saw heaven opened, received the word and felt the hand of Jehovah, and beheld the vision-symbols of divine power and judgment, so Jesus at the age of thirty by the river Jordan received the wondrous visible anointing from on high; but in his case the Spirit, instead of presenting symbols of power and judgment, "took the semblance of a dove."

That prophetic ecstasy or divine trance, so miraculously

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* Cowles, p. 7.

† הָיֹה הָיָה; literally, *coming came*, or *forcibly came.* It is the usual emphatic use of the infinitive absolute. "It is rather the felt assurance with which the revelation came than its expressness, which is indicated."—*Fairbairn*, p. 17.

wrought, in which the holy seers beheld the visions of the Almighty, demands a passing notice here. It was evidently a spiritual sight-seeing, a supernatural illumination, in which the natural eye was either closed or suspended from its ordinary functions, and the inner senses vividly grasped the scene that was presented, or the divine thought that was made known. This opening of the spiritual eye to apprehend the supersensual is shown in the case of Elisha's servant, who was thereby enabled to see the mountain full of horses and chariots of fire, (2 Kings vi, 17;) and also at the transfiguration, when the three disciples were permitted to behold their Master's glory, and also to recognize his celestial visitants; and in the case of the apostle who was caught up to the third heaven, and heard unspeakable words. Especially is it involved in such impressive visions as this of Ezekiel, or that similar one of Isaiah, when he saw the Lord sitting upon a throne high, and lifted up, and his train filling the temple. (Isa. vi.) We need not, perhaps, refine so far as, with Delitzsch,* to classify this divine ecstasy into the mystic, the prophetic, and the charismatic; but we may still, with him, define it as consisting substantially in this, that the human spirit is seized and compassed by the Divine Spirit, which searcheth all things, even the deep things of God, and seized with such force that, being averted from its ordinary state of life in connection with the soul and the body, it becomes altogether a seeing eye, a hearing ear, a perceiving sense, that takes most vivid cognizance of things in either heaven, earth, or hell. The phenomena of clairvoyance may furnish suggestive analogies, but these must never lead us out of sight of the fact that the prophetic ecstasy of the holy seers of the Scriptures was always a pure miracle of grace. Thus borne up in the Spirit, and with his inner senses all divinely quickened, Ezekiel looked and, behold,

The First Appearance of the Opening Vision, (Verse 4.)

A stormy whirlwind sweeps down from the north, and in its distant coming it seems to be a great cloud.† The whirlwind is frequently used in prophecy to indicate the desolating judg-

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* Biblical Psychology; Division V, section v, entitled "The Three Forms of the divinely-wrought Ecstasy and the Theopneusia."

† Grammatically, *cloud* is in apposition with *whirlwind.*

ments of God upon the wicked. (Isa. xxix, 6; Jer. xxiii, 19; xxv, 32.) The north is the natural region of clouds and storms. This first appearance of the vision, then, clearly tells of a rapidly approaching calamity from that quarter whence all the bitter woes of Israel and Judah came, (compare Jer. i, 14; iv, 6; vi, 1,) that home of the heathen gods, upon whose mountains the ambitious monarch of Babylon would fain have set his throne. (Isa. xiv, 13.) From this direction the Assyrian and Chaldean armies were wont to sweep down like a tempest upon the land of the Hebrews, for "with the Asiatic world-kingdoms when the inundation of the Holy Land is at hand, it is not the site of the capital city [of the invaders] that is regarded, but the quarter out of which the invasion took place. This proceeded from the north, from Syria, because the eastern side of the Holy Land was covered by the vast trackless wilderness of Arabia Deserta." *

The prophet further beholds *a fire infolding itself*, that is, catching hold on itself, inwrapping and twisting together.† We naturally infer that this fire appeared in the midst of the cloud. Fire was an indication of Jehovah's presence and power, as in the burning bush, (Exod. iii, 2,) the pillar of fire, (Exod. xiii, 21,) and the representations of divine indignation against the wicked in Isa. lxvi, 15, and Heb. xii, 29. Even Moses in prophetic vision caught a glimpse of Israel's coming woes, the fruits of their idolatry, and represents Jehovah as saying to them: "A fire is kindled in mine anger, and shall burn unto the lowest hell, and shall consume the earth with her increase, and set on fire the foundations of the mountains." Deut. xxxii, 22. So in Ezekiel's vision this infolded and compressed fire represented the terrible energy of punitive justice.

Round about the cloud was a circle of brightness, and in the midst of the fire‡ a something that resembled the glittering brilliancy of amber.§ This latter would seem designed to

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* Hengstenberg, p. 7.

† מִתְלַקַּחַת. Hithpael of לָקַח. Compare Exod. ix, 24, where only this form of the word elsewhere occurs.

‡ לוֹ refers to עָנָן, which is masculine; מִתּוֹכָהּ refers to אֵשׁ, which is feminine.

§ כְּעֵין הַחַשְׁמַל, *as the eye of the Hhashmal*; that is, according to Hävernick, as the brilliant spark that flies off from this kind of metal when beaten in the fire.

intensify the prophet's impression of the living energies, and also the personality, of that Divine Power that was here revealing itself, while the circle of brightness that encompassed the symbols of punitive judgment and wrath was "the emblem of that grace of God which stands in the background of judgment, pointing to the times of refreshing that shall come to the people of God, when judgment has first done its work upon them. At first nothing stands in view but storm, cloud, fire. The brightness gleams only out of the far distance."* So the punitive judgments of Heaven, if not themselves blessings in disguise, are compassed about with gleamings of divine goodness, and may often be demanded by love itself, that love which either chastens to reform, or punishes with death to secure the final peace and glory of the universal kingdom.

THE LIVING CREATURES, (Verses 5–14, 23–25.)

The Prophet continued to gaze, and lo, four living creatures appear as if coming out of the midst of the fire.† In chap. x, where these living creatures appear again, they are called cherubim. The first noticeable aspect which Ezekiel observed was that *they had the likeness of a man.* Though they had various peculiar and wonderful appearances, their form was prominently human; that is, as appears from the context, the position of the head, and the shape of the body of each, resembled a man more than any other single creature. But, observe, it is not a real man that Ezekiel sees, and these are not represented to be real creatures, but it is *the likeness* of four living creatures that he sees, and they bear *the likeness* of a man. "This indicates that it is not realities that are here spoken of, but only the imperfect *forms* of realities. That he indicates this so pointedly and continually, that he opposes so resolutely the bare realism which refuses to know any thing of the distinction between thought and its dress, is one of the peculiarities of Ezekiel. Expressions like these—the appearance, the likeness, even the appearance of the likeness (verse 28)—continually recur for the

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Accordingly מִתּוֹךְ הָאֵשׁ refers to and qualifies חַשְׁמַל, and renders its meaning more intensive. It is difficult to decide precisely what kind of metal is meant by *Hhashmal;* our version has *amber,* after the Septuagint and Vulgate.

* Hengstenberg, p. 9.

† מִתּוֹכָהּ, *from the midst thereof,* refers again to אֵשׁ, *fire.*

purpose of guarding against that bare realism which, while it assumes the air of vindicating the interests of faith against 'a false spiritualism,' is, at the same time, nothing else than weakness in the exposition of Scripture."*

Each one of these living creatures had FOUR FACES, described respectively as those of *a man*, *a lion*, *an ox*, and *an eagle*. Similar to these was John the Revelator's vision of the four living creatures that hovered round the throne of God. (Rev. iv, 7.) There is a lack of precision in stating the relative position of these faces. The human and lion faces were *on the right side*, the face of the ox *on the left side*, but the position of the eagle face is not told. Still, as Cowles † observes, "There can scarcely be a doubt that these four diverse faces looked each in its several direction, the human face to the front, the lion face to the right, the face like the ox to the left, and that of the eagle backward to the rear." As, according to verse 5, the likeness of a man was prominent, we infer that the human faces were toward the prophet, and so the eagle faces, being behind the cherubic forms, would naturally escape more particular designation. There is also an apparent discrepancy between this description and that of chap. x, 14, where instead of the face of an ox we read *the face of a cherub*. Some have inferred from this that a cherub's face was prominently bovine. The writer of the article *Cherub* in "Smith's Dictionary of the Bible" supposes "some peculiar and mystical form, which Ezekiel, being a priest, would know and recognize as the face of a CHERUB, κατ' ἐξοχὴν, but which was kept secret from all others." But the discrepancy seems rather to have arisen from the different stand-point which the prophet occupied when beholding the vision of chap. x, and is thus well explained by Fairbairn: ‡

"The prophet, simply describing what he saw, and standing at the time right in front of one of the cherubim, the one who gave the live coals to the angel, could not say in regard to this cherub which particular form was prominent. The *whole* cherubic features appeared in the face, while, having only a *side* view of the others, they each presented to his eye the different forms he specifies."

The living creatures had also each FOUR WINGS. These

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* Hengstenberg, p. 10. † Ibid., p. 17. ‡ Ibid., p. 102.

wings were *divided above*, (verse 11,)[*] so that when the living creatures stood the upper pair spread out horizontally, so that the tips of the wings of one cherub joined the tips of the wings of another,[†] and the other pair were closed or let down so as to cover their bodies.[‡] When in motion the noise of their wings was awe-inspiring, like the sound of many waters, or the tumultuous tramping of a mighty host, or as the voice of the Almighty heard in the thunder's roar. (Compare Rev. xiv, 2, and xix, 6.) Under their wings the cherubim had the HANDS of a man, which, according to chap. x, 7, each cherub could send forth at pleasure to perform the will of heaven.

The prophet also observed THE FEET of the cherubim, and he describes them as *straight feet*, that is, extending straight downward, without bending of the knees or ankles; and their soles or hoofs were like those of a calf's feet, and sparkled like the color of burnished brass. These feet, thus extending straight downward, and not turned horizontally as the human foot, must have resembled those on the Babylonian monuments, whose feet are round, and sometimes nearly square. It seems to have been a design of the prophet, in noticing particularly this form of the feet, to show how all was in keeping with the fourfold form of the living creatures, and how they might thus easily move in any direction without turning as they went.

Such were these wonderful creatures, and altogether we are told their appearance was like burning coals of fire and like

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[*] Literally, "And their faces and their wings were separated from above." פְּרֻדוֹת is thus predicated of both faces and wings, for this construction the Hebrew text clearly requires. The meaning seems to be that on each cherub the upper pair of wings were separated, so as, like the faces, to spread out each in its several direction, and never move or turn from that position. So faces and upper wings were alike in this, that, being immovable and fixed in their several positions, they were separated or disconnected, so as not to touch or fold together upon one another.

[†] So verse 23, "Under the firmament were their wings straight, the one toward the other." In view of their position as to the firmament, יְשָׁרוֹת, *straight*, most naturally indicates *stretched out horizontally*.

[‡] Verse 23 seems to say that all four wings of each cherub were used to cover their bodies, and thus seems to contradict verse 11, which says that only two served this purpose. "But, possibly, what is meant is, not that four wings existed specially for this purpose, but that the use of the four wings altogether was such as to act like a covering for the body; the whole body was overshadowed by them, and kept out of sight."—*Fairbairn*, p. 29.

the appearance of lamps. This wondrous splendor went up and down among the cherubim, causing their entire form to radiate as with flashes of lightning. The prophet's description is here climacteric, *coals*, *lamps*, *lightning*. And when the living creatures ran upon their mission or returned, their movement was like the appearance of the lightning flash. Terribly magnificent and sublime, then, must have been the appearance of these living forms. Their bodies, themselves burning like coals of fire or blazing torches, dart forth lightnings, and these play to and fro among the living creatures, giving to all an awful splendor, an insufferable blaze of glory, which alone might well have caused the prophet to fall upon his face to the earth.

What, now, did the appearance of these living creatures signify? They surely must be the divinely chosen types of important truths—symbolic forms of sacred realities. And they are, doubtless, to be explained chiefly from analogous imagery in Judaistic typology. But we need not deny that the grotesque forms of creature life, which Ezekiel may have frequently seen portrayed upon the walls of Babylon, (comp. ch. viii, 10,) sometimes served to color his descriptions. On a nature so glowingly sensitive to the indescribable as his, the gigantic symbols of Babylonian art would naturally have made a deep impression. For when the holy seers were caught up and borne along in the spirit of prophetic ecstasy, their imagination and other mental faculties did not lose susceptibility, but rather were quickened with a new life and made the media of the divine vision.* From his intimate acquaintance with Hebrew symbols Ezekiel knew that these living creatures were cherubim, (chap. x, 20.) But we must not therefore assume that these cherubim were in all respects identical with those that are elsewhere spoken of in Scripture. Doubtless their ideal nature is the same, whenever they appear; but Ezekiel's minute description seems clearly to imply that those which he saw by the river Chebar had various aspects peculiar to themselves, nor is it unnatural to suppose that his bold imagination associated with them more than was in the older Jewish imagery.

The name *living creatures*, which the prophet gives them, serves largely to indicate their nature. Their every member

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* Compare *Fairbairn on Prophecy*, p. 157, *ff*.

and every motion was instinct with life. Their four faces were prominent representatives of all that part of the creation which has in it the breath of life. The spirit that dwelt in them (verse 20) made them intensely active, so that in whatever aspect we view them they suggest the idea of life. Well, then, may we define the cherubim of Ezekiel's vision to be *symbols of the living presence and active agency of the Almighty in the whole domain of created life.*

To understand the meaning of these symbols we must closely study their composite form. In this way we shall be more likely to arrive at satisfactory conclusions than by means of any light to be gathered from supposed analogies in the cherubim of Eden, (Gen. iii, 24,) of the Tabernacle, (Exod. xxv, 20,) or of the Temple, (1 Kings vi, 27.)

In doing this, however, we should avoid the extreme, to which some of the older expositors have gone, of seeking hidden meanings in all that may be supposed, as well as in all that is said, of these cherubim ; such as the fact that they must, altogether, have had twelve faces and twelve wings, and that these refer to the twelve signs of the zodiac. It is sufficient to ascertain the meaning of those features which the prophet has himself minutely described, for these surely cannot be an idle and meaningless display of grotesque imagery.

Not without significance is the fact that these figures are in so many respects fourfold—four faces, four wings, four sides. Four stands among the sacred numbers to designate the world. with its four elements, its four quarters, and four seasons. In all these Jehovah is immanently present in providence and judgment. Additional import is given by the four faces respectively of a man, an ox, a lion, and an eagle. "Four are the highest in the world," says an old Jewish proverb.* "The lion among wild beasts, the ox among tame cattle, the eagle among birds, and man among all." So these faces are a composite symbol of all forms of created life as represented in *beast*, *cattle*, *fowl*, and *man*. Creeping things and fish of earth and sea, as well as things in the vegetable kingdom,† are not specifically represented, for, being lower forms of life, they are compre-

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* Shoettgen, *Horæ Hebraicæ.* On Apoc., chap. iv.

† In 1 Kings vi, 29, and Ezek. xl, 18, 19, 25, cherubim are associated with palms and flowers as standing at the head of the vegetable creation, on which

hended under the higher. And as man stands at the head of all created things, and Divine Providence is most signally displayed in the sphere of human life and history, so, altogether, these living creatures bear pre-eminently *the likeness of a man*, (verse 5.)*

The four wings are appropriate symbols of intense activity and rapidity of movement in all the dispensations of Providence. Two wings of each cherub seem to have been always outspread, (verse 11,) as if scarce able to await the time when they were to speed away on some divine errand. The hands of a man under the wings show the cheerful alacrity with which, in particular events of Providence or judgment, all divine commands are executed, and how human instrumentalities are used in accomplishing the purposes of God. In chap. x, 7, we see the promptness with which a cherub's hands furnish an angel with the fire that is to burn Jerusalem. The straight, unbending feet, sparkling like burnished brass, represent the straightforward movements and irrevocable nature of the judgments of the Almighty.

Hengstenberg has the following: "Next to the animal creation, the vegetable kingdom is the most glorious revelation of the creative power of God. In modern science it is connected with the animal kingdom, under the head of the organic creation. But the vegetable kingdom cannot be better represented than by the palms and flowers. According to Celsius, the palm is called by the Arabs 'the blessed tree.' Libanius says of it: 'The palm raises itself on high, and removes itself as far as possible from the earth. It hastens, as it were, toward heaven, and cannot bear to remain on earth, though sprung from it.' Linné called the palms 'the princes of the vegetable kingdom;' Humboldt, 'the noblest of plants to which the nations ever assign the prize of beauty.' As the animal life culminates in man, lion, ox, and eagle, so the vegetable life in the palms and flowers." —Page 512.

* The four faces may also serve to represent *qualities* as well as forms of creature life, and thereby indicate various aspects of the dispensations of God. The human countenance is suggestive of the divine wisdom. (Job xxxii, 8; Prov. iii, 2; Dan. vii, 4.) The face of the ox might serve as the symbol of all-enduring strength. (Psa. cxliv, 14; Prov. xiv, 4.) The lion is an image of resistless power and terrible authority. (Prov. xxx, 30; Isa. xxxi, 4; Jer. xlix, 9;) the eagle, of care and tenderness. (Exod. xix, 4; Deut. xxxii, 11.) Thus the various attributes of Jehovah, as exhibited in his government of the creature world, are set forth in the faces of the cherubim. Suggestive symbols are they of his divine wisdom, his untiring energies to uphold and keep all things that he has made, his power and authority to do according to his will in the armies of heaven and among the inhabitants of the earth, and also his tender care over all his dependent creatures. But as these qualities of the divine government are more fully set forth

THE WHEELS, (Verses 15–21.)

But all the details of Ezekiel's vision are not yet told. As he continued to gaze upon the living creatures his eye fastened upon a wondrous wheel so peculiarly wrought as to present four faces or sides.* This was done by one wheel appearing as in the middle of another. "According to this description they might be concentric and in the same plane, or they might be concentric and yet in different planes, say at right angles. From the account of this motion in any direction without turning, the latter seems to have been their form. This is the view of the ablest modern commentators. We need not trouble ourselves with the fact that no axletree could be made to work in two such concentric double wheels, so that they could run in planes at right angles to each other. For this movable base of the throne of God *was seen in prophetic vision*, and not in the actual world; was constituted *to be seen*, not to run in the business of real life; and had for its object a certain impression on the mind of the prophet, and not any particular result in the mechanical world."† These wheels were of the greenish color of the beryl stone,‡ and of immense size, towering aloft in the air with magnificence fearfully sublime. Their rings or rims § were so high as to inspire with dread, and full of eyes throughout. In the later vision of chap. x, 12, the wheels themselves, and also the different parts of the cherubim, their backs, hands, and wings, appear full of eyes, like the four living creatures which John saw in the visions of Patmos. (Rev. iv, 6.) In their movements the wheels followed closely by the living creatures. They were somewhat like flaming chariots which the cherubic coursers drew. Their four sides corresponded with the four faces of the cherubim, and so they always went in the direction of some one of the four faces, and, with-

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by other symbols in this vision, these meanings of the four faces should not be urged.

* *Four faces* of verse 15 are identical with the *four sides* of verse 17.

† Cowles, p. 18.

‡ כְּעֵין תַּרְשִׁישׁ, *as the eye of Tarshish.* Septuagint: *ὡς εἶδος θαρσεῖς.* Vulgate: *quasi visio maris.* Supposed to be the chrysolite of the ancients, and the topaz of the moderns, and, perhaps, deriving its name from the color of the sea.

§ Verse 18, literally, *And their backs, both height was to them and terror to them.* גַּב, means something *oval* or *gibbous;* hence *the back*, and when spoken of a wheel would mean the rim, tire, or, if the wheel had spokes, the felly.

out turning, could move on errands of judgment toward "the four corners of the land," chap. vii, 2.

Both the living creatures and the wheels were permeated and guided in all their motions by a living principle called emphatically *the* SPIRIT. This caused the wheels always to move in closest companionship with * the living creatures. One ruling Spirit governed all, and terribly sublime were the movements of the mighty wheels, rolling like the lightning flash beside the cherubim, and altogether sounding as the tumultuous noise of a moving army.

These wheels, according to Hävernick, "are a still more potent witness of the divine life-energy in created being, and a still more powerful impression do they make of the almighty energy of God as mirrored forth in his creation." † But they point not to the forms or forces of the animate creation, which are sufficiently represented by the cherubim, but to the powers of nature, which, like winds, and storms, and pestilence, obey the voice of Him who sits upon the circle of the heavens, and fills all things by his Spirit. Thus this revelation lifts us far, far above that blind and brutish Pantheism which sees in all the universe nothing but self-created matter, and a senseless force, which is itself as dumb as the matter it is presumed to rule. The eyes which cover the wheels—symbols of wisdom—show that the powers of nature, though seemingly so wild and untamable, are under the control and guidance of an all-wise Providence, a supreme Ruler, who makes the clouds his chariot, and walks upon the wings of the wind, making the winds themselves his messengers, and flaming lightnings his ministers of wrath, (Psa. civ, 3, 4,) and whose authoritative word fire and hail, snow and vapor and stormy wind fulfill. (Psalm cxlviii, 8.) In Psalm xviii, 10, we have the image of a cherub attached to the winged winds and bearing the cloud-pavilioned Jehovah; and in chap. x, 13, Ezekiel tells us that these wheels were called the whirlwind in his hearing. ‡ The wheels, then, are symbols of those powers of nature of which the whirlwind

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* [illegible], *in connection with them;* not *over against them*, as in English version, verse 20.

† Hävernick, p. 24.

‡ Not *O wheel!* as in English version. Literally, *As for the wheels, they were called the whirlwind in my ear.* So Fürst and Gesenius in their Lexicons, and so [illegible] should be rendered in Psalm lxxvii, 18.

is a representative, and the eyes that cover the wheels represent the unerring wisdom that guides and governs all the operations of nature in the various dispensations of Divine Providence. Hengstenberg[*] compares Isaiah v, 28, where it is said of a dreadful enemy, "their wheels are like a whirlwind," and remarks: "There the wheels in the war-chariots of the world-power sent by God for the punishment of his rebellious people are compared with the whirlwind; so here, inversely, the whirlwind, representing the powers equal to it in weight, appears under the figure of the wheels. Ezekiel x, 6, affords a further proof of this. There the *fire* with which the ungodly Jerusalem shall be burned is taken from between the wheels, and from the cherub, who hands it to the angel. Jerusalem was to be burned by men, otherwise than Sodom and Gomorrah. But their activity is only subordinate, being directed by God. They take the fire from between the wheels; and the angel stands behind and above them, who performs the work of burning. These are clear and certain grounds which leave no doubt concerning the import of the wheels."

We must observe, further, that the spirit of the cherubim was also the spirit of the wheels. One living, active spirit permeated all, showing that in all the dispensations of Providence we must acknowledge the immanent presence and superintendency of one great Master Mind, whose eyes, running to and fro through all the earth, (Zech. iv, 10,) notice as well the falling sparrow as the dissolving empire, and whose power is Omnipotence itself.

THE THEOPHANY, (Verses 22, 25–28.)

And yet the vision is not ended. Over the head and outstretched wings of the cherubim spread the likeness of a crystal firmament, resembling the Revelator's "sea of glass," (Rev. iv, 6,) and terrible in its icy brightness.[†] From this firmament there came a voice, at which the living creatures dropped their wings in awe. Gazing upward, the prophet saw above the firmament *the likeness of a throne*, refulgent as the appearance of sapphire stone, and on the throne *the likeness as the appearance*

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[*] Henstenberg, p. 517.

[†] כְּעֵין הַקֶּרַח, *as the eye of the ice*, because *crystal* resembles the glassy appearance of ice.

of a man above it. It seemed impossible for Ezekiel to sketch the glory of this most august personage, for his style at this point is involved and obscure by reason of his labored efforts at comparison. The appearance from the loins upward and downward resembled the glittering brilliancy of amber, or of fire, and this radiant form was encircled by the appearance of a rainbow. The insufferable glory utterly overwhelmed the prophet, and he fell upon his face to the earth; but so far was he from identifying things seen with the actual Jehovah himself, that he says of all this manifested glory, *it was the appearance of the likeness of the glory of the Lord.*

This likeness of the divine glory, though not actually God himself, is nevertheless the sublime representation of that personal Jehovah "that sitteth upon the circle of the earth, that stretcheth out the heavens as a curtain, and spreadeth them out as a tent to dwell in." Isa. xl, 22. Through all the Old Testament he is set forth as the supreme ruler that "doeth according to his will in the army of heaven and among the inhabitants of the earth, and none can stay his hand, or say unto him, What doest thou?" Dan. iv, 35. The throne is the symbol of judgment and government, and, according to scriptural imagery, the Lord sits upon a throne judging right. (Psa. ix, 4.) "The Lord's throne is in heaven; his eyes behold, his eyelids try the children of men." Psa. xi, 4. "Justice and judgment are the basis (מְכוֹן) of thy throne," Psa. lxxxix, 15. The only appropriate position of the throne would be of course *above the firmament;* for though his kingdom ruleth all, and the earth is his footstool, yet his throne is emphatically *in heaven.* (Psa. xi, 4; Isa. lxvi, 1.)

But of peculiar interest is the appearance of Jehovah in the likeness of a man, and encircled by a rainbow. "Jehovah accommodates himself to the prophet," says Hävernick. "He appears to him in the human form, because in this way only could he endure the sight and live, and in this way only is his appearance capable of being represented at all."* The conception carries us back to the time when man was made in the image and after the likeness of God, (Gen. i, 26,) and forward to the time when God was manifested in the flesh by the incarnation of the Lord Jesus Christ, "who, being in the form

* Hävernick, p. 29.

of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God, but made himself of no reputation, and took upon him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men." Phil. ii, 6–7. In the light of the blessed Incarnation we of Messianic times may see profound significance in those Old Testament theophanies where the Lord assumes the human form. We may now well ask, if the appearance of the likeness of Jehovah be seen by human eye at all, what form should he assume but that of a man? He may *speak* from the burning bush, (Exod. iii, 2–4,) or the thick darkness, (Exod. xix, 19; xx, 21,) or out of the whirlwind, (Job xxxviii, 1,) but when he assumes a visible appearance it is the likeness of a man. (Gen. xviii, 1, 2, 33; xxxii, 24; Josh. v, 13.) The angels also bear this form, (Gen. xviii, 2, 22,) and so do the souls of disembodied men, (Matt. xvii, 3.) This glorious person of Ezekiel's vision is, doubtless, the same divine King, the Lord of hosts, whom Isaiah (chap. vi) saw sitting upon a throne high and lifted up, and surrounded by the splendor of the six-winged seraphim. And St. John (chap. xii, 41) refers all this glory to Christ, so that we may find in these visions of both Ezekiel and Isaiah a Messianic prophecy. For who is the Jehovah of their visions but the Anointed King of Zion's holy hill, of whom it is said (Psa. ii, 12,) to the Kings and Judges of the earth: "Kiss the Son lest he be angry and ye perish from the way, when his wrath is kindled but a little." It is only from God manifest in the flesh that we know any thing about God at all. "No man hath seen God at any time; the only-begotten Son which is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him." John i, 18. He is declared as truly, if not as fully, by the sublime theophanies of the Old Testament as by the blessed incarnation of the New, and, so far as we may know, a personal manifestation of Jehovah can take no other form.

"The appearance of the bow that is in the cloud in the day of rain," (ver. 28,) most appropriately closes the prophet's description of the sublime theophany. From what is recorded in Gen. ix, 12–17, the rainbow must ever remain the symbol of covenanted grace, of mercy returning after the flood of wrath; and in prophetic vision it may well encompass Him who in the fullness of time becomes flesh, and discloses the glory of the only begotten of the Father, *full of grace and truth.* Like the

brightness round the cloud, (verse 4,) this rainbow indicates that divine compassion which, after the bitter chastisements of exile are ended, "will seek that which was lost, and bring again that which was driven away, bind up that which was broken, and strengthen that which was sick." Ezek. xxxiv, 16.

Such was the sublime vision that was given along with Ezekiel's solemn call to the prophetic office, and such, we are satisfied, is substantially the meaning of its several symbols. But there were historical circumstances connected with the period of Ezekiel's ministry in view of which the imagery of this opening vision has special significance. "This portrayal was specially pertinent in view of the fact that God's providential agencies were then intensely active among the nations, and especially toward the Jews, in both discipline and judgment—the discipline that chastened to reclaim, and the judgments that scourged in stern and awful retribution.* After Jehoiachin and the better part of the Jewish people had been carried into exile, there was still left at Jerusalem a remnant, who kept up the form of the Jewish State, with Zedekiah at their head. But they were not humbled by the bitter punishments of their idolatry, and soon after the victorious Nebuchadnezzar had withdrawn his armies from the land this remnant carried on their abominations more wickedly than ever, and mocked the very messengers of God, until the wrath of the Lord arose against them with a fury not to be appeased till every vestige of Judah's glory was laid prostrate in the dust.

There was also among the exiles at Babylon a spirit of infatuation caused by the lying prophets, who led them to indulge in vain dreams of speedy deliverance, and fostered in them a feeling of unrest and insubordination, which only tended to increase the miseries of exile. (Jer. xxix.) Against this rebellious house was Ezekiel called to utter the oracles of judgment, and it was all-important that his soul should be profoundly impressed with the knowledge of Jehovah's power to make all forms of creature life and all the elements of nature serve him. And what could give him this impression more powerfully than the memorable symbols of his first vision by the river Chebar. The Chaldean army was the mighty agent under God by which additional penal woes of sword and fire were to lay waste the

* Cowles, p. 21.

land of Israel, and make Jerusalem a heap of ruins, (2 Chron. xxxvi, 17–21,) and the threatening features of this vision were terribly suggestive of the coming woes. The whirlwind coming out of the north, the compressed fire, the flashing lightnings that played up and down among the living creatures, their sparkling feet and the noise of their wings, and the mighty wheels so dreadful in their movements, all pointed significantly to the various aspects of that vengeful world-power that Jehovah used as the rod of his anger to scourge his guilty people. Accordingly, the first division of Ezekiel's prophecies (chaps. ii–xxiv) are of a threatening character, and aimed especially against the idolatrous Jerusalem. Then follow the denunciations against Ammon, Tyre, Egypt, and other heathen peoples, which, like the house of Judah, were lifted up with vain confidence, and giving themselves wholly to idolatry, (chaps. xxv–xxxiii.)

But these oracles against the heathen powers form a transition passage in the book of Ezekiel's prophecies. They might serve to comfort those penitent and pensive exiles who were crying to heaven from the midst of a triumphant heathenism, by showing them that the heathen-world-powers must in turn fall beneath the fiery desolations of Jehovah's anger. But after all this, connected with the imagery of this vision there was to the chosen people a background of hope and promise. The dark cloud from the north had a circle of brightness around it; and the fiery human likeness of the glory of the Lord was encompassed by the appearance of a rainbow; and, in harmony with these hopeful symbols, the concluding portions of Ezekiel's prophecy (chaps. xxxiv–xlviii) abound in consolations for the house of Israel. And so the great doctrine, developed with peculiar consistency throughout the entire writings of the Prophet of the Exile, is this, that while to the rebellious and perverse Jehovah is a consuming fire, to those who seek his face in penitence and faith, his nature and his name are Love.

ART. VII.—TOPOGRAPHY OF EPHESUS.

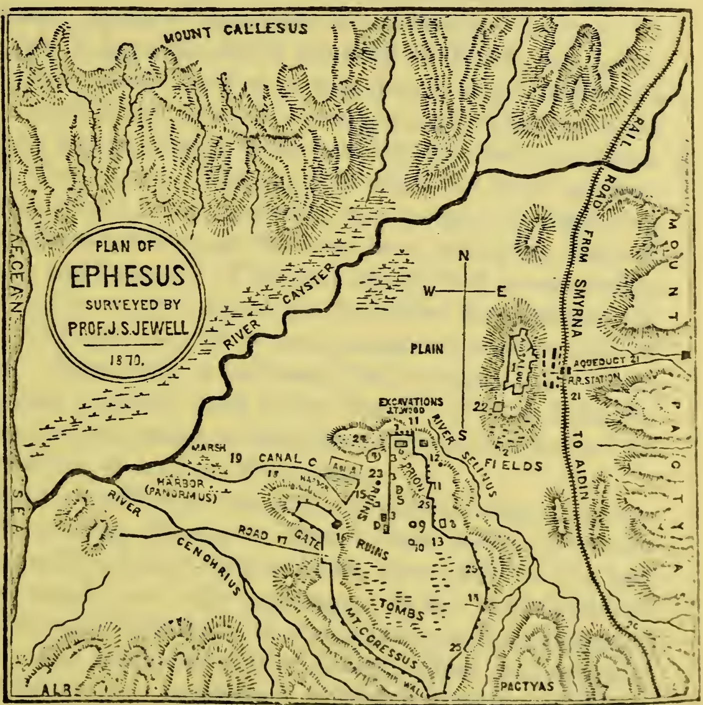
DURING several days' sojourn at Ephesus I was able to collect some topographical details which, so far as I know, have not been given with the same fullness in any easily accessible publication as it is my intention to give them in this article. The account which follows, and the accompanying map, have been drawn up wholly from my own notes and sketches made on the spot. Together I hope they may be the means of conveying to the attentive reader a correct notion of this justly celebrated place. For the map nothing more is claimed than general accuracy; but so far it fairly represents the site and its immediate surroundings.

Formerly the traveler was obliged, in most cases, to reach Ephesus from Smyrna by horseback. One route led near the sea, and, finally passing over the western shoulder of Mount Gallesus, descended into the plain of Ephesus near its north-west corner, not far from the sea. Another route led along the plain of Trianda, which is almost continuously separated from the sea-shore by a mountain chain. This narrow plain extends from near Smyrna to Ephesus. By this latter route you enter the north-east corner of the plain of Ephesus, having immediately to the right the high steep side of Gallesus, and to the left, more distant and somewhat ahead, Mount Pactyas. Across on the south side of the plain is the dark ridge of Coressus. This route is now taken by the railway from Smyrna to Aidin. Its course across the Ephesus plain can be seen by a glance at the map.

Entering by the north-east corner, the whole plain suddenly bursts on the view. It is very level, almost treeless, and, except on the west end and north-east corner, is bounded by high mountains. Within a few hundred yards after entering the plain we cross the river Cayster. It is a small sluggish stream, flowing westward between low earthy banks. Subsequently we have on either hand large fig orchards, badly kept, and in less than a mile after crossing the river the train stops at the station, which takes its name from the truly miserable village of Ayasalouk, close by to the west. There are a few wretched houses about the mere shed which is the station.

The most considerable one was sometimes occupied by a Mr. Wood, who was conducting the somewhat expensive excavations at Ephesus for the British Museum. During our stay we either slept in the house of Mr. Wood, or on a table in the station, amid fleas and mosquitoes.

I. *The Plain.*—This, as already remarked, is level, except at



KEY TO PLAN OF EPHESUS.

1. Fortress of *Ayasalouk.*

2. Ruins of *Ayasalouk.*

3. Paved street, or way, leading from north to south along the west foot of *Prion.*

4. The SERAPIEON.

5. Great Theater.

6. Stadium.

7. Custom-house, so called.

8. Gymnasium.

9. Odeum.

10. St. Luke's Tomb, so called.

11-11. Burial places excavated by Mr. Wood. Many fine sarcophagi.

12. Remains of a chapel in a small grotto. Open mouths of many tombs in hill-side to the south of this.

13. Triple gates.

14. Supposed site of Magnesian Gates.

15. Harbor.

16. Prison of St. Paul, so called.

17. Supposed road leading from gate.

18. Canal leading westward from harbor.

19. Conjectural course of Canal in a marsh which may have been a harbor.

20. Beginning of Valley Pass leading north east over to Valley of Menander.

21. Aqueduct and station of R. R.

22. Site of Church of *St. John.*

23. Round Temple, now ruined.

24. Quarries of Marble, perhaps the *Tracheia* of *Strabo.*

25. Conjectural restoration of East Wall.

AA. Supposed site of Temple of Diana.

the east end, or, more properly, south-east corner. Here are quite a number of small undulations and rocky hills. The latter rise suddenly from the level plain as islands from the sea. Some of them are marked on the map. The plain is disposed to be wet, even swampy, especially along the north border, where the roots of Mount Gallesus rise abruptly out of it. Here, indeed, during the wet season considerable lakes of water stand. Some of these spots are marked on the map.

The plain is but little above the level of the sea, is alluvial, fertile, and seems much as if at no very distant time it had been a lagoon or shallow bay, which has been gradually filled up by the sea and the matter brought down from the mountains, and especially by the Cayster. The depth to which the plain has been filled, even where it was habitable, may be seen by inspecting Mr. Wood's excavations in the level tract which lies between Ayasalouk and Ephesus. The stone door-sills of houses wholly covered up have been found six to twelve feet beneath the surface. This spot, as will be seen, is near the eastern edge of the plain. How much it has been filled up above the level on which houses formerly stood to the west I could not definitely determine, but had reason to think ten to fifteen feet was not an unfair estimate, at least for some parts.

The plain is nowhere permanently inhabited, except at Ayasalouk. Wandering Turcomans spread their black tents here and there, and lead their herds of goats, sheep, black cattle, buffaloes and camels, over it for pasturage. A few rude shepherds take shelter with their flocks in one of the ruined structures of Ephesus. The south-east corner, being highest and driest, is partially cultivated. In places it is thickly covered with brush and briers. Birds are very numerous. I saw several *terrapins*, with brilliantly colored *carapaces*, or shells, crawling amid the weed-encumbered ruins.

In form the plain is a rude parallelogram. It is about five miles in length, and perhaps three in width. Let us now turn and make a brief survey of its boundaries, which are not devoid of interest.

II. *North Boundary.*—This can be best seen from one of the heights at the south edge of the plain. Stretching along its north edge is the high mass of Mount Gallesus. At the top the ridge is divided into two peaks, of which the eastern is the high-

est. These send out long ridges, separated by deep ravines, which pass in general in a south-west direction, and dip down suddenly into the plain. To the left the mountains break down somewhat gently to the sea. To the right, near the north-east angle of the plain, they break down suddenly to the level of the strait-like arm connecting the plains of Triandi and Ephesus. Here, as already said, the Cayster enters, and is seen to pursue a westerly course toward the sea along the north edge of the plain. This has been indicated on the map.

III. *East Boundary.*—This may be well seen from the hill of Ayasalouk. The whole east side of the plain is bounded by a large irregular mountain mass that sends rough dark ridges down westward, like promontories, into the plain. These are separated by deep, narrow valleys, which rapidly ascend eastward in a winding manner, to be lost high up the mountain side. This is part of Mount Pactyas. It is largely composed of dark mica slate. At the south-east the mountain stoops a little, where it is sundered by one or more gorge-like valleys. Up one of these the railway to Aidin leads. By perhaps the same valley did the ancient road pass between Ephesus and Magnesia, in the valley of the Menander. Pactyas, however, is continued round to the right, or west, of this valley, and for about a mile bounds, at least partially, the

IV. *South Edge of the Plain.*—If this should be divided into four parts, the eastern one fourth is closely encroached upon by the heights of Pactyas. Strong spurs from it drop suddenly down to the plain. Instead of continuing directly westward toward the sea, the mountain ridge bends off south-west from the plain. From the angle where the bend is made a high narrow spur is given off north-north-west, about one fourth of a mile in length; then it suddenly bends west-north-west for nearly a mile, when it sinks down to less than half its previous height, curving at the same time round toward the north. Here it mounts up again into an oval hill, which rapidly sinks down to the level of the plain. This entire ridge encroaches on the plain—extends, in fact, obliquely into it in a north-westerly direction. This ridge is Coressus. Its position and course can be seen by a glance at the map. On the oval hill in which it terminates, in the plain, is a square tower, erroneously called St. Paul's Prison. On its south side Coressus breaks

down to a well-defined valley descending from the side of Pactyas, the stream in which was called Cenchrius by the ancients. Its direction is from south-east to north-west. On the side next the plain Coressus breaks down very steeply, not to say precipitously. Both sides are steep and brushy, but devoid of trees. It varies in height from eight hundred to sixteen hundred feet. On its north side, near the east end, a low flat ridge or neck projects into the plain northward. It is half a mile across from east to west, and descends gently for a like distance, and then suddenly mounts up into a rocky oval hill, a mile in length from north to south, less than a mile in width from east to west. It stands in the edge of the plain, being connected with the foot of the Coressus to the south by the flat neck or isthmus. This hill is the central feature in the topography of Ephesus—it is Mount Prion. West of Coressus, toward the sea, a number of ridges descend into the plain in a north-west direction. They are indicated on the map. With this brief sketch of the topography of the plain and its surroundings, we will pass to more detailed statements regarding Ayasalouk and Ephesus.

V. *Ayasalouk.*—In the east edge of the plain, about one half mile from the foot of the eastern mountains, an oval hill is reared up. It is perhaps a mile long from north to south, not so wide from east to west. It is steep on all sides but the south. It is highest, and most nearly level on top, in the north half. This part is crowned by the fortress of Ayasalouk, which is quite extensive, and formerly had great strength. The walls are largely composed of bricks, painted red and white, after the Saracen style. The walls have frequent round minaret-like towers, and are much shattered by earthquakes. The fortress is now wholly dismantled and deserted. The southern end of this hill slopes down gradually. On and around its south foot, extending down on the plain, lay the town, which, judging from the extent and character of the remains, must have been very considerable. Here are columns of marble, *verd-antique*, and granite, capitals, architraves, slabs bearing inscriptions, massive substructions, etc.; the whole mixed with and overlaid by rough stones, weeds, and briers. Amid these are the wretched huts of the present village. On the west side of the south foot of this hill stands the ruined Church of St. John, which was trans-

formed into a mosque, but is now wholly deserted and ruined. Earthquakes have rent its walls, and shattered from bottom to top its minaret. From its summit I had a fine view of surrounding objects.

Leading from the south end of this hill is an aqueduct on tall arches, at first twenty-five or thirty feet high; but as you follow it eastward the ground rises and the arches become lower, until in half a mile they disappear and give place to a mere water channel, now broken, which leads up the south side of a valley coming from the east. Though I followed it some distance, I was not able to discover the fountain which formerly supplied it. The aqueduct, when seen from the north or south, presents quite an imposing appearance. Most of the points just described are represented on the map.

VI. *Mount Prion.*—The distance from Ayasalouk to Mount Prion is less than a mile, the direction south-west. There is no regular road across the perfectly level cultivated plain that intervenes. The fields are in some cases separated by rough stone-walls, and broken, badly kept hedges. We soon began to meet with the excavations of Mr. Wood, which are marked on the map. They were very numerous, and showed at various depths the remains of ordinary buildings. We approach the north-east corner of Prion. This corner is somewhat steep, and on its east face presents a cavernous crack or fissure that extends into the hill, and leads up into a slight valley, which can be followed to the summit, which it divides into two flat peaks. The hill is seen to be steep on the north end and east side, but not precipitous. It is covered scantily with soil, through which the rock protrudes in many places. A few thick clumps of brush and brier are to be seen here and there, with a few fig-trees about the base. In the cavernous excavation are the remains of a rude chapel.

We turned south along the east foot of Prion. Immediately we met with Mr. Wood's excavations, which continue along the whole eastern base of the hill. An immense number of sarcophagi, and the substructions of many buildings apparently for monumental purposes, have been uncovered. Many of the former are very richly sculptured, and bear long Greek inscriptions. To the right, in the hill-side, are the oven-like mouths of open tombs in great numbers. As we pass along,

the way gently ascends. The excavations increase in extent and number. In the course of half a mile we have immediately to our right hand, on the south-east slope of the hill, a massive ruin called the Gymnasium. This consists of great square masses of brick and stone, ten to fifteen feet on a side, which rise from ten to twenty feet above the *debris.* These may be from fifteen to twenty feet apart. In a few cases they are still connected by immense arches of brick or stone, as they once all were. This ruin covers more than an acre. We are now in a very shallow valley which sweeps round the south-east corner up to the south end of Prion, pursuing at last a westerly direction. This was evidently occupied by a paved way in former times, but is now deeply covered in soil and rubbish from the buildings which stood on either hand. Some of the excavations have laid this pavement bare. On both sides are masses of masonry partially uncovered, also columns, capitals, fragments of statues, etc., all in marble, in great profusion. After passing the Gymnasium we come to a triple gate. Each gate is from eight to ten feet wide, and they stand on a line from north-west to south-east. The lower part of the posts remain. The west face of the posts of the middle gate still show the holes in which the bar for fastening was placed. This is important as showing in what direction the city lay from them. The pavement at this point has been uncovered, and is deeply worn, on either side of the middle line, by chariot wheels. These are generally supposed to have been the "Magnesian Gates."

From the triple gate we pass up the gentle slope toward the west, with Prion close to the right, and, somewhat distant but high above, to the left, Coressus. We continue to follow the ancient paved way, with excavations here and there and confused heaps of ruins on either hand. About two hundred yards west of the gates we come to the top of the notch between Prion and Coressus. One hundred yards to the left are the remains of a polygonal structure, with many choice architectural bits about it. It was forty or fifty feet in diameter. On the right of the entrance, which was in the south-east side, on a perpendicular slab, is a small figure of a bull with a hump on the shoulders, which is surmounted by a cross. On another slab is a larger cross in relief. All over the back of this isth-

mus, connecting Prion and Coressus, are remains of former buildings. Farther west on the right, still following the street leading from the triple gate, is a small theater. It is excavated in the south end of Prion. It looked south. It has been partially uncovered, and shows many fine granite columns, marble seats, some of them bearing Greek inscriptions, beautifully sculptured fragments in profusion, and the outer walls in pretty good preservation in coarser stone. This was the Odeum. Near by it, in a pit, were some fine pieces of statuary.

As you advance westward from the theater there are interesting remains on either hand, so confused you can make nothing of them without excavation. Soon you begin to descend into a small shallow valley, the direction of which is from south-east to north-west, past the south-west corner of Prion.

West of the Odeum two hundred and fifty yards the way descends rather rapidly. Just here a massive wall comes out on the left. Its direction is west. In about one hundred feet it turns south at a right angle. Here our way—evidently an ancient street—bends more toward the north. To the left, and ahead for something less than a mile, the foot of Coressus is strewn with ruins, partly hidden by brush and weeds. From this point we can look north along the west base of Prion. In the angle between Coressus south and Prion east is a portion of the plain. From the foot of Prion, westward, you have, for half a mile or less, a field of ruins. Out of this rise hundreds of shattered masses of brick and cement, walls, heavy crumbling arches, broken columns, architraves and capitals. No more emphatic testimony could be given to the extent and former importance of this renowned city.

Little more than one fourth of a mile west of Prion, in the plain, parallel to and not far from Coressus, is an oblong tract of ten or fifteen acres, thickly covered with reeds. This is the ancient harbor.

Descending westward one hundred to two hundred yards, you stand within a large excavated square. Around the edges masses of masonry emerge, and here or there a column or capital. This is supposed to have been the Forum. West of the south-west corner of this, distant seventy-five yards, are the remains of a fine temple, which fronted north. Broken fluted

columns, pieces of cornice, capitals, many large square blocks, and an exceedingly massive and highly wrought fragment—the west end of the north pediment—lie in a confused heap. These are all in fine marble. This is called the Temple of Claudius. West of this the whole surface is heaped with ruins. North of the Forum, near the foot of Prion, is a large inclosure, the outlines of which alone can be traced. Still farther north, and one hundred yards west of Prion, is a large excavation with but little masonry about it. It contains perhaps two acres, and is from ten to eighteen feet in depth. At bottom it is heaped with rubbish, and overgrown with briers and weeds. A little water was standing in it. This is thought to have been a supplementary harbor, perhaps a water reservoir. Westward immense and often shapeless masses of ruins abound. Passing amid these to the east edge of the harbor, I take my stand on the ponderous substructions of what has been called the custom-house, or arsenal, and, facing eastward, have the whole west side of Prion before the eye. As seen from that position the outline of the hill is that of a flattened curve, rough at the highest point, where it is divided into two summits, both of which support remains of walls. In this face of the hill, a little south of the middle, is the great theater mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles. It fronts west, of course. Let us go to the mouth of the theater. It is choked by *debris*, only partly removed by excavation, but enough has been done to show its magnitude and richness. The wealth of broken marbles at the mouth of this theater is surprising. The arena within has been partially laid bare, and most of the ranges of seats which lead up to the east. From the arena up the steep slope to the topmost seats must have been at least two hundred and fifty feet. The theater was mostly excavated, according to a general custom, into the hill-side, but the front stood out imposingly to the west. From it a fine view is had: to the right, on the plain; to the left, on the side of Coressus; to the west, the hill on which is the tower called St. Paul's Prison; nearer, the harbor; nearer still, a field of solitary ruins.

Formerly a great street led past the mouth of the theater from north to south, parallel to the west foot of Prion. Followed southward, it curved round over the south shoulder of Prion, past

the Odeum, and so on to the triple gate. Followed northward, it leads along at the foot of Prion, past the theater, with ruins on either hand, especially the left, until in less than three hundred yards you have close at your right the mouth of the Stadium. Its south side was excavated into the hill, its north and the east end were built upon masonry. The Stadium exceeds seven hundred feet in length, and extends from the north-west corner eastward along the north base of Prion. Excavations have revealed the plan of the portico. The bases of its marble columns still stand in place, and the marble pavement between them. This and all similar structures seem to have been ornate specimens of either the Ionic or Corinthian orders of architecture. Some of the heavy marble seats at the east end of the Stadium have been found.

On the left hand, seventy-five feet west of the Stadium, is a flat rocky eminence, fifty yards or more in extent from east to west, and seventy-five or more from north to south across the top. It is called the Serapion. This is covered by scanty soil, except in the center, where the bare rock emerges. This latter is thirty to forty feet square, three or four feet high, and artificially leveled on top, and hewn on the sides. Around the edges of this mound are the remains of former vast structures. A very fine colonnade seems to have passed along the east side, facing the portico of the Stadium. North-west and west of this are several low rocky eminences, where the native rock is bare. This region seems to have been in former times extensively quarried for its marble.

This district must have merited the name of Tracheia, which, however, Strabo seems to place on the other side of Prion. If now we pass northward, with the Stadium to the right and the Serapion to the left, still on the paved way, we soon have on our right a ruined structure, extending several hundred feet east, along in the edge of the plain, at the foot of Prion. Looked at from the north, a massive platform is seen peeping above the rubbish and soil, and on this square buttresses rise, which support arches. The openings beneath these lead into vaulted chambers to the right and left and within. These chambers are now occupied by a few goat-herds, who shelter their flocks there during the night-time. This is called by some the custom-house, but without any sufficient reason.

Some have thought a harbor was in the plain north of Prion. I could find no evidence of it. East of this last described structure and of the Stadium, along the north base of Prion as far as the north-east corner toward Ayasalouk, various structures show themselves above the soil. Most of them, like those on the east of Prion, are sepulchral in character. In the excavations made in this district many sarcophagi have been laid bare. In the north face of the north-east corner of the hill a great cavernous excavation is met with. It is partially artificial, but does not extend far into the hill-side. I was not able to find such caverns in Prion as are mentioned by Chandler.

Now let us walk round to the triple gate, and from thence south-east across an undulating tract to where the wall descends from Mount Coressus. The spot is marked 14 on the map. This little valley is cultivated, and has strewn over it a few remains of former buildings. The wall from Coressus does not now come down into the valley. But it must have crossed it, perhaps as I have indicated on the map. If so there may have been a gate or gates in this neighborhood. If so it would have been more natural for them to have been the "Magnesian Gates" than the triple gates at the south-east foot of Prion, at No. 13.

Let us now go to the great theater, and from it pass westward, following the curve of the lower slope of Coressus. The objects at first met with have been already referred to. But as we pass along we have on either hand, especially the left, broken terraces supported on round arches, and the open oven-like mouths of empty tombs in abundance. Bits of finely sculptured marble and fragments of broken columns are profusely scattered along this foot of Coressus. There are frequent clumps of low shrubs, briers, and weeds encumbering the ruins. Below us, to the right, is the reedy harbor; above, to the left, the high brushy side of Coressus. The hill-side is remarkably steep, but not precipitous.

Maintaining our westerly course, we soon begin to ascend that part of the ridge which curves round to the northward. This is its lowest part. Once on top, we stand in a notch with our faces west. The end of Coressus proper is to our left, and to our right the hill on which is the square tower called St. Paul's Prison. This latter hill we ascend, taking our station on

the tower, which commands a most excellent view of the entire plain, being several hundred feet above it. The view toward the west is very comprehensive, and following round toward the east shows very well the course of the Cayster in the plain. North-east, below me, was the harbor, and to the east the whole west side of Prion, with the theater and Stadium, the ruins spread along at its base between it and the harbor, and bearing at the top ruined walls. This tower on which I stand, called St. Paul's Prison, is perhaps fifty feet square, and varies in height in different parts from ten to thirty feet. It is solidly built of gray limestone. It seems to have been nothing more than a tower belonging to the walls which crowned this hill, the course of which has been indicated on the map.

Following the traces of a wall down again into the notch in the ridge I found remains of a gate or gates. They are marked on the map. To the left hand, as you look west, it was defended by a strong fortification. From the gate the ridge slopes down rapidly to the west. From the gate we ascend the steep narrow end of Coressus proper—following the course of the wall. It is about ten feet in thickness, and in most places has been partially thrown down. At irregular intervals it is furnished with towers which project on the south side. The wall has many angles, which, together with the towers, adapt it for defense. Several hundred yards after leaving the gate in the notch I met with another near the top of Coressus. This one remains perfect. Want of time, and fears caused by a few armed men lingering about in the brush, prevented us from going farther.

Going now to the mouth of the Stadium, let us pass from thence toward the harbor, the north edge of which lies ten degrees south of west. We leave the Serapion to the right, and make our way over enormous quantities of crumbling ruins. In our course we meet with a little ruined structure, which from the disposition of overturned columns about it must have been circular in form. The guides called it the Tomb of St. John. Near by this was a very great granite basin many feet in diameter, which may have belonged to a fountain.

Having come to the north-east corner of the reedy marsh which the harbor now is, I found it impossible to traverse it by reason of mire and water. It is thickly covered with tall reeds.

By bending these down beneath the feet it was possible to walk out a short distance from the edge. Every-where I did so I found great blocks of marble and fragments of marble columns rising above the mud, in many cases concealed by reeds. How far out this state of things continued I was not able to ascertain. Being the dry season, I was at first at a loss to account for the abundance of water standing in this morass. But as I passed westward along its north edge a couple of hundred yards I met with a most copious fountain—the only one I found or could learn of it in that part of the plain. The water boils up from the bottom of a little pond it forms, and from this a large stream leads quietly into the morass. The fountain supplies enough water for a city. About it are great quantities of fractured marble, formerly parts of buildings. It is marked B on the map. East and west of it, at A A, are a couple of slightly elevated places, each comprising several acres, strewn with bits of worked marble. In one of these, and one only, a pit had been dug twelve to fifteen feet in depth. A column about two feet in diameter, and ten or twelve feet in length, was standing upright in it. These tracts are above the level of the surrounding plain. Along this north side of the harbor I stepped out on the reeds into the edge, and found large blocks of marble and fragments of columns protruding from the mud. At one point I found the bases of five fluted columns rising to the level of the marsh. In two or three cases portions of the columns remained. They were fluted, and about three feet in diameter, and stood about fifteen or twenty feet apart on a line parallel to the edge of the morass. I passed down westward of the harbor, and endeavored to cross the canal leading in that direction from it, but it was too full of mire. This will terminate our survey of the actual ruins of Ephesus, and the topographical features which seem to present the most interest.

There remains but one more question, but it is important: Where was the Temple of Diana situated? One would suppose of such a vast and wonderful structure something would be left to mark its site. But so far as can now be seen such is not the case. Partly for this reason, and the vagueness of the accounts of the ancients, the most skillful antiquaries have been baffled, and, so far as I could learn up to the time of my visit, no reliable trace of it had been discovered.

Whatever differences in opinion may exist as to the precise site, all, or almost all, would place it somewhere west or north-west of Prion, with the exception of Mr. Wood. This gentleman, throwing away, as it seems to me, every help but one, is searching for the temple east and north-west of Prion. At the time of my visit he was excavating two thirds of the way from Prion toward Ayasalouk, in the level plain. I was not so fortunate as to see him, but learned he was guided solely by an inscription he had discovered which was understood to point in that direction. If it be admitted that the city proper extended on the east and north-east of Prion, the success of the search in that direction would be probable. But did the city mentioned by Pliny and Strabo lie on the north-east and east of Prion? I think not, for the following reasons: (1.) The mass of existing ruins to-day are to the west and south of Prion, and there only. (2.) The direction of the walls on Coressus and Prion, and the position of such gates as can be determined, show all on the north and east of Prion, or nearly so, to have been outside of the walls, and therefore out of the city proper. It is true, Mr. Wood has found remains along the east and north of Prion, and out in the plain toward Ayasalouk. But the first seems to be wholly sepulchral, leading in one case from the triple gate along the east base, in the other from the rear of the Stadium along the north base of Prion. These were two sepulchral ways outside the city, as the Ceramicus at Athens was, or the Appian Way leading south from the city of Rome. As to the second, I saw nothing but the remains of inconsiderable houses, such as might even now compose a village. In no one instance did I see any but the commonest remains in the excavations north-east of Prion. (3.) As to the position of the city in relation to Prion, Strabo says, (Book XIV, chap. i-iv): "The Mount Prion was called Lepre Acta. It overhangs the present city, and has on it a portion of the wall. Even now the farms at the back of Prion retain the name, in Opistholepria. . . . Smyrna, (first name of Ephesus,) therefore, was situated near the present gymnasium, at the back of the present city, but between Tracheia and Lepre Acta."

On this we may notice: (1.) Prion now, as formerly, overhangs to the east the vast remains west of it. (2.) It "has on it a portion of the walls" now. (3.) The statement about

"farms" or "fields" at the "back of Prion," or behind it, can be interpreted only one way. On the east of Prion there are fields now. On the west, owing to the nature of the ground, I do not see how there ever could have been. Then it is easy to understand how the implied front or face of Prion should be the west, which had in it the theater and Stadium, and which looked toward the harbor and sea. But how the east side should be called the front is not clear. Indeed, the present remains and the testimony of Strabo conspire to place the city west of Prion. If this be so, and the temple was not more than a *stadium* from the city, we must place it west or north of Prion. But there are no remains whatever to the north of Prion at the distance of a *stadium* from it, so far as I could see. If you go eastward of Prion, or the length of a *stadium* from the city wall on its top, it would hardly take you on to the low or marshy ground on which it is said the temple was built. To place it south of Prion is out of the question, since there is no marshy ground there. To place it south-west would inevitably bring it within the city. These considerations limit us to the west and north-west. In this direction most authorities would place it. Mr. Hamilton ("Researches in Asia Minor," vol. ii, pp. 23–25) fixes on the gigantic mass of ruins east of the harbor, sometimes called the arsenal or the custom-house. But in that position the temple would have been within, instead of without, the city limits. The explicit statement among ancient writers is, the temple was at least the distance of a *stadium* from the city. It could not have been anywhere east of the harbor and satisfy this requirement. The only other place it could have been is north of the city or harbor--out in the plain.

We would be inclined to place it north of the harbor somewhere for the following reasons:

1. Because, so far as now can be seen, this was outside of the city, as the statements of Strabo require, and yet may have been quite near enough to satisfy the requirements of the case.

2. Because it would be in sight of the theater, Stadium, and almost the entire city from the harbor and sea, and would command a view of almost the entire plain of Ephesus, and of all the surrounding approaches but the Magnesian.

3. It would be on the marshy plain, as the accounts require.

So indeed it would have been where Mr. Wood is digging, and in many other parts of the plain. Placed in this situation it would be more likely to agree with Pliny's statement, (Book II, chap. lxxxvii,) that "the sea washed the walls of the Temple of Diana," than if farther east.

4. Because the quantity of *debris* at the spots marked A A is very considerable. Strange enough, these have not been excavated, except in the single case already mentioned, in which a column was found in a pit. The fact that large remains do not exist there cannot be adduced as proof that the temple was not there. The choice character of the materials would lead to their removal to other places. It is well known materials were transported from Ephesus, after its ruin, even to Constantinople. This would explain the absence of visible remains. Being nearer the sea than other great structures would partly explain why the material of the temple was removed more completely than that of other structures. But if such remains as comport with the character of the temple have not been found where we have indicated, neither have they been found elsewhere. Whether the site be the true one or not can never be determined except by thorough excavation. But one pit has been dug on the north side of the harbor, so far as I was able to see.

5. Because it is said marble was found near the place where the temple was built. Mr. Dennis, English Consul for Crete, and myself sought for marble diligently both in Coressus and Prion, and found none so good as at the north-west corner of the latter hill, especially in the little eminences marked 24 on the map. Here, and here only, did we find good marble fit for such a structure.

6. There seems to have been a fountain (Hypelæus) near the temple. The only fountain of any magnitude in the vicinity of Prion is the one marked *B*, north of the harbor. It is very copious, and, though I visited Ephesus in the dry season, it afforded enough water to supply a city. Such a fountain could not have been without a name. There is no reason to doubt this is Hypelæus or Alitea. It will be remembered abundance of water was a desideratum in a temple service so great as that of Diana. It is true, water might have been brought by means of aqueducts; but this was never done

only to supply the deficiency or absence of regular fountains. The only difficulty, in fact, (aside from Mr. Wood's inscription, whatever that may be,) which stands against this view is found in Strabo's statement, in relation to a place called Tracheia, which seems to have been not far from the site of the temple. His account seems to require we should place Tracheia on the east of Prion. (Book XIV, chap. i–iv.) But it may be doubted whether the Tracheia mentioned at the place cited is the same as the one referred to in relation to the temple. Certainly the rough rocky tract lying between Prion and the supposed temple site would merit the name, which signifies "roughness," as does none other in the vicinity of Prion, unless we include under the term large mountain districts.

After a careful survey of the facts in the case, we conclude, unless Mr. Wood has some most positive and reliable testimony, that the temple stood north of the harbor, as the most appropriate place in view of the facts of its history. We await with considerable confidence the verdict of future antiquarian research. There is one fact, if it be such, of essential service in finding the site. It is said to have been founded on charcoal and fleeces of wool firmly beaten together. The known indestructible character of charcoal, when buried beneath the soil, would lead us to expect it would be found.

But, whatever conclusion the traveler may reach as to the site of the temple or other points in the archæology or topography of this renowned spot, he will hardly be able to resist the powerful lesson learned as to the comparative value and durability of things. Who, living in St. Paul's day, could have supposed this great city would have been so utterly ruined and deserted, that even the traces of her renowned temple "and her magnificence should be destroyed, whom all Asia and the world worshiped?" What so likely, then, as that all these things should endure, while the voice of the single man, raised up in behalf of truth, should be lost and forgotten in the babel of voices that proclaimed, "about the space of two hours, Great is Diana of the Ephesians?" But to-day is the truth stranger than fiction. The city has long since been utterly ruined, its theaters and Stadium deserted, its harbor an impassable marsh, its magnificent public buildings crumbling and shapeless heaps, overgrown with weeds, and the site of its temple a matter of

conjecture; while the work and influence of the lone man, mighty in nothing but a gifted mind swayed by the deepest and most powerful of impulses, and mighty in the TRUTH, has widened and will widen continually, to be measured only at the throne of the judgment.

ART. VIII.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES, AND OTHERS OF THE HIGHER PERIODICALS.

American Quarterly Reviews.

BAPTIST QUARTERLY, January, 1871. (Philadelphia.)—1. The Physiological Method of Mental Philosophy. 2. Modern Greece. 3. The Realm of Faith. 4. Religion and Astronomy. 5. Tertullian on the Rite of Baptism. 6. Exegesis of John i, 16. 7. The Scriptural Theory of Ministerial Education. 8. Exegetical Studies.

BIBLICAL REPERTORY AND PRINCETON REVIEW, January, 1871. (New York.)—1. Quarterly Reviews: their Province and Function. 2. Responsibility of Society for the Causes of Crime. 3. Proposed Revision of the English Bible. 4. The Philosophy of Civil Punishment. 5. Preaching the Gospel to the Poor. 6. Jonathan Dickinson and Dickinson Hall. 7. The True Sources of Literary Inspiration. 8. The Theology Taught and Preached by Christ. 9. The Temporal Power of the Pope.

BIBLIOTHECA SACRA, January, 1871. (Andover.)—1. Protestant Sisterhoods as they exist in Germany, and as they may be organized in the United States. 2. St. Patrick and the Primitive Irish Church. 3. The Incarnation. 4. What Can Be Done for Augmenting the Number of Christian Ministers? 5. The Decline of the Religious Sentiment. 6. Cicero, and Remarks on the Ciceronian Style. 7. Origin and Significance of Jewish Sacrifices.

CHRISTIAN QUARTERLY, January, 1871. (Cincinnati.)—1. What is Sectarianism? 2. The Genuineness and Authenticity of the Gospels. 3. "Classic Baptism." 4. Indolent Preachers. 5. Fiction.

EVANGELICAL QUARTERLY REVIEW, January, 1871. (Gettysburgh.)—1. The Review. 2. Systematic Benevolence. 3. The History of Protestant Theology. 4. Socrates and Arnold; or, The Ancient and Modern Teacher. 5. Method of Studying the English Language. 6. Reason Not a Rule of Faith. 7. The Relation of the Sunday-School to the Church. 8. Prof. Dr. J. T. Beck, of Tubingen, and his Views of the Word of God. 9. The Codex Sinaiticus. 10. American Colleges. 11. Book of Worship.

MERCERSBURG REVIEW, January, 1871. (Philadelphia.)—1. Education. 2. The Sacramental Energies of the Church, the Higher Miracles of Grace. 3. The Pericopes; or, Selections of Gospels and Epistles for the Church Year—No. 3. 4. Frederick Schleiermacher. 5. The Western Liturgy. 6. The Priestly Element in the Christian Ministry. 7. The Infancy of Christ.

NEW ENGLAND HISTORICAL AND GENEALOGICAL REGISTER AND ANTIQUARIAN JOURNAL, January, 1871. (Boston.)—1. William Plumer, Sen. 2. Fimp of Zekill Curtis? 3. Letters of Rev. John White and Thomas Jefferson. 4. "More Passengers for New England." 5. Notes on Early Ship-building in Massachusetts. 6. Thomas Bird and Some of his Descendants. 7. Bibliography of the Local History of Massachusetts. 8. A Home of the Olden Time. 9. Rev. Giles Firmin. 10. Marriages in Dover, N. H., 1667–87. 11. Early Settlers in Exeter,

N. H. 12. First Record-Book of First Church in Charlestown, Mass. 13. Fosters of Charlestown, Mass. 14. Documents Relating to the Colonial History of Connecticut. 15. The War of the Regulators in North Carolina, 1768–71.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, January, 1871. (Boston.)—1. The Aborigines of Nova Scotia. 2. The Government and the Railroad Corporations. 3. Mining Schools in the United States. 4. The Civil-Service Reform. 5. Prussia and Germany. 6. Modern Architecture. 7. Pope.

UNIVERSALIST QUARTERLY, January, 1871. (Boston.)—1. Religion in its Relation to Art. 2. The Hebrew New Testament. 3. British India. 4. Dr. Williamson's Rudiments. 5. Origen as a Defender of Christianity. 6. The Ministry of the Holy Spirit in the Work of Salvation.

SOUTHERN REVIEW, January, 1871. (Baltimore: Poisal & Roszell. London: Trubner & Co.)—1. The Suffering and the Salvation of Infants. 2. Pathetic Poetry. 3. Madagascar: its Rapid Progress. 4. New England and Secession. 5. Marriage and Divorce. 6. American Education. 7. The Reviewers Reviewed. 8. The Beauty of the Universe. A Poem.

The "Southern Review," edited by Albert T. Bledsoe, author of the Theodicy, has been adopted as its organ by the Southern Methodist Church, and the editor, heretofore an Episcopalian, has become a member and an ordained minister of that Church. By this felicitous adjustment that Review secures, we trust, a permanent existence, and the Church South acquires at once a very able Quarterly. Dr. Bledsoe, however, firmly declines to eliminate the political element from his Quarterly, and so the Church South, which has not only made an ostentatious display of being a non-political Church, but has elaborately made the fictitious charge upon our non-sectional Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States of being a political Church, floats at its mast-head a bold partisan political banner. The banner and the Church alike bear a sectional title.

For our own part we should profoundly object to belonging to a "political Church." We fully indorse the sentiment, though we do not admire the phraseology, of the sentence quoted in this Review, (p. 115,) "A clergyman preaching party politics merits less attention than the meanest of his race." The Church and ministry, while they have nothing to do, as such, with secular questions, are to maintain religious and moral truth irrespective of political parties, and whether any political party maintains or opposes it or not. As a Church, we approve no party except as that party sustains the cause of truth and righteousness.

Dr. Bledsoe furnishes an able article on Infant Damnation, tracing the doctrine from its original author, Augustine, to Luther and Calvin, and thence into the formularies of the An-

glican Church. It was the existence of that doctrine in those formularies which obliged Dr. Bledsoe years ago in conscience to retire from the ministry of that Church. In striking from our Twenty-five Articles the doctrine that Original Sin renders every man deserving of eternal death, Dr. Bledsoe declares that John Wesley struck a powerful blow at Infant Damnation. Yet *nobody*, he thinks, has heard the blow; and Dr. Bledsoe *now* intends that the blow shall be heard. We bid him Godspeed in his exposition of the subject, but would simply hint that the blow has not been inaudible because his ears have failed to audit it. It is from a general unacquaintance with the past of Methodism, and perhaps from a slight defect of modesty, that Dr. Bledsoe imagines that our protest against this item of Calvinism was a *nihil* until his advent into our system. To press this point of Infant Damnation beyond measure has, to some minds, a slightly sensational aspect. Infant Damnation is a logical necessity in the doctrine of predestination; for that doctrine teaches that the predestinating decree is irrespective of *any thing* in the creature, and so irrespective of innocence or age. The decree is without antecedent foresight, foreknowledge, or regard of the possible or prospective individual, and allows him no chance of evading or deserving its fatal power. Now such a decree, predetermining the character itself, and fixing the destiny to the character decreed, is just as barbarous upon an adult as an infant. Its crude cruelty is just as execrable whether the victim be six feet high and sixty years old, or six inches and six hours. But Dr. Bledsoe's promised volume on this subject will be welcomed, and doubtless make itself powerfully felt.

The article on "New England and Secession," founded on the biographies of William Plumer and Josiah Quincey, exposes the disunionism prevalent in the early history of New England. Some of our readers may recollect that in book-noticing the latter work we explicitly said that Josiah Quincey was in a part of his career a factionist and a "copperhead," and that Northern disunionism was no better than Southern. Secession, or rather revolutionary withdrawal, was, through a large part of the period from Jefferson's Embargo to the close of the War of 1812, a New England Federalist heresy. Many a member of that party desired to embarrass the National Government in the war, and

rejoiced at our defeats. It is equally true that our Northern National or Democratic party, and nearly the whole South, considered them *traitors and rebels*, and upon any overt act of revolt by them committed, whether as States or individuals, would, if possible, have promptly and rightly hung them for treason. Such being the case, we would advise both parties, as far as possible, to balance accounts, blot out the hostile past, and plan a present and future of national peace and prosperity.

Of the present Republican party the writer speaks in the following amiable terms: "There is another fact that these pages, taken in connection with recent history, bring out most prominently: That the recently formed Republican party is a compound of all the mean and intolerant principles of the old Federalist party, with an exchange of all its virtues or conservative traits for all the vices of the old Republican or, as it was afterward called, Democratic party. It is the compound of all the vices of both of the old parties, with not one of the virtues of either."

Taking into view the fact that eight tenths of the scholars and well-read men, eight tenths of the members of the Protestant evangelical Churches, nineteen twentieths of the temperance men, and the great body of the evangelical ministry are in the Republican party at the North, even a candid Southern reader must pronounce this a very uncandid statement. While nine tenths of the rum-sellers and saloon-keepers, nineteen twentieths of the Irish papists, the great body of the gamblers, pickpockets, and blacklegs vote the opposite ticket, we think there are few Christian and intelligent Southerners that do not feel some misgivings at linking their destinies with such a party. Christian people, both North and South, have a common cause. They have a common moral interest. The Southern Methodists dread the dominion of popery just as do we the Northern; and yet they are being led by their politicians to sustain its advancing supremacy. They dread the dominion of the rum-shop as we, and yet they are placed in inseparable alliance with the rum-sellers. And so reflective Southern Christians cannot but feel that they are in a false position when they find themselves arrayed against Northern Christians and strangely sustaining the great mass of abuses and abominations that threaten the age.

This article is written with the not very laudable purpose of inspiring its Southern readers with the deepest spirit of sectional hate and hostility. The diabolical prayer of the old bigot, *O Domine, me imple odio hereticorum*, with the substitution of *Puritanorum*, would quite fit the lips of its bitter and narrow-minded writer.

In far manlier style and spirit the writer (or, more probably, *speaker*, as the piece appears to be a college address) of the article on *American Education*, after giving the Southern (unsound) version of the grounds of our late civil war, and eloquently denying the action of the South to have been "Rebellion—foul, dishonoring word!" says:

"Whatever betide, recollect that this is still our country, and that the men who have beaten us are still, in some sort, our brethren. We are again living together under the same government; and government is one of those practical things which we must attend to whether we will or not. It touches us at too many points to render it possible for us to ignore it. What, under these circumstances, is our duty, as well as our interest? Is it not to cultivate peace and good-will toward those with whom we have been lately at strife? In the course of this paper we have spoken more than once of the Greek people. We have shown how brightly the fire of patriotism burned in their bosoms, and of what great sacrifices they were capable for the public good. The Greeks were not exempt from the common lot of humanity. They had many and bitter civil wars; one of them, the Peloponnesian war, lasting through an entire generation. These enlightened people were as magnanimous, and as oblivious of injuries, as they were brave. It was one of their beautiful customs never to build a monument of a material more durable than wood to commemorate a victory won by Greek over Greek. While elegant shafts of the purest Pentelican marble shot up to heaven to perpetuate the fame of the victories which they had won over the Persians, nothing but a stake or a tablet of wood told where Greek had shed the blood of his brother Greek. If our patriotism burned brightly in the dark days of our trial, so did that of the Greek; if our beloved country has been ravaged by fire and sword, so was the country of the Greek; and yet the Greek forgave his brother Greek, and, when the war was over, renewed friendly

intercourse with his late enemy, and set himself at work to remedy the evils which war had done. The people who have set us this Christian example were heathens. Shall we, then, who are Christians, refuse to follow it? In consenting to bury animosities, it is by no means necessary that we should do violence to our memories, or to any of our cherished feelings or principles. On the contrary, let us store away in the most sacred recesses of our hearts the history of that eventful struggle in which we staked life, liberty, and property for the preservation of free institutions in this, our native land. That struggle has conferred immortal honor upon our name and race, and consigned to the sarcophagus of true glory the ashes of some of the best and noblest of men. If we lost our cause, we lost it through sheer exhaustion, against which human nature could no longer struggle; and if we have furled the conquered banner, we have furled it with reverent and pious hands, as solicitous of its fame as if it had been the banner of success, and have consigned it to the keeping of our heavenly Father who doeth all things aright.

> "'Furl that banner! true, 'tis gory,
> Yet 'tis wreathed around with glory,
> And 'twill live in song and story
> Though its folds are in the dust;
> For its fame, on brightest pages,
> Shall go sounding down through ages,
> Furl its folds though now we must.
> Furl that banner! softly! slowly!
> Furl it gently, it is holy,
> For it droops above the dead.'"—Pp. 164, 165.

If the "Southern Review" would cultivate that noble spirit it would meet a hearty response from nearly all sects and parties North.

AMERICAN PRESBYTERIAN REVIEW, January, 1871. (New York.)—1. The Ancient Oracles, or the Primitive Greek Religion. 2. The Sphere of Civil Law in Social Reform. 3. The "Social Contract" and Maine's Ancient Law. 4. Calvinism in the English Reformation. 5. The Order of Salvation. 6. "Hopkinsianism before Hopkins." 7. The Dead Sea. 8. Ministerial Relief.

The subject of due support for the Christian ministry is at the present time receiving large attention both within and without the Church. Article eighth presents some forcible views on the subject. We produce some of its points:

SALARIES.—"*The ratio of salaries to the cost of living is less*

than it was ten years ago. The former has increased about *fifty* per cent., and the latter full *one hundred.* Our city ministers receive large salaries in many cases, but they are all absorbed, and more besides, by enormous rents and the enormous cost of living, and the extra benevolent calls made upon them; while in the country, not only in parts adjacent to cities, but throughout the rural districts, the general extension of railways and other causes have greatly and permanently increased the necessaries of life and more nearly equalized the cost of living. In numerous instances the country Pastor now needs as large a salary as the city, and in the majority of cases as large as would have sufficed for the city thirty years ago. . . . 'There is no other class of men among us so *poorly paid* as our clergymen. *Their average pay is only a little more than half the pay of skilled mechanical labor.* According to Commissioner Wells's Report, the price of trained mechanical labor ranges from $3 50 to $8 per day. Average it at $4, and the mechanic receives for 313 working days $1,252, while the clergyman, who has expended from five to eight years, and from $3,000 to $5,000 on his education, and who works 365 days in the year, gets $700 or less!'"*—Pp. 144, 146.

Life Insurance Fact.—"The Protestant clergy of this country number 61,000, and less than 7,000 of them have ever been able to avail themselves, even in the humblest way, of life insurance, now so generally adopted by all classes as the best known means of providing for future years. Of the 2,000,000,000 thus invested by 750,000 of our citizens, probably less than $14,000,000 belong to the clergy."—P. 145.

Immense Sacrifice Made by Men of Talent.—"The Rev. Albert Barnes brings out this point forcibly in some remarks he made in the Ministers' Association of Philadelphia in reference to the late lamented Dr. Thomas Brainerd: 'Dr. Brainerd could have made $12,000 a year by the law as easily as he could make $2,000, [his salary was $2,000,] therefore he has given $10,000 *a year for the privilege of preaching the Gospel.* He was entering on his career with every prospect of the most brilliant success, and with a moral certainty of reaching the highest eminence in his profession. Had he continued to devote himself to the law, long ere this time he would have

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* Quoted from Doc. 2 of Society for Promoting Life Insurance among Clergymen

been in the first rank in that profession. But the heart of the young lawyer was changed by the grace of God, and he resolved at once to abandon his chosen profession.' 'Not long since a minister, at the close of a thirty years' pastorate, told his people that it had cost him $20,000 out of his private purse, and yet he ministered to a wealthy people. A Presbyterian Pastor in New Jersey, at the end of six years, when the loss of health from overwork compelled him to cease for years all mental labor, found that he had paid out of his private means $3,000, half as much as his entire salary for the period amounted to, and yet his Church was one of the largest and most liberal in the State. His labors were greatly blessed to them, nearly two hundred being added to the membership. Many thousands during his pastorate were expended in enlarging and beautifying their sanctuary, and thousands besides were yearly given to the cause of Christian benevolence, and still the *Pastor from his slender patrimony was left to pay one half as much as the whole congregation* paid for his support.' "*—Pp. 142, 143.

Inability to Buy Books.—"The 'pews' were never more exacting on the 'pulpit' both as to matter and manner. It is a reading, thinking, inquiring and skeptical age. A minister needs not only a thorough education to start with, but all the available helps which the current thought and investigation afford. He needs a generous supply of new books, papers, and periodicals every year. They are not simply a luxury to him, but a necessity. He cannot make 'bricks' without 'straw,' he cannot be 'thoroughly furnished' for his work, be a growing man, produce year by year fresh, sound, vigorous, instructive sermons, and meet the demands of his people, unless he has the means to increase his library with some, at least, of the standard works which are continually produced. But, alas! they are beyond his reach. He sighs for them, but he has not the means to buy them. He is mentally starved, and his people too, while the book-shelves of our publishers groan under the weight of mental food. His study walls are bare. It is not made attractive to him, and a place of new inspirations by the presence of the great masters of thought. After ten or twenty years in the ministry he could put his entire library into a wheel-

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* Quoted from Doc. 2 of Society for Promoting Life Insurance among Clergymen.

barrow. This is literally true of hundreds of our Pastors to-day. During the last ten years they have not been able to add ten new works to their scanty stock. Not over one third of our 4,500 ministers are able so much as to take either of the two denominational *Reviews* which are published—some of them not even a religious paper. We know whereof we affirm—know more than is for our peace of mind on this painful point. A ten years' effort in a humble way to afford them aid in this line has furnished us with a mass of facts that would scarcely be believed if we were to give them to the public."—P. 140.

English Reviews.

British and Foreign Evangelical Review, February, 1871. (London.)—1. Our Relations to Faith and Science. 2. On Canonicity. 3. The Catholicity of the Church. 4. The Regeneration of Spain. 5. The Conscience in Shakspeare. 6. War, Humanity, and the Gospel in our Day. 7. The Catholic Doctrine of the Atonement. 8. Palestine Exploration and the Moabite Stone. 9. Hugh Miller.

British Quarterly Review, January, 1871. (London.)—1. The American Press. 2. Royal Commission on International Coinage. 3. The Malmesbury Papers. 4. The Explorations in Palestine. 5. The Early Sieges of Paris. 6. The Established Church in Wales. 7. The Greek New Testament of Dr. Tregelles. 8. The War of 1870.

London Quarterly Review, January, 1871. (London.)—1. Dickens. 2. German Philosophy and Political Life. 3. Williamson's North China. 4. Burton's History of Scotland. 5. Newman's Grammar of Assent. 6. Arnot's Life of James Hamilton. 7. The Moabite Stone. 8. The Church Congress at Southampton. 9. The Elementary Education Act, 1870.

London Quarterly Review, January, 1871. (New York: Reprint. Leonard Scott, 140 Fulton-street.)—1. Our National Defenses. 2. Modern Whist. 3. Count Bismarck, Prussia, and Pan-Teutonism. 4. The Revenues of India. 5. The Invasion of France. 6. Lives of the Lord Chancellors of Ireland. 7. French Patriotic Songs. 8. Cathedral Life and Cathedral Work. 9. Political Lessons of the War.

North British Review, January, 1871. (New York: Reprint. Leonard Scott, 140 Fulton-street.)—1. Provençal Versification. 2. The Borgias and their Latest Historian. 3. The Idealism of Berkeley and Collier. 4. Mr. Tennyson's Poetry. 5. The Sects of the Russian Church. 6. Commercial Crises. 7. History of Irish Education.

The unexpected announcement having been received that the *North British Review* will be discontinued after the present number, the enterprising American republishers, Leonard Scott & Co., give notice that the *British Quarterly* will take its place in their list of four English Quarterly Reviews.

The following extracts indicate the programme of the *British Quarterly:*

"Twenty-five years since, Dr. Vaughan had come to the conclusion that the Nonconformists of England had grown to a numerical strength and were possessed of literary resources that would justify the establishment of a first-class quarterly review." "The theological principles of *The British Quarterly* were, in its first prospectus, indicated generally as being in harmony with those of Watts and Doddridge. Congregational Nonconformists demur to Church creeds and authoritative formularies, as being mere human conceptions of Divine truth, and as imposing limitations alike upon the truth itself and upon freedom of Christian thought concerning it. Even those formularies which may the more perfectly express their own convictions have, they think, their proper place in the past history of theological thought, not in its present rule. Hence these honored names are used, not as theological authorities to whom submission is due, but only as well-known exponents of evangelical theology, whose mention may indicate generally a theological position. Such is still the theology of this Journal. *The British Quarterly* will continue to avail itself of all the methods of discovering truth which advancing science may provide; and, whatever the consequences, will frankly accept all the indubitable conclusions both of science and of moral truth. It will, as it has ever done, strive to lift great questions concerning the supernatural out of the arena of sectarian tradition, prejudice, and passion, and to discuss them in the calm light of reason, conscience, and history. It claims for theological science only the conditions claimed by all science—that its facts, its principles, and its claims be examined and determined upon their own proper evidence. It will refuse to silence reason under pretense of doing honor to revelation, but it will also refuse to surrender any sacred thing at the dogmatic demand of rationalistic assumption or of scientific sciolism." "*The British Quarterly* does not profess to be a theological journal, but to inculcate principles of freedom and truth in all departments of human life. Recognizing as the handmaids of religion, and as ministers of high and noble things in the manifold life of man, history and travel, science and art, poetry and fiction, politics and philosophy, works that in themselves are worthy in any of these departments, and of whatever school of thought, will receive general critical notices,

and will be judged with as much generosity as is compatible with fidelity."

During our civil war the *British Quarterly* was noted for its unscrupulous, and often profoundly ignorant, assaults upon our national cause. With the retirement of Dr. Vaughan, who was evidently in his dotage, the temper toward our country underwent a wholesome change. The following paragraph in their announcement indicates an increase of wisdom:

"We avow our most hearty and brotherly sympathy with our American brethren. No word, save of generous recognition, construction, and sympathy, will, we trust, ever be found upon our page. When we think them wrong we shall frankly tell them so; their rebukes, we trust, we shall receive with meekness. Upon America and England the future freedom and religion of the world chiefly depend. Nothing will be wanting on our part to avert all causes of alienation, and to draw closer together all bonds of sympathy."

The only bitter attack on Wesley we have observed in the notices of "Tyerman's Wesley" by the secular quarterlies of England is found in the dying *North British*. The Westminster's notice is eulogy compared with it. We give a single extract:

"Southey has passed a strong censure on Wesley's intemperate language in his controversy with Bishop Lavington, who had compared the enthusiasm of Methodists and Papists. Mr. Tyerman remarks that the Bishop 'deserved all he got,' and speaks of him as 'a buffooning bishop' and a 'cowardly calumniator.' (Vol. ii, pp. 94, 158.) As those who trust to Mr. Tyerman's pages will have no idea whatever of the real strength of the Bishop's argument, which Southey regards as in the main triumphant, it may be well briefly to explain Mr. Tyerman's two epithets. Bishop Lavington, in the first of his three treatises on the subject, made excerpts from some of the most offensive passages in Whitefield's and Wesley's writings, but especially in Whitefield's, and contrasted them with parallel extracts from the writings of Catholic mystics and the lives of the Saints. 'In the morning,' Whitefield had said, 'I talked with God in the garden as a man talketh with his friend;' and again, 'I sweetly leaned on my Saviour's bosom and sucked out of the breasts of his consolation.' Wesley had said

in one place, 'It was revealed to me that nothing grieved Satan so much as the private societies;' and in another, 'My soul was got up into the Holy Mount.' He had practiced the lot in emergencies: 'I desired my Master to answer for me, and opened his book.' Passages only a little less offensive and absurd than these may be extracted literally by the dozen from Wesley's and Whitefield's writings. Nothing can be conceived more alien from the spirit of the Anglican Church, in which both were ministers; and it is difficult to understand how they could be exposed except by ridicule. Wesley, in his very first answer, denounces the Bishop as a 'buffoon,' and talks of his 'fool's coat.' The 'cowardly calumnies' which the Bishop brought were two. He said that he was informed from Ireland that a passage from one of his Episcopal charges, so garbled as to make him appear a favorer of Methodism, had been printed in Cork by Charles Wesley, and circulated, after he had denounced it as false. Wesley replied that the tract in question had been printed at Dublin, not at Cork, and was not issued by Charles Wesley; and he wound up by insinuating that after all it was very likely accurate. The reply, it will be observed, left the point of a false publication under Wesleyan superintendence substantially untouched, and only showed that the informants on whom the Bishop relied had been inaccurate in details. A more serious question related to Wesley's personal character. The Bishop charged him with having told the wife of a Cornish innkeeper that she was already damned if she was not sure of her salvation, of having hinted that she ought not to charge him for lodging, as the Apostles were entertained without cost, and of having put indecent questions to a servant-girl in the house. To Wesley's flat denial the Bishop responded by producing the testimony of his Chancellor, his Archdeacon, and a beneficed clergyman, who had heard the woman and her husband make the statements in question. Wesley was no doubt innocent of all but the gross want of tact which accompanied him through life; and the woman partially retracted her charges before witnesses whom he took there. But he was compelled to admit that Lavington had authority for his statements; and his only triumph in the matter was in pointing out an inaccuracy in the Bishop's first version of the story, which professed merely

to be on hearsay, and in which the first and second charges were mixed up together. No one will defend the Bishop's carelessness in a matter affecting personal reputation; but if Mr. Tyerman is justified in characterizing this mistake as 'a flagrant falsehood,' he is not justified in omitting to notice the thoroughness of 'the Bishop of Exeter's answer.'

"The publication of a biography written in this spirit is only to be deplored. From its warm party coloring it is not unlikely to achieve a certain popularity; and from its fullness it may give an impression of adequacy, and for a time close the path to a more competent writer; but it is not even just to the man whom the writer idolizes. Wesley had many faults of temperament, and the details of his private life are often petty and contemptible beyond the ordinary experiences even of religious psychology. But there was withal a real greatness about it, a thirst for action, an utter recklessness of opposition, and a power to organize, which enabled him to leave his mark upon his age, while many men of larger brains were powerless to influence it for good or evil. Into all this Mr. Tyerman gives no insight."—Pp. 297, 298.

EDINBURGH REVIEW, January, 1871. (New York: Leonard Scott, 140 Fulton-street.)—1. France. 2. Lives of Rossini and Berlioz. 3. Business of the House of Commons. 4. Kaye's History of the Sepoy War. Vol. II. 5. Facts and Fables at the Admiralty. 6. Laugel's Problems of Nature and Life. 7. The Foreign Relations of China. 8. The Military Forces of the Crown. 9. Morris's Earthly Paradise. 10. The Treaties of 1856 and 1867.

The article on *Laugel's Problems of Nature and Life* is a general history of the present results of science on the questions of Force, Matter, and Life. On the last point we give the following extracts:

"There yet remain certain powers in the world of creation which, whatever their affinities to those already named, require to be regarded apart, namely, the Vital Forces, and the Force of Volition. In the first of these terms we indicate that mysterious agency which gives form, function, and hereditary succession to all living organizations of the earth, affording to science problems of supreme interest and supreme difficulty. The notion of a *vital principle* has been rejected by many physiologists as unproved and needless. But here, again, it is the old conflict of words. That there is some power or force, call it what we will, working upon matter as its subject or

instrument in the creation and maintenance of the various forms of life; and that this power, however connected, has its own special character, cannot be denied without casting off at once all that our senses as well as reason teach us. The simple fact of the transmission of hereditary likeness through successive generations is in itself a volume of argument on the subject. To say that a *nisus*, or force, or forces, inherent in matter itself, can create a series of living beings of definite forms and most complex functions, is either a naked assertion without proof, or a virtual admission of Vital Force under another form of words. The generation of life from life is, and probably ever will be, one of the insoluble mysteries of philosophy. If asked what this Vital Force is, we may answer by the counter question, What is Gravitation? what that force which puts the ether of space into the marvelous motions which we receive as light and heat? These problems are all of the same kind, involving questions with which no present reasoning or conception can cope.

"We come last to a power closely associated with those by which life is engendered, namely, the Force of Volition of the Will, an entity not less real in its action on matter than any of those other unseen powers with which we have been dealing. If, indeed, we phrase the whole question as involving the Origin of Force, there is none so direct and explicit in the relation of antecedents and effects. And there is none of which we have so clear a knowledge through the consciousness of our own powers. Man feels that he has a will; he knows that his physical and moral forces are governed by it, and he concludes that the operation of forces not directed by an intelligent will would lead to the return of chaos. We *will* a certain bodily action, and the action instantly follows, as mechanical in its effects as the fall of a heavy body or the stroke of the steam-hammer. Whatever definition of force be adopted, this comes integrally under it; though the question as to its nature and origin be still wholly unresolved."—Pp. 79, 80.

"An eminent philosopher of our own time* describes Life as 'consisting in the continuous adjustment of internal relations to external relations'—a definition which loses value in its generality. A power of adjustment, indeed, brings us close to that

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* Herbert Spencer.—Ed.

conception of a vital principle which we have just noticed as one of the vexed questions of physiology. We cannot assert on actual proof that Life is engendered by, or engenders, any power or force peculiar to itself. Nevertheless, in recognizing, which we must do, that there is some definite mode of action in living bodies, giving to them forms and properties unknown elsewhere in nature, and transforming known forces so as to appropriate them to the peculiar functions of Life, we virtually admit a special and characteristic power, call it what we will. The facts connected with generation and those of hereditary resemblance are alone sufficient to point to some cause, physical it may be, but not known to us by actual identity or analogy with any other physical power.

"Whence but from some such cause—occult to us—can it be that a single germ or germs, proteine or protoplasm, (the names here signify little,) should evolve, by gradual accretion of matter, the likeness of an anterior being, even in minute peculiarities of form and feature—these same peculiarities, morbid as well as natural, often recurring after one or two generations have been interposed? The animal economy throughout, in its instincts as well as structure, enforces the same conclusion—a negative one it may be called, but it is better to rest in this than to attempt a blind and useless definition. All that can be said is that there *exists something* we do not comprehend. The controversy now going on will continue, because we possess no *crucial* proof, or argument, to close it. In this it is like many other questions similarly contested."—Pp. 86, 87.

As Sir John Lubbock's Prehistoric Times has been republished in this country, the following concluding paragraph of an article on the work in the October Edinburgh is noteworthy:

"We have shown what important problems are opened up by prehistoric archæology, and how it throws light on the chaos which precedes our written records. Does it afford proof or disproof of the progression or degradation of the human race, as it is assumed to do by the advocates of those antagonistic theories? We hold that it does not. The area which it embraces is far too small for any generalization of the kind. At the very time that stone and bone were the only materials known throughout Europe, it is very possible, and indeed very probable, that a higher civilization existed elsewhere; and we

have brought evidence to show that, in the later or Bronze Age of the North, the Etruscans, Phœnicians, and Greeks were flourishing around the shores of the Mediterranean. Sir John Lubbock may possibly be correct in deducing the primeval savage state of man from a comparison of manners and customs of different races at the present day, but his conclusion is not affected one way or the other by an appeal to archæology. We therefore leave this important question to be fought out by the ethnologists. Archæology merely tells us that in Europe there has been a steady progress in the usages and appliances of social life. Man first appeared on the scene as a savage, living by the chase. Then a race of shepherds and tillers of the earth come before us, the introducers of domestic animals into Europe; then the knowledge of bronze gradually crept northward, and a commerce by barter sprang up; and lastly a knowledge of iron, and a commerce carried on by means of a coinage. Thus we are conducted gradually from the remote Geological Past to the borders of History in North and Central Europe."—Pp. 245, 246.

WESTMINSTER REVIEW, January, 1871. (New York: Leonard Scott, 140 Fulton-street.)—1. The Literature of Diabolism and Witchcraft. 2. Professor Grote and the Utilitarian Philosophy. 3. The Poetical Writings of Mr. Dante Gabriel Rossetti. 4. The Social Condition of England under Henry VIII. 5. Sir H. Bulwer's Life of Lord Palmerston. 6. The Future of the Railway in the United States. 7. France and Germany.

The article on Diabolism and Witchcraft gives a running history of those two gloomy superstitions of darker ages, traces their disappearance before the light of advancing science, and takes good care to implicate Christianity in their existence, and to infer the unreality of all supernaturalisms from the history. It canonizes the first eminent skeptic on the subject, Baltazar Bekker, but acknowledges that in the great discussions upon the question a greater amount of learning and ability were displayed in defense of the beliefs than in the assault. It is clear that the science and the law of the former ages were quite as deeply involved in the case as the theology. The writer is quite discouraged to learn, on referring, that Dr. William Smith's Biblical Dictionary, as well as his Students' Bible History, affirms the reality of demoniac possession. A little further reference would have shown him that Bloomfield, Wordsworth, Alford, Dr. Gloag, and the great body of the latest commentators, explicitly do the same. Indeed, they are more unequivocal at the

present day than they were fifty years ago. He is struck with the fact that the last great display of the witchcraft superstition took place in America. He might have been still further struck with the fact that the gravest historians are obliged to state that phenomena did take place at Salem which no science has ever been able to explain.

The following is the Westminster's notice of Julia Wedgwood's book on Wesley:

"It was not many years after the desperate act of Christian, the ring-leader of the mutineers, that the leader of a very different insurrection, John Wesley, ended his long and valuable life; for although he declared to the last that he was a member of the Church of England, yet his denunciation and defiance of its system of government, as evidenced in his American ordinations, and the open schism which was its logical expression, place him unquestionably in the ranks of religious revolutionaries and insurgents. Miss Wedgwood, deeply impressed with the vitality of the system of religion represented by him, has written in an attractive style, and with some felicity of construction and arrangement, not so much a memoir as a biographical estimate of her sainted hero, intended to exhibit his influence on the age in which he lived. Her delineation shows us not only Wesley, but England at the rise of Methodism; carries us from Oxford to America, places us among the Moravians, sketches Wesley in his connection with the community of Count Zinzendorf and with Whitefield, and finally separating both from the Moravians and the great field preacher and eloquent advocate of Calvinistic theology. In other parts of her portraiture, Miss Wedgewood describes the consolidation of Methodism, depicts the opposition of the world and the Church to the new movement, and gives some account of the opening and closing career of the friend and rival of her apostle. Miss Wedgewood comments very sensibly on the violent physical manifestations which were so remarkable a result of Wesley's preachings, attributing them to nervous imitation, unconscious acting, love of sensation, and a distinct physical disorder resembling the dancing mania of the fourteenth century. To Wesley's own personal influence, too, she attributes a residuary portion of these phenomena, ascribing to him a certain impressiveness which, accompanying his representations of the spiritual world,

was capable of producing in those who came within the circle of his spells violent physical effects. For the fairer aspect of Methodism, for the sudden and enduring transformation of character brought about in those who became converts to it, Miss Wedgwood refers us to the exemplary conduct of the little Methodist band which formed part of the contingent that fought at Dettingen and Fontenoy, declaring that the British army under George II. boasted no truer specimens of English manhood than those upright and fearless followers of the pious Wesley."

"The INTELLECTUAL OBSERVER" (England) thus quotes and replies to Professor Tyndall: "The goal of Professor Tyndall's discourse, which he was aiming at all through, is reached when he gives us his views of the origin of life; and, starting with our earth or system in a nebulous form, he says: 'Two views then offer themselves to us—life was present potentially in matter when in the nebulous form, and was unfolded from it by way of natural development, or, it is a principle inserted into another at a later date. . . . The gist of our present inquiry regarding the introduction of life is this: Does it belong to what we call matter, or is it an independent principle inserted into matter at some sensible epoch—say when the physical conditions became such as to permit of the development of life? . . . Did creative energy pause until the nebulous matter had been condensed, until the earth had become detached, until the solar fire had so far withdrawn from the earth's vicinity as to permit a crust to gather round the planet? Did it wait until the air was isolated, until the seas were formed, until evaporation, condensation, and the descent of rain had begun; until the rending forces of the atmosphere had weathered and decomposed the molten rocks so as to form soils; until the sun's rays had become so tempered by distance and waste as to be chemically fit for the decompositions necessary to vegetable life? Having waited through those æons until the proper conditions had set in, did it send the fiat forth, "Let life be?"'

"A little imagination," replies the Observer, "will suffice to show that this is not a fair, in the sense of a full, statement of the question. First, the Professor describes a series of processes conducted by secondary causation, and then he asks,

'Did life arise from these causes, or did a special interposition take place for its introduction under the form of a fiat, "Let it be?"' Scientific evidence is all through in favor of an appeal to secondary causation, not excluding a primary cause, but rather presupposing it; only expecting that the primary cause will be found throughout the system of nature to work in and through what men call *means.*

"Science at present gives us no clue whatever to a reply to the questions, What *is* life? and How did it begin? nor does it show us any beginning of matter or force. If the Professor's imagination leads him to conjecture that thought and emotion, intellect and will, are forces correlative with light, heat, and electricity, ours does not act in that way. We see as yet no symptom of *physical* connection between the two sets of phenomena as relates to their essence or their action. We see that there is *some* connection between nerve-force and mental phenomena, but so long as science cannot explain it, or even give a probable guess concerning it, we prefer a frank confession of ignorance to a depth of insight which is a mere pretense.

"The questions propounded by the Professor go beyond physical science. Before we can advance a step toward their solution we want a clear definition of what life is, what matter is, if it is, and how the forces we call material stand toward those which defy all our physical investigation.

"The introduction of life at a given period may be the admission of a new force or it may not. In either case we think an unchangeable order of nature was most likely observed, but whether Plato and Shakspeare had potential existence in a nebulous particle a long while ago, we are content in the present state of our ignorance to leave to such imaginations as Professor Tyndall may think worth cultivation. Our imagination inclines to view Intelligent Will as the ultimate and only real, as distinguished from phenomenal, force."

On Professor Tyndall's profound queries we suggest:

If God be, as we believe, imminent within the Universe, as well as the Universe in him, if he be the Life of its life, the Soul of its soul, and the Substratum of all its substrata, then admissibly He and the essence of our life were both at the beginning in the Nebula. And then life, though perhaps not a

proper *part* of the nebula, was infolded within it, and then by a divine process *un*folded in due time, or "developed" from it. And the divine "fiat," so called, was not a formula in Hebrew words, but the omnipotent initiation of life at the moment of readiness in the succession of ages. If the nebula itself was eternal, then God is its eternal Creator by its being the eternal effect of his Causation. Life thus evolved by God from the system of matter, yet not itself matter, involves no materialistic conclusions. Even if the human soul can be truly shown to be thus evolved from the corporeal system, materialism does not follow. The soul is still itself uncorporeal, invisible, and survives the corporeal dissolution.

But until "spontaneous generation can be proved to be an ordinary natural process, this initiation of life in the universe is an epochal event. It is presumptively extra the ordinary course of nature; it is a miracle quite as great, perhaps, as revelation ever supposes. We submit that thus Professor Tyndall is answered.

German Reviews.

STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN. (Essays and Reviews.) Second Number, 1871.—*Essays:* 1. HAUPT, The Entrance of Jesus into his Messianic Vocation. 2. KLOSTERMANN, The Song of Moses (Deut. xxxii) and the Deuteronomy. *Thoughts and Remarks:* 1. KRUMMEL, The Forerunners of the Reformation, Wiclif and Huss. 2. SAYCE, On the Destroyer of Samaria. *Reviews:* 1. DELITZSCH, System of Christian Apologetics, reviewed by K. H. Sack. 2. DEWETTE-SCHRADER, Introduction into the Old Testament, reviewed by Adolph Kamphausen. 3. MUCKE, Flavius Claudius Julianus, reviewed by Dr. O. Bindemann. 4. BICKELL, S. Ephraemi Syri Carmina, reviewed by E. Vilmar.

The relation of Wiclif and Huss to the two great medieval schools of theology—the Realists and Nominalists—is a subject which has engaged the attention of many Church historians. Nearly all of them have heretofore been agreed that both forerunners of the great Reformation of the sixteenth century were addicted to the philosophical system of the Realists. This school held that the universal ideas existed before the individual things, (*universalia ante rem;*) that they are the ideas of God, according to which the individual things were created, or the principles of the existence of the individual things; and that, since God is the absolute reality, the universal ideas are the forms of appearance of the absolute reality of God. Applying their philosophical conceptions to theology, the Realists as-

serted the reality or the immediate truth of the dogmatical tenets of the Church, viewing them as the universal ideas which serve as the basis and standard of all human individual conceptions; while the Nominalists, on the contrary, who derived the universal ideas from sensuous perception, and from experience, were inclined to deny the absolute certainty of the doctrines of the Church, and subjected them to the critical examination of the individual thinker. Differing from former Church historians, B. Czerwenka, the author of a recent history of the Evangelical Church in Bohemia, (*Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche in Böhmen.* Bielefeld. 2 vols. 1869–70.) has undertaken to prove that both Wiclif and Huss were Nominalists, and that the Reformation of the sixteenth century was likewise based on the principle of Nominalism. Against this assertion the above mentioned article of Krummel (author of a History of the Bohemian Reformation in the Fifteenth Century) defends the traditional view of the Realistic philosophy of Wiclif and Huss. He endeavors to show that the Nominalistic philosophy, although it tended to undermine the belief in the doctrines of the Church, had but little to do with the Reformation; that its character was predominantly negative and destructive; that it was essentially different from orthodox Protestantism, and that it can only be regarded as the forerunner of the modern systems of Sensualism, Materialism, and Positivism.

ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR HISTORISCHE THEOLOGIE. (Journal for Historical Theology.) Published by Dr. Kahnis. Second Number. 1871.—1. KRUMMEL. Utraquists and Taborites: a contribution to the History of the Bohemian Reformation in the Fifteenth Century. 2. DR. SIEFFERT, Galatia, and its first Christian Congregations.

As Bohemia and Moravia, in consequence of the battle of the White Mountain in 1621, were lost for Protestantism, the fruit of the reformatory movement of the Hussites is usually found almost exclusively in the moral effect which the tragic end of Huss produced at the Council of Constance. The immediate consequences, as they showed themselves in the sects of the Utraquists and Taborites, or in general in the Hussites, were considered as being of less importance, for, although it was not denied that the movement which seized the Bohemian people after the death of Huss had its origin in religious motives, and continued to be considerably influenced by them, this move-

ment, on the whole, was looked upon as a chain of revolutionary and warlike events rather than a reformatory movement. Most Protestant writers find the reason for this in the conduct of Huss himself, who, in their opinion, was not outspoken and bold enough in his opposition to the Roman hierarchy, and therefore lacked one of the most indispensable qualities of a thorough reformer. Even Palacky, in his excellent history of Bohemia, pays but little attention to the religious character of the Hussite movement. Recently Czerwenka, in his history of the Evangelical Church in Bohemia, has shown a more just appreciation of the religious tendencies of the Hussites; but as, even in his works, some important points appear not to have been fully cleared up, the author of the first article in this number of the Journal for Historical Theology, L. Krummel, who has already shown his thorough acquaintance with the subject by a history of the Bohemian reformation, undertakes to elucidate the doctrines and principles of the Utraquists and Taborites. He divides his subject into seven chapters, namely: 1. The origin of the Utraquists and Taborites, 1415–1420; 2. Their original unity and their first differences, 1420–1424; 3. Their conflicts, 1424–1431; 4. The victory of the former over the latter, and the preliminary negotiations of the Bohemians with the Council of Basel, 1431–1434; 5. The continuation of the negotiations until the conclusion of the Compact of Basel, 1434–1436; 6. The attempt of the Emperor Sigismond to restore the Catholic Church in Bohemia, 1436–1437; 7. The result of the whole movement of the Hussites, the Utraquistic Church, the entire disappearance of the Taborites, and the origin of the earlier community of the Bohemian brethren, 1437–1457. The present article embraces the first three chapters. The very copious recent literature on the history of the Hussites has been carefully used, and the article seems to be altogether one of the most valuable essays which have of late appeared in the theological periodicals of Germany.

ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR WISSENSCHAFTLICHE THEOLOGIE. (Journal for Scientific Theology.) Edited by Professor A. Hilgenfeld. First and Second Numbers. 1870.—1. BIEDERMANN, The Rational Fundamental Ideas of Religion. 2. HILGENFELD, The Jewish Sibyls and Essenism. 3. RONSCH, The Leptogenesis, [one of the apocryphal books of the Old Testament,] and the Ambrosian Latin Fragments of it. 4. HILGENFELD, Paul and the Difficulties in Corinth. 5. LIPSIUS, The Acts of Alexander of Rome. 6. PFLEIDERER, The Pauline πνεῦμα. 7. HILGENFELD, Remarks on the Pauline Christ. 8. EGLI, The Text of Exodus. 9. HILGENFELD, The Epistle of Barnabas in an old Latin translation.

ART. IX.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

THE EASTERN CHURCHES.

INTERCOMMUNION WITH THE ANGLICAN CHURCH—THE BULGARIAN CHURCH QUESTION—CONVOCATION OF AN ŒCUMENICAL COUNCIL.—The history of the Eastern Churches is becoming from year to year more interesting, and it seems that the time will soon come when the works on Church history, as well as the religious press, will find it necessary to bestow upon the religious movements in these Churches a much greater attention than they have received heretofore. The most important occurrences of the year 1870 were the progress of the movement for the establishment of intercommunion between the Eastern and the Anglican Churches, and the Bulgarian Church Question. With regard to the former, the official correspondence of the Archbishop of Canterbury with the Patriarch of Constantinople, the Synod of Greece, and other high authorities of the Greek Church, has inaugurated an official intercourse between the two Churches, which, according to all probability, is likely to be more and more strengthened. That the Greek Church should act toward the Anglicans not only with great reserve, but with great overbearing and intolerance, was to be expected. In all doctrinal questions the Greeks are almost as uncompromising as the Roman Catholics; and the stress which they lay upon their own exclusive orthodoxy, as well as the eagerness to organize the Greek Church within the territory of the Anglican Church, has shocked the feelings of even the foremost champions of a closer intercommunion between the two Churches. The only point which the heads of the Anglican Church have been able to obtain consists in the encyclical letters by which the Patriarch of Constantinople, as well as the Holy Synod of Greece, have directed the clergy under them to show, as far as possible, brotherly kindness in all things to the Christians of the Anglican Confession, and if any such Christians should die at a place where no priest of their own Church should happen to be present, to render them fitting burial and the prayers of the Greek Church for their souls. It is a very small concession which is thus made, but it is much more than what the Church of Rome would ever grant, and may be the beginning of a more fraternal conduct toward the remainder of the Christian world on the part of the Orientals. For the Anglican communion there lies a great danger in courting a friendly relation with the Eastern prelatical Churches at the cost of so much which it owes to the Reformation of the sixteenth century. As regards the Greek Church, on the other hand, every act of intercommunion brings her more under the influence of all the great ideas in the Christian world which have been developed in consequence of the Reformation.

The Bulgarian Church Question, to the earlier history and importance of which we have referred in former numbers of the "Quarterly Review," led in the year 1870 to very important developments. The demand of the

Bulgarians to have Bishops of their own nationality, and a national Church organization like the Roumanians and the Servians, was, in the main, granted by the imperial firman of March 10. The substance of the eleven paragraphs is as follows:

Article I. provides for the establishment of a separate Church administration for the Bulgarians, which shall be called the Exarchate of the Bulgarians. Article II. The chief of the Bulgarian Metropolitans receives the title of Exarch, and presides over the Bulgarian Synod. Article III. The Exarch, as well as the Bishops, shall be elected in accordance with the regulations hitherto observed, the election of the Exarch to be confirmed by the œcumenical Patriarchs. Article IV. The Exarch receives his appointment by the Sublime Porte previous to his consecration, and is bound to say prayer for the Patriarch whenever he holds divine service. Article V. stipulates the formalities to be observed in supplicating for the appointment (installation) by the Sublime Porte. Article VI. In all matters of a spiritual nature the Exarch has to consult with the Patriarch. Article VII. The new Bulgarian Church, like the Churches of Roumania, Greece, and Servia, obtains the holy oil (chrisma) from the Patriarchate. Article VIII. The authority of a Bishop does not extend beyond his diocese. Article IX. The Bulgarian Church and the bishopric (Metochion) in the Phanar are subject to the Exarch, who may temporarily reside in Metochion. During this temporary residence he must observe the same rules and regulations which have been established for the Patriarch of Jerusalem during his residence in the Phanar. Article X. The Bulgarian Exarchate comprises fourteen dioceses: Rustchuk, Silistria, Schumla, Tirnovo, Sophia, Widdin, Nisch, Slivno, Veles, Samakovo, Küstendic, Vratza, Lofdja, and Pirut. One half of the cities of Varna, Anchialu, Mesembria, Liveboli, and of twenty villages on the Black Sea, are reserved for the Greeks. Philippople has been divided into two equal parts, one of which, together with the suburbs, is retained by the Greeks, while the other half, and the quarter of Panaghia, belongs to the Bulgarians. Whenever proof is adduced that two thirds of the inhabitants of a diocese are Bulgarians, such diocese shall be transferred to the Exarchate. Article XI. All Bulgarian monasteries which are under the Patriarchate at the present time shall remain so in future.

The Greeks of Constantinople were indignant at this firman, because they were well aware that its execution would put an end to the subordinate position in which they have thus far kept the Bulgarians. They demanded that the Patriarch should either reject it or resign. The Synod which was convened by the Patriarch in April declared that the firman was in conflict with the canons of the Church, and that an Œcumenical Council should be summoned to decide the question. The Patriarch accordingly notified the Turkish government that he could not accept the firman, and that, therefore, he renewed his petition for the convocation of an Œcumenical Council. The Bulgarian committee, on the other hand, issued a circular in which the solution of the question by the firman was declared to be entirely satisfactory, and corresponding with their just de-

mands. They pointed out that the principal demand of the orthodox Bulgarians had been that their Churches and bishoprics should be intrusted to a clergy familiar with the Bulgarian language, and that they did not understand how the Patriarchate could designate as unevangelical so legitimate a desire. The Patriarch, in a letter to the Grand Vizier, declared that he could retain his office only if the government granted the convocation of the Œcumenical Council. The endeavor of Ali Pasha to induce the Patriarch to desist from his demand proved of no avail. The twelve Bishops constituting the Synod of Constantinople sent a synodic letter to the Porte, in which they implore the government to settle the Bulgarian Church question on the basis proposed by the Patriarch in 1869. The government now yielded. Ali Pasha invited the Patriarch to send to the government a programme of the questions to be discussed by the Œcumenical Synod. To this the Patriarch replied as follows:

> We had the honor of receiving the rescript which your highness has condescended to forward to us, as a reply to our letter and the Maybata of the Synod of Metropolitans. We perceive that we shall be authorized to convene the Œcumenical Council, to which will appertain the final solution of the Bulgarian question by canonical decision. Your highness expresses the desire to know beforehand the objects and the limits of the deliberations of the Council, and invites us to submit a programme of the same. We have the honor of informing you that the Œcumenical Council, for whose convocation we requested the authorization of the imperial government, will have to investigate and to adjust the controversy which has arisen between the Patriarchate and the Bulgarians. Your highness is aware that said controversy resulted partly from the circumstance that the Bulgarians did not consider satisfactory the concessions which we granted them in regard to the administration of the Church, partly from the fact that the Bulgarians demand something which is in direct opposition to the spirit of our faith and to the commands of the holy canons, although they pretend that their proposals are not at all in contradiction to the holy laws. Thus the labors of the Council, which will not touch on any secular question, will be strictly limited to deliberations on the Bulgarian question; the demands of the Bulgarians, as well as the concessions made by the Patriarchate, will be minutely and impartially scrutinized, upon which the Council will come to a decision in accordance with the spirit of the canons, from which there can be no appeal. Done and given at our Patriarchal residence on *November* 16, 1870. GREGORY.

ROMAN CATHOLICISM.

The dissensions which have for several years existed in the United Armenian Church have at last gravitated into an open and bitter feud between a large portion of the Church and the Papal Court of Rome. The united Armenians, ever since their union with Rome, had enjoyed the right and privilege to elect their own Bishops, who again elected their Primate or Patriarch. The community likewise elected a Civil Patriarch, who was at the head of a chancery, and was assisted in his official duties by a council of notables. The Civil Patriarch also exercised the function of a Justice of the Peace, and his decisions, although in some instances appealed from to a higher tribunal, were generally concurred in, and considered final.

In 1847, after the death of the Patriarch Marusch, Bishop Hassoun, who had powerful friends at Rome, was appointed by the Pope Archbishop of Constantinople. The congregation, which had had no part in his appoint-

ment, considered it an infringement of their sacred rights, and refused to recognize the new Patriarch. This gave rise to a protracted conflict, until Hassoun went to the most prominent members of the congregation, formally declared his appointment to be an exceptional case, and gave them the assurance that the Papal Court had no desire to interfere with or trespass upon the rights of the Armenian Church. A compromise was effected on the condition that the appointment of Bishop Hassoun should not serve as a precedent. In spite of this concession on the part of the Catholic Armenians there was no peace, as Hassoun continued to follow up his ambitious plans, and even succeeded in obtaining the appointment as Civil Patriarch by the Sublime Porte in spite of the protest of the laity. At the expiration of one year, however, and in order to allay the trouble and dissatisfaction among the Catholic Armenians, the Divan withdrew the nomination. The death of the Patriarch Nigogos and of the Patriarch of Cilicia a few years ago was regarded by Hassoun as furnishing an excellent opportunity to obtain both these positions. The Papal Court had secretly promised the support of his election, and when the Bishops of Cilicia assembled in Bezomar, the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem appeared among them, took the chair, and declared it to be the desire of the Pope that the Bishops should give their votes to the Patriarch of Constantinople. The Bishops being afraid to disobey, Hassoun was elected Patriarch of Cilicia. A few months later, at a convocation of the Oriental Bishops at Rome, the Pope proposed to them to waive their ancient right of electing their Patriarchs, and to confer the privilege upon the Holy See. The Prelates were at a loss what to reply, when Hassoun rose from his seat, declaring that St. Peter had spoken to them through the mouth of the Pope, and, inasmuch as his least desires ought to be considered commands, he considered it his duty to renounce the privilege, and hoped to see his Oriental brethren follow his example. The Bishops reluctantly signed a protocol to that effect, and Hassoun was rewarded for his opportune motion by an appointment to the Patriarchate of Sis.

Returned to Stamboul, the new Catholicos succeeded, by many intrigues and the assistance of French diplomacy, to obtain his confirmation by the Sublime Porte, not only as Patriarch of Cilicia, but also as civil Patriarch of the Catholic Armenians of Constantinople, without the consent of the laity, and with an entire disregard of their ancient privileges. A constant interference of the ecclesiastical authority in civil matters finally resulted in a decision of a large majority of the Armenians not to recognize the authority of their Patriarch, whom they considered too feeble to resist the encroachments of the Pope of Rome on the rights of Eastern Catholics. When the news of the action of the dissidents reached Rome, the Pope at once excommunicated some of the thirty clergymen who had joined them, and ordered a notice to that effect to be read out in all the churches of the community which still recognized the authority of Hassoun. Concurrently with this came news that the Pope had dispatched Mgr. Pluym, a Dutch Bishop, who was formerly at Constantinople as Vicar Apostolic, with full powers to assert the authority of the Patriarch and punish insubordina-

tion. In answer to a protest sent to Rome by the Armenians on the 5th of February the following communications were made by telegraph to Mgr. Arakelian, representing Hassoun during his sojourn in Rome:

> ROME, *Feb.* 18, 1870.
>
> The silence with which the Holy Father has received the protests and the addresses of the dissentients was in itself a condemnation. Do they wish for one still more explicit? Well, then, he pronounces it, disapproving of what they have done, and enjoining the malcontents to return to order and to recognize the legitimate representative of the Patriarch, otherwise he will employ his powers.
>
> Cardinal BARNABO, Chief of the Propaganda.

And the following to the conservative notables:

> ROME, *Feb.* 18, 1870.
>
> Telegram of the 16th received. The Propaganda has telegraphed to-day to Arakelian and Testa. Communicate to all the absolute rejection of the petitions of the radicals. Mgr. Pluym, delegated by peremptory order to sustain the Patriarchal authority, will leave here on the 25th for Constantinople. The new dissident Church is absolutely rejected. Rome will act inexorably.
>
> HASSOUN, Patriarch.

These menaces, however, only served to strengthen the purpose of the seceders to reject "inexorably" on their part all terms of compromise involving submission to Hassoun. In this they seemed likely to be supported by the Grand Vizier, who complied with their prayer to have one or more churches set apart for their use by ordering the large Pera Church of St. John to be handed over to them. A deputation, consisting of Dihran Bey, Ketch-ogin, and four priests, waited on his highness to thank him for his signal favor, and received further assurances that in this, as in all other cases, the Porte would uphold the principle of religious liberty. From Ali Pasha nothing less was, of course, expected. A complete rupture between Rome and the dissidents seemed, therefore, more and more certain.

The concessions made to the dissidents by the Grand Vizier were very significant. Besides two churches which he had turned over to them for their worship, he accorded them a Chancery and a special seal, thus constituting them a civil company.

The Pope's delegate, Mgr. Pluym, was trying all possible direct and indirect means to induce the anti-papal party to retract and acknowledge the spiritual rule of the prelate Hassoun. But his efforts were unsuccessful, the Catholic Armenians being further encouraged to persist in their demands by the fact that the French and Italian embassadors at Constantinople were instructed by their governments to support the Catholic Armenians in their demand to be recognized as a separate congregation. On the 5th of May the President of the administrative council elected by the dissenters received the imperial confirmation of himself and colleagues as members of the council. This official recognition on the part of the Sublime Porte gained new and numerous adherents for the Armeno-Catholic movement, and even in Psammatia, a quarter which had remained entirely neutral so far, the entire community went over to the dissenters. Mgr. Pluym, whose efforts had only served to sharpen the conflict and to

widen the breach, now tried the means of sending missionaries, males and females, into the families of the strayed sheep, but with no success of any consequence.

On the 7th of May the dissenters sent a petition to the Grand Vizier, signed by over two thousand of their number, stating that, as all their churches, schools, monasteries, hospitals, and other buildings devoted to benevolent purposes, were erected by means of their own congregational funds, in the capital as well as in the provinces, and as no money had ever been contributed from Rome for these purposes, they prayed that the Sublime Porte might graciously condescend to deprive Rome of the jurisdiction over all such property; and inasmuch as the two churches turned over to the dissenters for their worship by the Grand Vizier were altogether inadequate for that purpose, they also prayed that the Grand Vizier might select a competent court of justice, to whose decision the question of the division of the church property could be submitted. They finally prayed that the Grand Vizier might authorize the election of a new Patriarch. Ali Pasha received the deputation of the petitioners with great politeness, and gave them promise of an early settlement of the questions at issue.

The party of Hassoun saw the great danger of such a settlement, which, if the decision should be in favor of the dissenters, would deprive Rome of the immense revenue it had always derived from the administration of the Armenian Church property and domains. The ex-King Francis II. of Naples being at Constantinople at the time, they sent a committee to wait upon him in order to induce him to use his great influence in Rome in favor of the Patriarch Hassoun, whom they represented as the only support of Catholicism in the East, adding that if he should be abandoned at the present critical moment Rome would undoubtedly lose all influence over the Eastern Church.

At this juncture negotiations were resumed between the Papal Court and the Sublime Porte with regard to the right of the latter to confirm the high prelates of the Catholic Church in Turkey. This was due to a menace on the part of Ali Pasha, that, as negotiations had been broken off by the Papal Court in consequence of the intrigues of Hassoun, he would deprive the latter of the "Berat of Investiture." At the same time the Pope addressed a letter to the Catholic Armenians, exhorting them in the usual paternal style to return to the pale of the Church, but threatening to inflict upon them the extreme penalties of the Church in case of further disobedience.

Toward the end of August the Sublime Porte decided to disregard the decree "Reversurus," which made the disposition of the Church property of the Catholic Armenian congregations dependent on the will of the Papal Court. The imperial firman communicating this decision created an immense sensation among the Catholic Armenians, as it solved the most essential part of the question in dispute entirely in their favor. They simply refused to recognize the civil as well as ecclesiastical authority of Hassoun, and, although Ali Pasha had not up to the latest account given his consent to the election of a new Patriarch, no doubt existed at Con-

stantinople that this authorization would be obtained at an early date. The last official act of Hassoun was the excommunication of four dissenting Bishops and six clergymen for their refusal to recognize the decrees of the Œcumenical Council at Rome.

Art. X.—FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

The valuable History of the Evangelical Church in Bohemia, by B. Czerwenka, (*Geschichte der Evangelischen Kirche in Böhmen.* Bielefeld, vol. i, 1869; vol. ii, 1870,) has been completed by the publication of the second volume. It embraces the period from the end of the fifteenth to the end of the eighteenth century. The author has used a large number of sources, especially such as are written in the Czechic language, which have not been accessible to former historians. A history of the Evangelical Church in the other crown-lands of Austria is expected from the author.

Next to the celebrated work of Janus on "The Pope and the Council," the most important which has appeared out of the midst of the Catholic Church against the late Vatican Council and the promulgation of Papal infallibility as a doctrine, is a work from Schulte, Professor of Canonical Law at the University of Prague, on the "Power of the Roman Popes over Princes, Countries, Peoples, and Individuals," (*Die Macht der Römischen Päpste.* Prague, 1871.) The author has heretofore passed for one of the ablest and most prominent champions of the interests of the Roman Catholic Church, and his work has, therefore, made a profound impression. He reviews the claims which the Popes, formally and *ex cathedrâ*, have put forward with regard to their power over secular governments, and the steadfast opposition to these claims by Bishops and large Churches. He shows that an adherent of infallibility cannot possibly be a loyal subject of a Protestant prince; yea, hardly of a Catholic prince. The learned author, who by numerous previous writings has shown his thorough acquaintance with the whole literature on the subject, has made use of many documents which have not yet been printed or used by other writers. Professor Schulte has also prefaced and published another work, by a Catholic priest of high standing, which examines from the stand-point of ecclesiastical law the origin of the decree on Papal infallibility, and shows how all the requisite forms of law were set aside in order to reach the desired aim, that the discussion was not free, and that the doctrine is therefore not obligatory for Catholics.

An interesting work on the trial of Galileo has been published by Emil Wohlwill, (*Der Inquisitions Prozess des Galileo Galilei.* Berlin, 1870.) When the official acts of the trial were returned by the French government to the Papal Court the latter engaged to publish them. This promise was fulfilled in a very imperfect manner by the Papal Recorder, Marini. A complete edition of all the manuscripts from which Marini prepared his mutilated and misleading account was not published until 1867, by Henry

l'Epinois. Only since then an insight into the true history of that celebrated trial has become possible. One of the greatest difficulties which one meets in perusing these documents is thoroughly investigated in the above work of Wohlwill. The sentence of Galileo, in 1633, was based on an order of the Inquisition which had been communicated to him in 1616, and according to which "he was wholly to abandon the system of Copernicus, and in no way any more hold, teach, or defend it." The decisive charge against Galileo was that he in his *Dialoghi* had acted contrary to this order, and that he had surreptitiously obtained the Papal *imprimatur* for his book by concealing the order of the Inquisition. Wohlwill endeavors to prove that this order of the Inquisition, the basis of the whole trial, was forged, in order to be able to proceed against Galileo, who was protected by the Papal *imprimatur*. The order of the Inquisition is dated February 26, 1616. The arguments for its forgery are: 1. That the minutes of the proceedings of February 26, 1616, are in conflict with a Papal decree of February 25, which was rendered at the request of the Inquisition, and of which the order of the Inquisition of February 26 pretended to be the execution. 2. That it is also in conflict with an *amende honorable* made soon after February 26 to Galileo by Bellarmin, who was one of the chief agents in communicating to Galileo the order of February 26. 3. That contemporaneous documents treat the question according to quite different principles. 4. That the statements made by Galileo in his defense during the trial, in 1633, are in full harmony with the Papal decree of February 25, and with the letter of Bellarmin, but that he has no recollection of the proceedings which are mentioned in the minutes of February 26. This work of Wohlwill on the trial of Galileo is to be followed by a larger work on the celebrated Italian philosopher.

Among the more important publications of Catholic theology belongs a work on the Liturgy of the First Three Christian Centuries, (*Liturgie der drei ersten christlichen Jahrhunderte. Tübingen*, 1870,) by Professor F. Probst, of the University of Tübingen. The work comprises, first, an account of the liturgy according to the Bible and the earliest writers, (down to Cyprian;) next, the earliest liturgies of the Apostolic Constitutions of James and of Mark, all of which are given in translation and compared with the Roman liturgy. In conclusion, the author draws on the basis of the results obtained from these sources a general picture of the Christian liturgy of the first three centuries.

The decree of the Council of Florence concerning the union of the Roman and Greek Churches, which is of great importance for the history of Papal infallibility, has called forth an interesting work from Th. Frommann, (*Zur Kritik des Florentiner Unionsdecrets. Leipzig*, 1870.) The remarkable fact that while the Latin text of the union decree contains a direct recognition of a Papal primacy over the whole world, the Greek text omits this portion of the decree, led to the suspicion that the Latin text was falsified in the interest of the Papal Court. Even the

Catholic theologian Döllinger regards the forgery as fully proved. Frommann investigates the subject with great learning, and finally reaches the conclusion that, although the conduct of the Romans was not altogether straightforward, a forgery of the Union decree cannot be proved. He admits, however, that he can himself not regard the question as solved, especially as an inspection of the most important documents which are preserved in the Vatican archives was flatly refused to him in Rome.

The celebrated traveler Bastian, to whom we are indebted for one of the best works on the countries and religions of Eastern Asia, has published an interesting essay on the cosmic view of the Buddhists. (*Die Weltauffassung der Buddhisten.* Berlin, 1870.) Few of the many writers who of late have written of Buddhism and the Buddhists have had so many opportunities to study the present condition of the Buddhist religion as Bastian.

ART. XI.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.

The Other Life. By WM. H. HOLCOMBE, M. D. 12mo., pp. 275. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1871.

With a fine grace of style and amenity of spirit, Dr. Holcombe wins his readers to take the most favorable view of Swedenborgianism possible. Orthodox religion being, in his view, destined to crumble under the persistent blows of science, Swedenborg interposes a rampart that defies all assaults, and must stand the impregnable stronghold of the future faith. Swedenborg demonstrates the authenticity of the Bible, declares Christ upon the throne of the universe, reveals the reality of the spirit-world, unfolds the free agency and eternal responsibility of man, bases our hopes upon love and rectitude of life, and opens before us the dread alternatives of eternal bliss or eternal woe, according to our state of character, on principles perfectly at one with the infinite goodness of a God of love.

As the soul of man is in fact a spiritual body underlying his material body, and of the same form, so a spiritual world underlies the universal material world of the same form with it. Death with man is but the emerging of his spirit from his material body, and its conscious entrance into the pure spiritual world. The underlying spirit-world, fed by immediate influx from divine love and wisdom, is the regulator of the material world, so that the very fires of the sun, which astronomers fear some day will go out, are sustained by an ever-living interior flame.

When the spiritual body, abandoning forever its clay envelope, emerges (which emergence is the true *resurrection*) into the spirit-world, it is with difficulty that any change of worlds is by the man realized. It appears to him a perfectly natural world; and very rightly, for his surroundings, though a most profound and permanent reality, are, like a dream, the creation of his own mind. In this spirit-world the Berkeleyan theory is true, the exterior phenomena are mind-created. An external world, therefore, arises, perfectly accordant with the man's own mind and character; and thus *wonderfully does our character create our future destiny.* Swedenborg exhibits a very surprising fertility of invention, or, at least, of conception, in detailing how by this view the vacuity of the imagination can be filled with a plentiful system of objects and operations naturally arising in the spirit-world.

We enter this spirit-world with character perfectly unchanged, and, by the law of affinity, which rules us even here, every one spontaneously tends to the company of his like, and thus, again, society in Hades is ruled by character. The holy man, dying, shoots directly into the heaven of the holy and the blessed; the decisively wicked rushes by spontaneous affinity, and with free and powerful will, to the hells. The intermediate characters for awhile form an intermediate world; but, as the mere external virtues of habit, having no internal grounding, disappear from some spirits, and their characters become purely evil, they earnestly seek and find their way to hell; while the other class, in whom Divine love truly dwelt, and from whom the temporary faults depart, make rapid transit to the heavens. Thus this central world, fed by our earthly world, is perpetual feeder to the heavens and the hells. And this perpetual and intensely voluntary parting to opposite worlds is the Judgment—the Books being our own characters, and the executioners of the sentence being our own wills.

The hells are created not by God, but by means of man's own lusts and will. They are not a penalty inflicted by God's wrath, for God has no wrath and does not punish; but they are the intrinsically necessary form into which persistent sin forever runs. As all the angels are holy men, developed by the power of indwelling love into forms of transcendent loveliness, so the devils are men developed by hate and other lusts into a limitless hatefulness of form, form being the true expression of character. And this voluntary community follow their own intense inclination in perpetrating upon each other, with an ingenuity inconceiv-

able to terrene men, the most exquisite hostilities and cruelties. And as this is their inclination so it is their gratification; and that gratification is their hellish happiness so that hell is their inverted heaven—the best heaven possible to their natures and wills. Is this state to be eternal? The answer to that question is not quite certain. It is indeed certain that they can never, as free agents, be converted; for, all ethical good having gone from their nature, there is in them no fulcrum for the lever of reform. Were an angel to attempt to go as missionary, the antithesis between the two parties would thereby become perfectly palpable to an absolute repellancy. Indeed, the goods of the angel would be but evils to the devil; and the ideas of the one could not be translated into the conception of the other without being reversed. Reform being impossible, what then? Ages of wear and tear may dwindle them, not to monads, but to thin, shadowy and scarce conscious skeletons, mere bad outlines of semi-unreality; or long experience may bring them to a truce of activities of evil; and a selfish organization of their bad passions into a system of quiet may bring about law, order, and selfish well-being. Indeed, Henry James is quoted as acutely conjecturing that at the last "The Devil" (meaning thereby not the chief, but the whole body of devils collectively) will come out "a gentleman."

Both as the working out of a great problem and as a great poem, John Garth Wilkinson, not without reason, pronounces Swedenborg's hell a great masterpiece; immeasurably surpassing that of Homer, Virgil, Dante, or Milton. The New Testament avoids all detailed picturing, and leaves undecided how completely literal even its brief touches are. Viewed, indeed, as a theodicic hypothesis, Swedenborg's whole doctrine of free agency and destiny are worthy a liberal study. Viewed as a drapery, a parable, they contain the essential outline truth, and in detail often present the old truth with a striking vividness. There is nothing of which our orthodoxy need be afraid. Indeed, we need not be afraid of any thing. Some parts of Swedenborg's parable might be viewed as a possible filling up of blank left by the Bible; other parts simply as another side of the same great truth.

Swedenborg's doctrines, both of the Trinity and of the manlike form of God, are to us almost monstrosities. Dr. Holcomb's claim that Swedenborg has disclosed an underlying sense of Scripture, which demonstrates its own truth as absolutely as the fossil remains of geology demonstrate the existence of vast ages of animal generations, is to us very discouraging. We have several

times stepped adown the threshold of that underlying region, but have found nothing inviting us to call again.

But Swedenborg's fatal failure is in his doctrine of justification—his inglorious fight with St. Paul. Giant as he is, before the man of Tarsus he is a pigmy. Assuming, as well as we can the bird's-eye position of a Christian philosopher, the doctrine of justification by faith, as announced by Jesus and analyzed by Paul, appears to our view accordant with absolute reason. Swedenborg rightly finds the Christian life to be love; but how to attain that love, and arouse it to its highest inward power and outward working, he shows not. If the doctrine of justification by faith and immediate conversion be, as he affirms, untrue, the nerve of Christian activity is cut. The faith that justifies is our whole absolute surrender at once to Christ and all goodness; the result is immediate pardon and an out-poured Spirit quickening at once to a new life; and the immediate fruits are joy, peace, good works, and holy living. Historically, we absolutely know that all this occurs in millions of instances. With this sword of the Spirit Methodism has gone on winning millions to Christ, and overspreading the world with Christian power. Without this sword, Swedenborgianism, though just as old as Methodism, is (like Quakerism, and for similar reasons) a practical failure. We do not doubt the genuineness of a piety according to Swedenborg; but it is a piety in the long run sterile of great results.

Fourth Annual Report of the Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church. 12mo., pp. 32. Cincinnati: Western Methodist Book Concern Print. 1871.

Fifth Annual Report of the Church Extension Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church for the year 1870. 12mo., pp. 97. Philadelphia, Pa: Methodist Episcopal Book Room, 1,018 Arch-street.

These two reports represent twin philanthropies. Each speaks for a movement for spreading education and religion in our land. One is professedly located in our southern field; and the other, though national in its outspread, is, from the present pressing call from the South, specially operative in the South. Both go thither, dove-like, bearing professedly, and, we hope, truly, the olive-branch of Christian peace. They seek to build the Church, the school and college; to prepare and qualify Christian teachers and preachers to spread around these influences that tranquilize and ennoble society. Every Protestant Christian interest of whatever denomination in the South should be, and we trust will be, strengthened by their presence and work.

In this, the fourth year of its existence, the Freedmen's Aid Society reports a cheering success. "That such rapid progress would be made was hardly expected. If future attainments in advanced studies shall correspond with these in the primary, the anticipations of friends will be fully realized. Wherever the school is located the general aspect of society is changed. The spirit of improvement affects the parents as well as the children. It is seen in cleanliness, dress, manners, and morals. Nobler views of life, of mind and soul, of human destiny and duty, are imparted. . . . Scores of young men of cultivated minds and warm hearts are now doing valiant service for Christ in the ministry. Some of them preach with an ability and power perfectly astonishing, when we consider how limited have been their opportunities of preparation. They engage in the business of Conference, write reports, make speeches, preach sermons, with an ability that would command respect in any Conference in the connection. Hundreds are now teaching with great success, trained in our schools, who only a few years ago were deemed in law chattels, and were bought and sold like beasts that perish."

"Several of the Southern States have inaugurated a system of free schools, and we hope the day is not far distant when we shall be relieved from this department of our work, and shall be able to transfer our primary schools to the fostering care of their respective States. . . . If we abandon this field so full of promise, and give up the schools that we have taught with so much success, the Roman Catholics will enter into our labors and continue them. They stand ready to enter several localities where we have for years sustained schools, if for the want of funds, zeal, or any other cause, we shall abandon them. If Protestants realized the danger threatened from this quarter they would cheerfully contribute to this enterprise the money essential to its continuance, and thus avert so fearful a calamity. Methodism, with the funds at her disposal, can hold this field against Catholicism, or any other system of error that may assail it."

RECAPITULATION.

Teachers employed	110
Pupils in day-schools	10,000
Pupils in Sunday-schools	8,000
Primary schools	52
Normal schools and colleges	7
Orphan asylums	1
Persons converted, about	1,000
Funds raised and appropriated	$62,719 42
Real estate donated for a specific department of our work not appropriated	$20,000 00

Dr. Summers, in a late "Nashville Advocate," states, as we have seen several times stated since the civil war, that a very gross form of fetichism, serpent worship, has been gaining ground among southern negroes. We certainly are not surprised at such a fact—though the "Christian Recorder" (colored people's paper) denies it—when we recollect that it has for years, if not for centuries, been a penal offense to teach the negro to read the word of God. We point Dr. Summers to such schools and colleges as we are erecting as the sure remedy, and invite him to engage, either independently or co-operatively, in the spread of such institutions. We, as well as he, have shared in the guilt of that ignorance that debases the negro to fetichism, and we do our share in effacing the guilt by removing the ignorance. If the Missionary Society is our right arm in the field of Christian enterprise, the Church Extension Society may soon aspire to be its left. To send the minister and to plant the Church are two halves of one work. Hence this young five-year-old Society, weak in its infancy, is mighty in its appeals. It lays its confiding burden on our Conferences, our Churches, and our ministers; and surely none who study its workings can fail to feel the impulse of its movement.

It was, we believe, the prevalent impression among the members of the Methodist Episcopal Church that, had General Grant been defeated at the last Presidential election, and the men who attempted to destroy the government been elected to administer it, our Church with all its institutions South, its schools, its colleges, its pulpits, its ministries and societies, would have been destroyed or driven to the Northern section. The possibility of this result was but too clearly evinced both in the deeds and speeches of the destructive party, South and North. But it was those very deeds and speeches, like the New Orleans massacre and the reckless menaces of the Vice-Presidential candidate Blair, which forewarned the nation, averted the dread disaster, and gave our nation another lease of life. Nay, it was the disclosure of this fearful spirit, still existing in the hearts of a large and controlling share of the foes of our country, which gave to the loyal people that two-thirds majority in the national Congress which carried us over every peril, and preserved our nationality unbroken.

And it must not be disguised that a cold tremor is running through the veins of our people at the thought that another Presidential election approaching threatens us with a final realization of all those anticipated disasters. We trust that the Providence that

has so signally interfered in our behalf is not, after so many deliverances, to forsake us. If the free vote of our educated, temperate, home-born Protestant population could decide the matter there would be not the slightest danger. *The great body of the real American people is nearly unanimous and right.* Yet it is too evident that the worst disasters, by the worst means, loom clearly in the future. Here in New York, Irishry, Popery, and Rummery, led by the brigands of Tammany, reign, and rob, and ruin us. By the most stupendous suffrage frauds the State is bound fast hand and foot, and surrendered into their unhallowed hands. Our Protestantism is sold to the priest; our sobriety is sold to the rumseller; our home-born people are overslaughed by the hordes of Ireland's offscouring. Correspondently at the South the rifle of the Ku-klux is pledged to destroy the freedom of suffrage by massacre and intimidation. Assassination is, doubtless in spite of the disapproval of many good men, becoming an established political institution, and a majority threatens soon to rule by terror and extermination of the minority.

Now our earnest hope is that again the very violence of this course will arouse the loyal people of the nation to the rescue. At no time in our whole history has our danger been more imminent. At no time, not even in 1860, has the enemy of the nation been more unscrupulous, more audacious, or more hopeful of attaining his destructive purposes. At no time has the call upon patriots been more imperative to be united and alert, upon Christians to stand up for God, the right, and our country.

Let the party of destructivism obtain possession of our government, and *it is the pirate who commands the ship.* It is the traitor to the government who rules the government. It will be the transfer of the Tweedism which rules New York to the capitol to rule the nation. The Church of the Inquisition and the junta of the rumshop will be in alliance and in supremacy. And when once enthroned, no adverse popular majority will ever dethrone that despotism. It will never surrender without another civil war just as the Democratic did not in 1860 surrender without war. And such a war would not be sectional and Southern, but internecine and Northern. Such a war would (as Franklin Pierce promised Jefferson Davis that our late war should) "deluge the streets of our Northern cities with blood." Romanism and pseudo-democracy would lead the onset. The establishment of the destructive party in power will be the first step to Mexicanization,

until we may all call for "the man on horseback" to deliver us from anarchy worse than any despotism.

That among the results of this disaster the destruction of our Church in the South would be attempted is of course. But *first* it is our duty to do our best to prevent that result, to stand as Christian patriots for the right; and, *second*, we must prosecute the enterprise of spreading education and religion among the lowly of our land, if need be in the martyr spirit. We cannot survey the field without every fiber of soul and body telling us that God bids us go forward; we cannot contemplate what has been done without a firm faith that God who began the work will see it in completion. And now, in the face of every danger, we say there is no part in the great field of the world that calls more imperatively for heroic missionary enterprise than the Southern section of our own beloved country.

The Christ of History: An Argument grounded in the Facts of His Life on Earth. By JOHN YOUNG, LL.D. Fifth Edition. Revised, with an Appendix containing a brief Criticism of M. Renan's "Vie de Jésus." Crown 8vo., pp. 324. London: Strahan & Co. New York: George Routledge & Sons. 1869.

The Life and Light of Men: An Essay. By JOHN YOUNG, LL.D., (Edinburgh.) Post 8vo., pp. 497. London: Alexander Strahan. New York: George Routledge & Sons. 1866.

The Creator and the Creation: How Related. By JOHN YOUNG, LL.D., (Edinburgh.) A New Edition, thoroughly revised and enlarged. Crown 8vo., pp. 298. London: Strahan & Co. New York: George Routledge & Sons. 1870.

The first of these volumes, an American edition of which had already appeared, was ably reviewed in the Quarterly for October, 1862. As an argument for the Godhead of Christ upon the facts of his earthly life it stands unequaled. Some few expressions strike the reader as obscure, fanciful, or otherwise peculiar, but as they do not materially affect the main question they are readily passed over. The subsequent works, however, exhibit the author as the expounder of a new theological system, fundamental in which is the doctrine of the Essential Divinity of Christ; and therein he differs from many who will claim him as an indorser of their heterodoxy.

"The Life and Light of Men" is an argument against the doctrine of the expiation of sin by the death of our Lord; and "The Creator and the Creation" is an attempt at a theodicy upon the principles of the impreventability of sin and the final salvation of the universe. Dr. Young professes a profound disgust for all systematic theology, and yet, in spite of himself, he is driven to at-

tempt a system of his own. He is a man of learning, ability, and brilliant powers of language. The lofty, glowing chapter on "Incarnation" in "The Life and Light of Men," and the splendid rhetorical metaphysics of the "Creator and the Creation," are not productions of an ordinary mind. A minister of some eminence in the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland, instructed in his childhood in its tenets and trained in its schools, want of familiarity with its dogmatic system cannot be alleged as underlying his departures from its faith. He is by no means the first or the only thinker whose soul, in its revolt from the hard, unloving character of God as presented in the Calvinian theology, has found its deliverance from one error only in plunging into another. Such a Sovereignty as it ascribes to the Divine Being he could not reconcile with his Fatherhood, and the next step was the rejection of all systems which exalt God as *Lord* above God as *Father*. Here we have the key to Dr. Young's whole theory. In his view the Divine government is "strictly and only parental." "God's Kinghood is a figure, his Fatherhood is the profoundest reality." His authority as Ruler is subordinated to his love as Father; for "mercy is higher than justice." An atonement involving the idea of satisfaction to justice is therefore uncalled for. And, as we would expect, we find a marked absence of a recognition of the administrative and judicial character of God.

Of sin as transgression of law and rebellion against the authority of an Infinite Sovereign we hear nothing. It is "moral evil," opposition to God and to "spiritual laws;" it is "real, essential evil—conscious, voluntary evil—resistance to what is known to be right, and choice of what is known to be wrong." Its penalty, moral death, which on the death of the body becomes eternal death, ensues inevitably, fully, and of natural consequence, and is therefore no judicially inflicted penalty. From it there is no escape. The sinner is always and really damned, self-damned, without the award of a judge; and thus, and only thus, God, justice, and law are or can be satisfied. No other satisfaction could be accepted if it were offered, and Christ has offered none. But this "evil" God intensely hates and means to destroy, and the sole barrier is in the sinner, upon whose freedom even the Almighty cannot infringe. If now God can induce him to abandon his obduracy, he can at once forgive. The penalty expires upon the removal of its cause and ground. Providence, the Holy Spirit, and, more than all, the incarnation, humiliation, and death of his own Son, are his means of awakening to repentance. The sole effect of Christ's

death is a moral one, operating on the offender alone, and on him only by the impression it gives of God's love toward him.

Such is Dr. Young's theory. If the reader fails to see how an "eternal" penalty is removable, or how the impression made by this representation of Christ's death—in which every element of substitution and every appearance of its necessity in order to salvation are lacking—will be sufficiently vivid and powerful to melt the obdurate into contrition, it is not our fault. Dr. Young vainly struggles at the explanation. His eloquent portrayal of the victories won by the cross of Calvary is but taking the glory of the Christ who dies *in the stead* of man to crown the Christ of his own fancy.

The Scripture passages that pertain to an argument on the atonement Dr. Young, of course, examines, but in a way that often reminds us of Talleyrand's famous saying, that words are made to conceal ideas. Language whose import in ordinary use is clear and undisputed receives new meaning in the hands of the sacred writers. Terms that are forensic every-where else are here made unforensic. Not even *ἱλασμὸς*, confessedly a sacrificial, expiatory term, can compel a pause in the slaughter of words. Law, sin, sacrifice, sin-offering, atonement, propitiation, reconcile, justify, mean something different in the Greek of St. Paul from what they do in the prevalent Greek of his time. Surely, he who so persistently fits all things to his bedstead should be less severe upon the friends of "artificial theology."

The argument for freedom as against necessity is beautifully clear. But, in Dr. Young's view, the impossibility of preventing evil in an intelligent, free, and responsible universe is not a complete vindication of God, unless there be coupled with it the ultimate restoration of the universe. Here we join issue, for the *duration* of evil is a secondary matter. No argument can be against its existence forever that has not equal force against its existence at all. It is no more consistent with the Divine perfections that it should exist for an hour than it is that it should exist for a year; for a year than for a millennium; for a millennium than for an eternity. Universal salvation is, then, no aid to a theodicy. Moreover, if God is in no way responsible for its entrance into the world, how shall he be held to an account for its existence afterward? and if not for an hour, how for an eternity? Besides, it will not do to assume the necessity of universal salvation in order to a theodicy, and then to argue, as Dr. Young does, that, since God must somehow be vindicated, universal salvation is true.

And, finally, if sin was not preventable at the outset, and is not now, how can it ever be preventable, and how can its cessation by voluntary repentance at some period in the future be assured? Omnipotence cannot force a free being; and what if the self-damned soul of devil or man shall choose continued and perpetual obduracy? This is as conceivable as that it should choose obduracy at all. If "God in Christ"—God's great argument to win the sinner, as Dr. Young holds it—is unsuccessful, as we mournfully know it often to be, how shall it prevail when hardness becomes more intense? If love cannot conquer here on earth, how can it in hell? And then, granting that in a probation continued in another world some would repent, where is the assurance that some human soul or some devil would not persistently remain incorrigible? Hopeless, indeed, is the scheme, even with no judgment-day! But if, as the Scriptures teach—but as Dr. Young does not admit—the condition of men is finally fixed and their doom judicially pronounced in a day of judgment at the close of time, a continued probation is impossible, and upon whomsoever the terrible curse falls in that day it must abide forever. Sentimentality may not overturn the foundations of infinite justice. If the annihilation of eternal punishment, and that without any proper atonement for sin, is essential to a theodicy, the problem of evil will forever remain an unsolved mystery. D. A. W.

Notes, Explanatory and Practical, on the Gospels. Designed for Sunday-School Teachers and Bible Classes. By Albert Barnes. In two volumes. Revised Edition. 12mo., pp. 456, 432. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1871.

Mr. Barnes was the first commentator to put his volumes in portable form to be scattered broadcast among the people. Their wide diffusion over the world is proof of their admirable adaptation for their purpose. His clear, flowing, but often over diffuse style, his profound piety, the rich evangelical spirit pervading his pages, have rendered them a blessing to the world. It must be regretted, however, that the peculiarities of his school of theology run like a vein through all his works. More than any one cause, his Notes have served to give a new lease of life to Calvinism for the present century. Thus in his note on Matt. xxv, 34, he assures us that heaven was prepared from all eternity for a certain number of persons, as individuals, from the pure good pleasure of God. All others are justly damned, inasmuch as (although their will was fore-ordained from all eternity) they willed to reject salvation. The same doctrine is abundantly and explicitly taught in his

Romans. His later works and his latest views were colored by this theology. He dwelt, indeed, mostly on the *elect* side of the question, leaving the night side of the matter, eternal reprobation, in the shade. Though it is pleasant to say that God decrees the holiness of the saint in order to reward him for the holiness decreed, it is not so pleasant or so reputable to say that God decrees the sin of the sinner and damns him for the sin decreed. It is one of the rarest paradoxes of the human mind that not only can benevolent men hold such views and find delight in them, but they can attribute such dealings to God and yet style him *benevolent!* The pleasure taken by a man in this doctrine on the ground that *his own dear ego* is one of the elect, is about the most intense form of theoretical selfishness that the human mind can frame. No matter that myriads of others are predestined eternally and absolutely to sin and death, so long as this beloved self of mine is eternally assigned to a safe nook of felicity and glory. We are inclined to think the man who takes pleasure in such a thought ought without ceremony and forever to be ousted from his snug quarters.

The New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, after the Authorized Version. Newly Compared with the Original Greek, and Revised, by HENRY ALFORD, D.D., Dean of Canterbury. Crown 8vo., pp. 523. London: Strahan & Co. New York: George Routledge & Sons. 1869.

Dean Alford has now issued four editions of the New Testament—first, a critically revised Greek text, with a commentary, in four volumes; second, a revised English text, with a commentary, adapting his larger work to the mere English reader, in two volumes; third, the latest edition of the Greek text, with brief abridged notes, in a single volume; and now the revised English text is printed separately in the handsome volume before us, bringing the results of his long-continued studies in their simplest form within reach of every reader.

A new translation is not here attempted, but simply such a revision of our authorized version as will conform it to the now ascertained original language of the sacred writers, with the correction of inadequate renderings. Changes of the first class are, of course, in accordance with Alford's Greek readings, nothing being inserted or omitted except as demanded by them, though we observe that they are not carried to that full extent that exact accuracy requires, and that we would insist on in an authoritative revision. Many of these changes are so indicated that their character may be readily seen. The text in these respects rests upon

testimony; the corrections in merely mistranslated passages proceed upon other principles. Here, too, not all has been done that might be rigidly exacted, but what is done has the twofold effect of showing what amendments are absolutely necessary in the judgment of this eminent scholar, and of illustrating the practicability of a thorough revision by competent authority. It is a long step toward giving to the world the sacred text in a perfect form.

D. A. W.

A Critical Greek and English Concordance of the New Testament. Prepared by CHARLES F. HUDSON, under the direction of HORACE L. HASTINGS, Editor of "The Christian." Revised and Completed by EZRA ABBOTT, LL.D., Assistant Librarian of Harvard University. 24mo., pp. 510. Boston, Mass.: Scriptural Tract Repository. 1870.

Even though you have never read a word of Greek, this little manual enables you to know all the Greek words by which any given English word you please is translated in any part of the New Testament, and reversely all the English words by which any Greek word is translated. First, a single page of instruction here given enables you to read any Greek word. Then an alphabetic Greek Concordance refers you to every passage (without giving the passage) containing the word. Then follows an English index referring you to the Greek Concordance for the Greek of every English word. It is a condensation of the "Englishman's Greek Concordance," with many improvements, and is a very marvel of utilitarian compression. Suggested by Mr. Hastings, it is mainly the work of Mr. Hudson, revised by Mr. Abbott, whose name is a guarantee (if any were needed after Mr. Hudson) for the genuine scholarship of the work.

The Mr. Hudson here named was the author of "Debt and Grace," a remarkable work theologically, and historically valuable, independently of its peculiar views, for its comprehensive review of the various schemes of Theodicy which Christian thought has constructed. The amiable, pious, and scholarly author faithfully prosecuted his work, which a generous enthusiasm and a devout reverence for Scripture alone could have sustained through details so numerous and complex, until pulmonary disease cut short his labors and his life.

Walks and Words of Jesus. A Paragraph Harmony of the Four Evangelists. By Rev. M. N. OLMSTED. With an Introduction by Rev. R. S. FOSTER, D.D. Third Edition. Pp. 391. New York: M. N. Olmsted & Co. 1870.

The unique point in this little volume is that our Lord's own words are printed in large, prominent type, while the accom-

panying parts of the text appear in small. Jesus' own words then come forth as the main picture, and the narrative is but the frame in which it is set. Thereby your eye may leap from paragraph to paragraph of typic table-lands, and from beginning to end you have the pure Gospel on the Great Teacher's own lips. And truly Christ's own words are the core of Christianity. It is the pure juice of the grape. It was a happy thought that suggested this volume; so happy a thought, that the demand for the book ought to call out many editions, encouraging the author to furnish it in finer exterior style.

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The Temperance Bible Commentary. Giving at one view Version, Criticism, and Exposition in regard to all Passages of Holy Writ bearing on "Wine" and "Strong Drink," or Illustrating the Principles of the Temperance Reformation. By Dr. FREDERIC R. LEES, F.S.A., and Rev. Dr. DAWSON BURNS, A.M. 8vo., pp. 469. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1870.

The infidel and the toper unite in maintaining that the Bible is the stronghold of hilarious drinking of alcoholic beverages; just as the infidel and the slaveholder once maintained that the Bible sustained the whip, chains, and auction-block of slavery. The former member of each couple maintained it to destroy the Bible, the latter to make the Bible the minister of sin. The present stately volume demonstrates that the advocates of temperance are not afraid to meet the infidel and toper on that sacred battle-field. Two valiant champions unite their forces—a doctor of medicine to furnish the physiology, and a doctor of divinity to furnish the exegesis. They begin at early Genesis and close with closing Apocalypse. They ransack philology, and all the possible ologies, for an ultimate analysis of their subject. The result is a grand arsenal whence the temperance reformer may draw his full equipment for doing biblical battle. It is a very thorough and effective book.

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Living Words; or, Unwritten Sermons of the late JOHN M'CLINTOCK, D.D., LL.D. Reported Phonographically. With a Preface by BISHOP JANES. 12mo., pp. 335. New York: Carlton & Lanahan. 1871.

The Church may well be thankful that the art of the "ready writer" was able to fix and secure this beautiful bequest from the most accomplished man, thus far, of American Methodism. Nineteen brief sermons, with exquisitely selected titles, in their pure, fluent style, their vein of fresh thought, and their rich evangelical sentiment, recall to the reader the image and the voice of the living man. It would be easy and pleasant work to spread out our thoughts upon so attractive a topic, but we anticipate the recep-

tion of a full review from a competent hand. The departure of Dr. Nadal will not deprive us of a fitting biographer of the utterer of these "Words," as by common consent no man could better perform that office than Dr. George R. Crooks.

The Heavenly State and Future Punishment. Two Sermons. By HENRY WARD BEECHER. Pp. 113. New York: J. B. Ford & Co. 1870.

Few of Mr. Beecher's productions more strikingly exhibit the boldness of soul, the searching clearness of eye, and the genial benevolence of heart, with which, in the light of modern thought, Mr. Beecher ransacks, as it were, the Bible, as these two sermons. And yet he maintains the reverence and docility of a child in accepting the Divine Word. Stripping off all figure from the descriptions of heaven, he believes in a heaven more glorious than figure can symbolize. Declining all theories of future punishment, he believes in irremediable future penalty on the authority of Christ. While he believes in the divinity of Christ, he cannot disbelieve an eternal hell.

Annihilationism not of the Bible; being an Examination of the Principal Scriptures in Controversy between Evangelical Christians and Annihilationists; comprising an Exposure of the Perversions and Sophistical Arguments by which Annihilationism is Sustained, and a Refutation of the Doctrine, with a General and Scripture Index By Rev. H. D. GEORGE. 12mo., pp. 324. Boston: J. P. Magee. 1870.

Mr. George's book is a plain and forcible refutation of the materialistic doctrine of annihilationism, especially as taught by Mr. Storrs. It exhibits no remarkable display of scholarship, but not a little argumentative power. It is a volume quite adequate to the demands of such opponents. It may be recommended as a competent antidote for the heresy in question.

Ad Clemno. Advices to a Young Preacher. By JOSEPH PARKER, D.D. 12mo., pp. 266. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1871.

Mr. Parker, favorably known to the religious world as the author of Ecce Deus, a work that favorably sustains a comparison with Ecce Homo, has furnished a very piquant book. It preaches to the preachers in a style to make itself heard. It abounds with sharp hints and telling suggestions. It draws portraits and tells stories. It goes to the verge of, and perhaps even now and then oversteps, the established limits of the proprieties. But our young ministers especially might abundantly profit by its lessons of wisdom.

Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.

Body and Mind: An Inquiry into their Connection and Mutual Influence, specially in reference to Mental Disorders. Being the Gulstonian Lectures for 1870, delivered before the Royal College of Physicians. With an Appendix. By HENRY MAUDSLEY, M.D., London. 12mo., pp. 155. New York: Appleton & Co.

Dr. Maudsley is the very able author of a work on the Physiology and Pathology of the Mind, noticed in our Quarterly some three years ago. His works are held as standard in their class. He is an acute thinker and an eloquent lecturer. In theology he appears to hold more of an outline of religious truth than he seems willing to admit, his head being more orthodox than his heart. Indeed, he sometimes furnishes an antidote to his own errors by contradicting in his admissions the heresies he affirms.

A large share of the volume treats the subject of "vitality." His opponents maintain that Life, Mind, Soul, stands in antithesis to the chemical and other non-living forces of nature, overruling them while its power lasts, maintaining its ground for a due period, and succumbing at last, to be disengaged from the contest and to emerge to a higher sphere. Dr. M. admits an antithesis, but maintains that it is an antithesis within the limits of the natural forces, not an antithesis of a not-nature, or an over-nature, against nature. The antithesis is the course of nature reverting back upon itself in wonderful evolution. Hence all vital and mental phenomena are the effect of chemico-mechanical forces. Why not? In chemistry it is well known that compounds possess not the composite qualities of their constituents, and effects bear no resemblance to their causes.

Now Dr. Maudsley, in a passage worthy of Chalmers for its cumulative eloquence, (p. 112,) ranging through the astronomic universe, declares that it is very difficult to avoid the generalization that the universe is ruled by intelligent mind. If so, then we have the primal duality, the grand antithesis between mind and matter, with controlling power supremely inhering in the former. Mind, then, is master; finitely it is God and infinitely it is God. To make it, then, the mere effect of the corporeal cause is to reverse the true order of succession, to invert the true order of super-imposition. God produces universe and soul produces body. The Materialist is nothing if not an Atheist.

Dr. Maudsley is of course Darwinian. In treating the subject of idiocy he discusses the "theroid" or brute-like form of that sad defect. One idiot he describes as exhibiting the figure, face, motions, nastiness, and rascality of an ape. Such a case Dr. M. holds to be

a retrogression back to animalism from which man is developed. We were strongly impressed for the moment with this argument. But when, without offering any explanation, he proceeds to spread out full narratives of other cases, of which one idiot is a wonderfully exact sheep, and another possesses the abundant and unmistakable specialties of a *goose*, the argument appears not only effaced but reversed. For how could a human being retrograde down to a goose when, according to Darwin, the goose is excluded from the pedigree of man? Some other cause, then, it is—perhaps the maternal imagination—which stamps the brute type on the human person. And does not this throw a strong suspicion upon a large part of Darwin's reasoning from resemblances of man to brute?

Our readers will perceive that in arguing as above from the existence of a God to the existence of a soul, we come back again to the axiom of Plato, before which no Atheism and no Materialism can stand, that mind is prior to, superior over, master of, matter; and we also may rest upon that maxim of Dr. Bushnell's, worthy of Plato, that it is as clear that surrounding things are "mind-molded" as that they exist at all. The man who cannot see or will not acknowledge these fundamental truths is radically unreasonable. Such a Materialist is a theroid idiot with the stamp of the goose upon him.

The following extract will indicate the character of Dr. Maudsley's style, and the spirit of his philosophy:

> I have no wish whatever to exalt unduly the body; I have, if possible, still less desire to degrade the mind; but I do protest, with all the energy I dare use, against the unjust and most unscientific practice of declaring the body vile and despicable—of looking down upon the highest and most wonderful contrivance of creative skill as something of which man dare venture to feel ashamed. I cannot now summarize the facts and arguments which I have brought forward; I must trust to the indulgence of your memory of them when I declare that to my mind it appears a clear scientific duty to repudiate the quotation from an old writer which the late Sir William Hamilton used to hang on the wall of his lecture-room:
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> "On earth there is nothing great but man;
> In man there is nothing great but mind."
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> The aphorism, which, like most aphorisms, contains an equal measure of truth and untruth, is suitable enough to the pure metaphysician, but it is most unsuitable to the scientific inquirer, who is bound to reject it, not because of that which is not true in it only, but much more because of the baneful spirit with which it is inspired. On earth there are assuredly other things great besides man, though none greater; and in man there are other things great besides mind, though none greater; and whosoever, inspired by the spirit of the aphorism, thinks to know any thing truly of man without studying most earnestly the things on earth that lead up to man, or to know any thing truly of mind without studying most earnestly the things in the body that lead up to and issue in mind, will enter on a barren field, which, if not a sorrow to himself, will assuredly be sorrow and vexation of spirit to others. To reckon the highest operations of mind to be functions of a material organization is to exalt, not to degrade, our conception of creative power and skill.

> for if it be lawful and right to burst into admiration of the wonderful contrivance in Nature by which noble and beautiful products are formed out of base materials, it is surely much stronger evidence of contrivance to have developed the higher mental functions by evolution from the lower, and to have used forms of matter as the organic instruments of all. I know not why the Power which created matter and its properties should be thought not to have endowed it with the functions of reason, feeling, and will, seeing that, whether we discover it to be so endowed or not, the mystery is equally incomprehensible to us, equally simple and easy to the Power which created matter and its properties.

To all this we may reply,

1. In the doctrine of the Resurrection, which Christianity asserted in opposition to the philosophy of all antiquity, which Paul asserted amid the jeers of the sages of Athens, religion confers a glory on the body for which physiology has no capacity. In the incarnation, the transfiguration, and the ascension of Jesus, the Gospels reveals a transcendent glorification of the body. Romish monasticism, indeed, borrowed as it was from the idealistic systems of Asia, did degrade and defame the body; but let Dr. Maudsley turn to the New Testament, guided by a Greek or English concordance, and he will find many an honor conferred on the *body* which his philosophy has never imagined.

2. And yet Sir William Hamilton uttered a transcendent truth when he asserted that there is in man nothing *great* but mind. Body may be indeed curious, beautiful, wonderful; but while it is but transient, and soon disintegrates amid disgusts and degradations, in comparison with a soul that is immortal it cannot be called *great*. There is an infinity of difference between them; and even the glory of the body, such as it is, is derivative from the soul. For the soul is the body curiously wrought; and for the soul it is heir of the resurrection.

3. Equally noble and true was the other clause in Sir William Hamilton's maxim, that on earth there is nothing great but man, Matter, however vast its bulk, is good for nothing but for mind, as mind itself is most truly *great* only when it is immortal mind. Matter might just as well be so much space, that is, so much *nothing*, except as it contributes to the happiness or well-being of so much living intelligence. From mind, therefore, it derives all its value; and so in comparison with mind, especially immortal mind, *even*, it is nothing *great*. Man, therefore, alone is great in nature, mind alone is great in man.

4. When Dr. M. affirms the endowment of matter "with the functions of feeling, reason, and will," he destroys the immortal soul, and degrades mind, spirit, to the base incidents of material organization. He may still borrow from religion (as he hypothetically does in his criticism on the Archbishop of Canterbury) the

doctrine of resurrection; but so far as his philosophy, which knows no resurrection, is concerned, he sinks mind into the accident of a curious but transient and base accident. And, say what he pleases, it is a disgusting and sensualizing philosophy.

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Mechanism in Thought and Morals. An Address delivered before the Phi Beta Kappa Society of Harvard University, June 29, 1870. With Notes and Afterthoughts. By OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES. 24mo., pp. 101. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co. 1871.

In the realm of thought Dr. Holmes finds us inextricably fixed in the mechanical, if not even in the materialistically mechanical; it is in the realm of morals, that is, of responsibility and will alone, that he finds us redeemed from the imprisonment of automatism. Through his entire treatment of the most serious subject he endeavors to infuse a sprightliness—which is itself a little sad, a true *ludibrium flebile*—required in his estimation by spoken address.

Cautioning his timid hearers against identifying a free statement of the important part played by our cerebral machine with a maintenance of Materialism, Dr. H. runs rapidly yet effectively over the state of the debate between the claims of the cerebral organism and the pure spirit (if such there be) in the intellective processes. First he finds a large body of facts confirming the doctrine of so-called "unconscious cerebration;" that is, of the performance of thought processes by the brain, independently of will or consciousness. He does not clearly distinguish whether in the process the brain does actually *think* of itself, or whether it evolves the process through, like a wooden calculating machine, without the existence of any thought. Nor does he give any valid reasons for locating the so-called unconscious processes in the cerebral mechanism rather than in the spiritual fabric, or show why it is a case of unconscious cerebration any more than unconscious mentalization. Our own impression has for some time been that this whole new fangle of "unconscious cerebration" needs, but cannot safely stand, a searching analysis.

The debate between spiritualism and materialism in the field of physiology Dr. H. finds so far a draw-game as that the spiritualistic arguments, one by one, are checked by some materialistic twist. Ideas may be scratches on the brain-tablet. If you reply that they are too numerous for the area of the tablet, he will cipher you how many ideas you can possibly possess, and show that the Declaration of Independence can be written on less than the surface of a dime. If you argue that the material tablet has repeatedly changed

its substance through life, he replies that, nevertheless, a bodily scar retains its trace through all those changes. And when we note that the drowning man catches a full sight of the entire record of his past life at one glance, "it is possible, it is not impossible, that memory is a material record; that the brain is scarred and seamed with infinitesimal hieroglyphics, as the features are engraved with the traces of thought and passion. And, if so, must not the record perish with the organ?" And this leaves the possible inference with Dr. Holmes that the bodily resurrection is the only solution of our immortality. And then for a solution of our responsible and transcendent nature, Dr. H. makes his appeal to the free-will, firmly asserting on moral grounds his manly protest against fatalism philosophical and theological.

Yet at the very start of his review of the intellective debate he states a proviso which we wish he had exerted his brilliant powers in fully analyzing and expanding. "It may be true that the brain is inscribed with material records of thought; *but what that is which reads such records*" (the italics are our own) "*remains still an open question.*" Momentously true! The etches on the Sinaitic *rock* are nothing to the rock. It is the consciousness of the reader that not only takes but gives them their intellective significance. Transfer the scratches on the purely materialistic rock-tablet to the purely materialistic brain-tablet and what have you gained? You still need a consciousness to stand opposite the record to read it. If you place opposite the brain record a reader with a mere materialistic brain record you have only repeated the bootless transfer, and all your transfers are mere nothings *ad infinitum;* you have not arrived within less than an infinite distance of such thing as a *thought.* It is not until the record is taken from the canvas, transformed from a flat writing to an *image*, (as a picture is transformed into a statue,) in pure *mental space*, that you have an intellective *idea.* That pure *mental space* is within the conscious being, and is more diverse from the brain-tablet than the ether is from the rock. It is not the retina that sees, but the conscious being which is behind the retina; or rather the consciousness-ether of that being within which the ideal-image floats. If some of the well-authenticated narratives of clairvoyance are true, that conscious being can in due conditions see without the retina. Perhaps Dr. Holmes will let loose and be "as witty" at us "as he can," to the great danger of our corporeity, if we add that, if some well-authenticated stories are true, that conscious spirit may in due conditions be disengaged from all corporeal organs and make itself perceptible to the consciousness of others. Our stock of physiol-

ogy, scanty as it may be, has nothing that demonstrates the impossibility of such phenomena. We decline to abdicate the world's ancient faith in their reality.

Footfalls on the Boundaries of another World, with Narrative Illustrations. By ROBERT DALE OWEN, formerly Member of Congress, and American Minister to Naples. 12mo., pp. 528. Philadelphia: J. P. Lippincott & Co. 1868.

To the assertion of the materialistic philosopher that life or soul is never known apart from a bodily organization, and therefore is the inseparable result of organization, Robert Dale Owen, in the work before us, interposes the counter argument, upon which all physiology is built, *Experience.* Cases innumerable are constantly happening in which the spiritual organism is cognized by our perceptions; and hence its independence and separability from the material body is a known fact, which at once dismisses the materialistic argument from our attention.

The earliest production of Mr. Owen with which we became acquainted, years ago, was his argument against the existence of a God and the divine authority of the Scripture in debate with Origen Bachelor. When sent as Minister to Naples by our National Government, in connection with some gentlemen of high diplomatic rank, he was induced to give attention to certain supernaturalistic phenomena, and became with others convinced that, after making every deduction, there is a residuum of truth well worthy of attentive study. The result was to convince him of the spiritual and immortal nature of man, of the existence of a world of spirits, of a Supreme Being, and of the essential truth of Christianity.

In the work before us, the result of years of careful investigation, he discusses not the phenomena commonly known as *spiritualism*, in which certain kinds of manifestations are by various methods *evoked.* He confines his attention to those supernaturalistic phenomena which he claims as plentifully abounding in history and personal experience, which occur without the will of the spectator and *spontaneously.* It is a curious fact that upon analysis these manifestations can be classified, and to a true ghost-savan every new case will exhibit well-known characteristics, and fall into its proper species.

Mr. Owen prefaces his narratives with a critical discussion of the nature of those hallucinations and illusions which are often mistaken for apparitions, and which to superficial and self-sufficient thinkers constitute a solution of all supernatural narratives. It is abundantly true, physiologically, that in certain states of the bodily system phantoms are seen and fictitious voices are heard; but

seldom is the same phantom confirmed by two or more senses—as sight, hearing, and touch—never perceived by two or three persons; and certainly never are there revelations made by such phantoms of unknown facts, afterward found to be perfectly true. And as the nature of the manifestation itself must thus be critically tested, so must the nature of the evidence. Upon this point Mr. Owen's book is, perhaps, the most critical ever written, and the most worthy of the attention of candid inquirers. They are all of modern date, and attested by men of high social position and superior intelligence. Mr. Owen's extensive travel in Europe furnished him with abundant opportunities of investigation. Many of the narratives are related to him by the persons concerned in the facts, and of some of them his records have been read by the parties and pronounced correct. Not a case does Mr. Owen give which is not supported by evidence which every historian would consider as putting an ordinary event beyond all question.

There is one point in this subject which we would like to have some skeptical physiologist scientifically investigate. Dr. Johnson says that those who deny the occurrence of ghosts really "confess it by their fears." Let the most resolute philosopher sit with his book in a lonely house by a dim lamp at midnight. He can read of the slaughter of thousands with calm indifference; but let him read a few vivid descriptions of apparitions of the dead, and no skepticism or sternness of purpose will prevent his shudders. And, perhaps, if he will analyze, he will find that even while his mind is clear and his will is firm, a cold chill courses through his dorsal region, his blood seems roused to commotion, and a distinct vibration may be felt of his nervous system. What reason of this strange susceptibility can be given? Mr. Bain, in his Psychology, has endeavored to give a very exhaustive enumeration of our various sensations, such as those of heaviness, the dead strain, etc., etc., but he omits the sensation of ghost horror.

Mr. Owen gives the circular of a "Ghost Club" formed by a number of gentlemen in the University of Cambridge for the purpose of obtaining well-authenticated narratives of supernaturalisms. The result of their inquiries seems to have been that all, or nearly all, were convinced of the reality of *wraiths*, that is, the apparition of persons at the moment of their death to individuals at a distance. The evidence of other apparitions was too slight to be convincing. The corresponding secretary of the society was Rev. B. F. Wescott, author of several valuable biblical and theological works.

The Descent of Man, and Selection in Relation to Sex. By CHARLES DARWIN, M.A., F. R. S. With Illustrations. Vol. I. 12mo., pp. 409. New York: Appleton & Co. 1871.

Mr. Darwin's previous volumes have treated his theory, applicable as its principles are to all living beings, solely in application to the animal world. He had long been collecting materials on *human* development, but had not the courage to publish them until the bold avowal of his views by less timid pupils, especially Carl Vogt, of Germany, braced his nerves to the enterprise. The present volume, though exhibiting the amiable and pure scientific spirit and eminent genius of the author, strikes us as inferior in style and ability to its predecessors. Darwin and Wallace are free from the trenchant pugnacity of Huxley and Mandesley; and distantly removed from the coarse blatancy of Búchner, who exults, apparently, in the thought of reducing humanity down to brute conditions. This spirit of blasphemy is illustrated by the very title of a Darwinian book (quoted by Darwin) by Dr. Barrago Francesco: "Man, made in the image of God, is made also in the image of the ape." Darwin's spirit is reverent; he maintains the transcendental nature of conscience; and, if we rightly understand him, the immortality of man.

Mr. Darwin traces the human animal to the Old World ape, finding his probable residence in Africa. Thence through the lemur, down through bird and fish, to some low marine form. He admits that, though our pedigree is thus very ancient, it is not very noble. He contents himself with the reply that "the most humble organism is something much higher than the inorganic dust beneath our feet;" forgetting that even by his theory our pedigree takes its very earliest origin from the primordial inorganic matter biblically represented by the word "dust." Nor is it true that living natures may not be both more detestable and more disgusting than pure lifeless matter.

On this matter we may suggest:

1. Darwinism cannot get over the threshold of vital existence without a miracle. How did the system of life first begin? The experiments in "Spontaneous Generation" at every repetition confirm the doctrine that *from life only can life proceed.* How, then, without a new creation, a creation however minute in its magnitude, yet most stupendous in its nature—an origination of that wonderful reality, *Life*, in the universe—could our pedigree take its primordial start?

2. If Darwinism admits the immortality of the soul we must have a second instantaneous, yet most stupendous, miracle. At some

point in the long pedigree *man ceased to be mortal*, and became immortal. This amazing transition from the finite to the infinite must have taken place at an indivisible instant, for there is no intermediate. And so, in contradiction to Mr. Darwin's statement that there was no time in which man became man, we may positively say man became man "in the twinkling of an eye." There was a moment when man was formed, in the highest sense, "in the image of God;" as the son of Sirach says, "in the image of his Eternity." The race, therefore, has certainly had its *Adam;* for the Hebraic word *Adam*, be it not forgotten, means *Man*. There was an immortal Adam enthroned at a miraculous epoch over animate and inanimate nature, endowed with conscience and responsibility, and installed beneath the government of God. Even then from Darwin himself, we come to a conception so amazingly the type of the old Hebraic history as to impress us with its true divinity. And thus both scientific geology and anthropology, while they at first present a variation from the Mosaic record quite alarming to the believer, do terminate in a strange typical resemblance quite confounding to the skeptic.

3. While Mr. Darwin denies that the similarities of pattern between man and other animals can be solved on the principle of positive creation after "an ideal plan," he is too candid a reasoner to deny that somehow *plan*, model, intellective shaping, does exist. We then think that most readers would deny that "ideal plan" can exist without antecedent mind to plan it. If we assume that matter can exist without creation, we are not quite obliged to admit that motion of matter could exist without mind to select the direction of the motion. But even if we should admit that matter might move by blind mathematical laws, and so pass through countless evolutions, we can never admit that any thing less than mind can construct, outside of rigid mathematical law, an adaptive "ideal plan."

Geology and Revelation; or, the Ancient History of the Earth considered in the light of Geological Facts and Revealed Religion. With Illustrations. By Rev. GERALD MOLLOY, D.D., Professor in St. Patrick's College, Maynooth, Ireland. 12mo., pp. 380. New York: G. P. Putnam & Sons. 1870.

Dr. Molloy unfolds the established doctrines of Geology with the clear and natural fluency of the Blarney Isle, and Paddy and Papist though he is, we like him. The two hypotheses for reconciling Geology and Moses, the æonic day theory and the theory of a hebdomadal re-instauration after a cataclysm, he presents, and, as neither the Church nor science have decisively spoken, he leaves us our

choice of either of these two, or as much better a scheme as we can frame.

The main specialty of his book is his copious extracts from the ancient Church fathers, Greek and Latin, giving a symbolical view of the word day in the first chapter of Genesis. The debate as to the meaning of this chapter, and the rejection of its literality, did not begin after, and were not first produced by, the disclosures of Geology. Augustine denied "day" to be a time-word at all. That body of the fathers who rejected the literal account held the entire creation to have been instantaneous, and that the day-symbol was adopted simply to unfold the order of ideas. And we may here note that before Darwin wrote, Professor Tayler Lewis, in his work on "The Six Days of Creation," explicitly took ground that if science allowed the doctrine of the development of man from a lower order of nature, there is nothing in Scripture conclusively to contradict it.

A Story of the Rocks: A Fourteen Weeks' Course in Popular Geology. By J. Dorman Steele, A.M., Ph. D., Principal of Elmira Free Academy, and author of "A Fourteen Weeks' Course in Chemistry," "in Astronomy," and "in Natural Philosophy." 12mo., pp. 280. New York and Chicago: A. S. Barnes & Co. 1870.

Professor Steele has the tact and talent to do up an elementary book in science with great clearness, and, aided by Barnes's fine typography and well-selected and executed illustrations, with much attractiveness. Following mainly Professor Dana's admirable general plan, his manual is an admirable academic introduction to that standard work. By an ingenious adjustment the Mosaic demiurgic days are adopted as periodic diversions in the body of the work, while the genesis of man is left for future science to decide. It will be a dull scholar who does not follow with interest Professor Steele's lead.

History, Biography, and Topography.

Life and Times of John Wesley. By Rev. L. Tyerman. London: Hodder & Stoughton.

This is an important work. Mr. Tyerman has been permitted to consult the unpublished manuscripts of Wesley, and, though he derives from them no remarkable new *data*, they have enabled him to give fuller and more satisfactory interpretations of interesting old facts hitherto but partially understood by students of

Wesleyan history. He has also explored diligently the contemporary, especially "periodical," literature for materials, and for even allusions to the great founder and his societies and coadjutors. In the latter respect his success is without a parallel among Wesleyan biographers. It is astonishing how incessant, persistent, and acrimonious were the "periodical" criticisms on Wesley and his people; and as to the pamphleteers, they kept up an almost unintermitted bombardment of the new religious movement for nearly half a century. Though Mr. Tyerman aims at all possible brevity in his citations from, and comments on, this wretched literature, (putrescent while alive, and long since dead and buried,) yet it was so superabundant that the reader tires with his ever-recurring allusions to it. Still it is well, if not for the common reader, yet for students of the times, and for future historians of Methodism, that these literary sewers of England in the last century have been opened.

Mr. Tyerman writes the chronicles of Wesleyan Methodism, and writes them in the form of strict annals. He follows Wesley by his famous "Journals," and the work has been characterized by a newspaper critic as "a moving commentary on Wesley's Journals." We are not sure that this is not the best possible method for such a book, provided it shall be complemented by the proper logical or philosophical estimates of his characters and their momentous work in his concluding volume. Two heavy octavoes have thus far been issued, and though they tell an intelligible, straightforward story, they give no comprehensive appreciation of the general relations of Methodism, and not very clear glimpses of its interior relations—the relations of its own divisions and subdivisions. The plan of the work may be an apology for these defects. As biography, and especially as biography in the form of annals, historical dissertation might seem too episodical. Wesley's work, however, cannot be adequately estimated, except by better correlation of its periods, principles, and coadjutors. We hope to find this necessary complement in Mr. Tyerman's final volume.

The style of the book is strong and direct, without pretension to literary elegance, and sometimes a little coarse. Style, however, is moral as well as literary, and these volumes seem to us to fail mostly in their moral tone. We miss almost entirely that sympathetic religious interest, that irresistible moral inspiration, which we have been accustomed to receive from nearly every literary product of Methodism, and which have rendered many of its least polished books living powers among its people. Wesley

appears to us in these pages greater than ever as a man of work and travel; but neither he nor any of his associates, high or low, wear the old saintly halo around their brows. It is not dispelled as false; we know that could never be; but it is not given. The truth is told of them, but not the whole truth; and that which is omitted is the most precious—not merely the most precious to the devout reader, but logically the most legitimate as biographical fact and historical illustration. Mr. Tyerman has evidently undertaken his work as an iconoclast; but like the old iconoclasts, he has struck his blows too indiscriminately. If he has not aimed at marring any morally precious thing in the temple, still he has scattered critical dust and ashes so profusely as to obscure or entirely cover many of the finest, most hallowed phases of "primitive Methodism."

Any criticism, however, on an incomplete work must be but partially just. We await the next volume with the hope that some of our animadversions can be qualified. Meanwhile, whatever may be the fault-finding of critics, all will admit that Mr. Tyerman has made invaluable contributions to the *data* of Methodist history. No biographer of Wesley, no historian of Methodism, can hereafter fail to recognize him as an indispensable authority. L.

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Hand-Book of Bible Geography. Containing the Name, Pronunciation, and Meaning of every Place, Nation, and Tribe mentioned in both the Canonical and Apocryphal Scriptures, with Descriptive and Historical Notes. By Rev. GEORGE H. WHITNEY, A.M. Illustrated by nearly one hundred Engravings, and forty Maps and Plans. 12mo., pp. 401. New York: Carlton & Lanahan.

Atlas designed to Accompany the New Hand-Book of Bible Geography. 12mo., pp. 50. Sunday-School Normal Department. Carlton & Lanahan.

Pictorial Bible Geography for Little Students. By J. H. VINCENT, D.D. Folio, pp. 55. New York: Carlton & Lanahan. San Francisco: E. Thomas. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1871.

Those who have not made the experiment are little aware what new life and apparent reality and authenticity are given to the Biblee vents and characters by a good well-studied map, especially with the addition of a due geographical explanation and history. In the hands of Dr. Vincent this department of biblical instruction is coming out into new development. Mr. Whitney's Geography is the result of a thorough mastery of the subject, gives clear and fresh statements of what most interests the student to know, and in its lexicographical form is easy of reference for the humblest scholar. The Atlas, though of but small manual form, is very clear, finely colored, drawn from the latest authorities, and

attractive to the eye. The Pictorial for Little Students ought to be in every little student's hands. It is calculated to give an early grounding, and to awaken an early taste, in this delightful range of study. Every Christian, and especially every Christian minister, should carry the picture of the Holy Land among his sacred memories. With these beautiful aids why should he not?

Jesus: his Life and Work as Narrated by the Four Evangelists. By HOWARD CROSBY. 8vo., purple and gilt, tinted paper, pp. 551. New York: University Publishing Company. Baltimore: 54 Lexington-street. 1871.

The divine image of Jesus has not been shattered by the rough hand of Strauss, nor degraded by the low picturing of Renan. It still stands in its unapproachable majesty, and the best talent of the author and the artist is still exerting its highest power in doing faint justice to its divinity. Dr. Crosby's delineation of the Jesus of the Gospels exemplifies what we have said upon another page, that Christian writers affirm the highest doctrines of supernaturalism in all the evangelical details even more firmly than they did fifty years ago. Dr. Crosby maintains the literal historical character of the Temptation. He reaffirms the reality of demoniac possession; he finds neither myth nor vision in the transfiguration, and he glories in the resurrection, as in the cross, of Christ. The work is written with scholarly research, in a free, flowing, and pictorial style. The numerous engravings by Mr. Rawson exhibit the veritable scenes and objects of Palestine in new and vivid aspects. The book is a luxury; and the being a luxury is its only drawback. It ought to be in some way a cheap and broadcast benefaction.

Wesley his own Historian. Illustrations of his Character, Labors, and Achievements, from his own Diaries. By Rev. EDWIN L. JANES. 12mo., pp. 464. New York: Carlton & Lanahan.

Wesley's Journal has ceased to be a popular book, but there is much in it to interest the popular mind so far forth as it is interested in the character of Wesley. It was a happy thought therefore of Mr. Janes to select and arrange its most characteristic and salient points, and present them to the public in a popular form. The work has needed but few fillings up by the selector, and Wesley is portrayed by his own hand as no other hand could portray him. The little volume therefore possesses a broad popular interest and a permanent value. We commend it to a wide diffusion.

The Life and Times of John Huss: or, The Bohemian Reformation of the Fifteenth Century. By E. H. GILLETT. In Two Volumes. Third Edition. 12mo., pp. 632, 686. Boston: Gould & Lincoln.

Of Dr. Gillett's Life of Huss we gave a very decided commendation on its first appearance. The first publication of a narrative so full, of a remarkable passage in the history of a country so remote, awakened the attention of scholars well-informed upon that specialty, and attracted criticisms and aids of which the learned author has been alert to avail himself. Thereby he is enabled to make his large-as-life portraiture of "one of the noblest and purest of the martyrs" more complete and perfect. The pages of the work transport the reader to a most interesting and important field of human history. The volumes abound with pictures of stirring scenes and striking characters. The narrative is pregnant with important lessons for the present hour. Dr. Gillett's style is fresh and pictorial; his heart is in his subject, and the martyrs and heroes of the past are made to live again under the power of his pen.

Politics, Law, and General Morals.

Arts of Intoxication. The Aim and the Results. By Rev. J. T. CRANE, D.D. Large 16mo., pp. 264. New York: Carlton & Lanahan.

Dr. Crane teaches these *arts* in order that nobody may practice them. He ranges over their history from early times, discusses their various materials as coca-leaf, thorn-apple, betel-nut, tobacco, and hemp, but spends, very properly, his main strength upon the prince of devils, alcohol. The volume is a timely production; for at no time since the first rise of the temperance movement in 1820–30 has drunkenness so rioted in triumph as at the present hour. This, perhaps, is the best issue of Dr. Crane's graceful and vigorous pen.

Roman Imperialism and other Essays. By J. P. SEELEY, M.A. 12mo., pp. [illegible] Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1871.

A volume by the author of "Ecce Homo" justly awakens an expectation which will hardly be sustained by the perusal; rather, however, from the great success of the former than from a positive failure in the latter. All that Professor Seeley writes possesses a marked directness, subtlety of thought, and individuality of style. He is a *modern* and an adventurous thinker, hitting often bravely right, yet often sadly wrong.

Educational.

Books and Reading; or, What Books shall I Read, and How shall I Read Them. By NOAH PORTER, D.D., LL.D. 12mo., pp. 378. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1871.

Professor Porter delineates with great skill the well-rounded curriculum of a liberal but not literalistic reader. He presents to us the true idea of a largely Christian literature: Christian, not in the sense of purely religious; not in the narrow spirit excluding works of imagination and art; not in the jealous precisianism that dreads free inquiry in morals, science, or politics, but with the purpose of excluding writers who are polemically Antichristian, or who contradict the Christian assumptions hitherto held by the Church of all ages. He decisively affirms that it is just and right that Antichristian writers should not wear the Christian name. We are justified, we may add, in excluding them from the common area of *literature* as being truly sectarian. If Emerson blasphemes Christ and proclaims pantheism; if James Russell Lowell advocates pure deism, their works are not only to be excluded from "literature" as Antichristian, but as being doctrinary. The "Atlantic Monthly" is as truly sectarian as the "Methodist Quarterly Review," and the "New York Tribune" scarcely less than the "Christian Advocate." The difference is that the one frankly avows its position—the other claims to belong to the broad common, and then avails itself of its position to propagate its special doctrines. As an analysis of the true philosophy of reading, as a programme of the general field of literature, and as a guide to the inquirer for "the right book," Professor Porter's book is a very suitable publication.

Miscellaneous.

The True Unity of Christ's Church; being a Renewed Appeal to the Friends of the Redeemer on Primitive Christian Union, and the History of its Corruption: to which is now added a Modified Plan for the Reunion of all Evangelical Churches, embracing as Integral Parts the World's Evangelical Alliance, with all its National Branches. By S. S. SCHMUCKER, D.D.

First Lessons in Composition. By JOHN S. HART, L.L.D. 12mo., pp. 141. Philadelphia: Eldredge & Brother. 1871.

The Poetical Works of Alfred Tennyson, Poet Laureate. Numerous illustrations. 8vo., pp. 54. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1871.

Little Stories, with Odd Pictures; or, Evening Amusement for the Little Ones at Home. With twenty illustrations by PAUL KONEWKA. 16mo., pp. 150. New York: Carlton & Lanahan.

The Infant Sunday-School. By ALICE W. KNOX and CHARLES E. KNOX. With an Appendix by Rev. J. H. VINCENT. 12mo., pp. 166. New York: Carlton & Lanahan.

History of Louis XIV. By JOHN S. C. ABBOTT. With illustrations. 12mo., pp. 410. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1871.

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The Story of the Rocks. A Fourteen Weeks' Course in Popular Geology. By J DORMAN STEELE, A.M., Ph. D. 12mo., pp. 280. New York: A. S. Barnes & Co. 1871.

A Year with Moses. Nos. 1 and 2. By J. H. VINCENT, D.D. 16mo., pp. 93, 1 New York: Carlton & Lanahan. 1871.

Standard Phonographic Writer. Edited and Published by ANDREW J. GRAHAM. 503 Broadway. Vol. IV. 12mo., pp. 208. 1869.

Proceedings of the New England Historic Genealogical Society at the Annual Meeting Jan. 4, 1871. Second Edition. 8vo., pp. 36. Boston.

Proceedings of the Second Annual Session of the American Philological Association held at Rochester, N. Y., July 1870. 8vo., pp. 31. New York. 1871.

The Rapid Writer, (Quarterly,) *Devoted to the Introduction of The New System of* [illegible] *Writing.* 12mo. Mendon, Mass.; Boston, Otis Clapp.

Importance of Doctrinal Truth in Religion and Man's Responsibility for his Belief. A Conference Sermon by Rev. Bishop D. W. CLARK. 4to., pp. 30. Detroit: J. M. Arnold. 1871.

Wonders of Grace. By Rev. W. H. BOOLE. Pp. 15. New York: Water-street Tract Rooms.

Every Day. By the author of "Katerine Morris," etc. 12mo., pp. 282. Boston Noyes, Holmes, & Co. 1871.

Bible Lore. By Rev. J. COMPER GRAY. 16mo., pp. 312. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1870.

The Old Masters. The Princes of Art: Painters, Sculptors, and Engravers. Translated from the French by Mrs. S. R. URBINO. 12mo., pp. 337. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1870.

Judged by His Works. An Attempt to Weigh a Certain Kind of Evidence respecting Christ. 12mo., pp. 331. London: Longmans, Green, & Co. 1870.

The Apple Culturist. By SERENO E. TODD. 12mo., pp. 334. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1871.

The Mutineers of the Ship Bounty and their Descendants in Pitcairn and Norfolk Islands. By LADY BELCHER. With Maps and Illustrations. 12mo., pp. 377 New York: Harper & Brothers. 1871.

A German Reader to succeed the German Course. By GEORGE F. COMFORT, A. M. 12mo., pp. 432. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1871.

The House on Wheels; or, the Stolen Child. By MADAME DE STOLZ. Translated from the French by MISS E. F. ADAMS. With twenty Illustrations. 12mo pp. 301. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1871.

Teachers' Meetings. An Address delivered to the Philadelphia Sunday-School Teachers' Institute, January 17, 1870. By W. HENRY SUTTON. 16mo., pp. 14 New York: Carlton & Lanahan.

Letters Every-where. Stories and Rhymes for Children, with twenty-eight Illustrations. By THEOPHILE SCHULER. 12mo., pp. 228. Boston: Lee & Shepard 1871.

The Tone Masters. A Musical Series for Young People. By CHARLES BARNARD Illustrated. Handel and Haydn. 12mo., pp. 223. Boston: Lee & Shepard 1871.

Fiction.

The Victory of the Vanquished. A Story of the First Century. By the Author of "The Chronicles of the Schonberg Cotta Family." 12mo., pp. 520. New York: Dodd & Mead.

Ethel Linton; or, the Feversham Temper. By E. A. M. 12mo., pp. 317. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden.

Sir Harry Hotspur of Humblethwaite. By ANTHONY TROLLOPE. 12mo., pp. 11 New York: Harper & Brothers. 1871.

Postponed for notice to next Quarterly:

Max Müller's Chips, Vol. III—Scribner & Co.
Curtius' History of Greece—Scribner & Co.
Wakeley's Prince of Pulpit Orators—Carlton & Lanahan.
Naville's Problem of Evil—Carlton & Lanahan.

METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

JULY, 1871.

ART. I.—ERNEST NAVILLE: HIS WORKS AND OPINIONS.

A BERLIN book-seller, on being asked recently in what store of the city a good supply of French works on theology could be found, replied, "In none. The Pastors of our Huguenot Churches can all read German, and no one who reads German ever thinks of looking to French writers for theology or science." This blunt remark of the German book-merchant is but a fair expression of the average German estimate of the French literature of the day. And, unfortunately, this estimate is, on the whole, too nearly just. The Second Empire has not been favorable to a vigorous growth either of free thought or of moral life. Its literature has partaken of the general atrophy—has thrown itself largely into the channels of doubt, materialism, and impurity.

But the somber picture is not without its light points. In the midst of the corrupt mass there has continued to be a select few to whom all honor is due. We cannot afford to despise French literature, so long as it is represented by such names as Godet, D'Aubigné, Gratry, Bautain, De Félice, Rougemont, Bersier, Astié, Pressensé, Caro, Janet, Secrétan, Broglie, Rémusat, Laboulaye, Quatrefages, Rosseeuw Saint-Hilaire, Milne Edwards, Saint-René Taillandier, and a host of others equally deserving. By the efforts of these men the banner of French thought is kept safe from trailing in the dust;

if not in advance, it is at least abreast with the general thought of the age.

Few names deserve more honorable mention in this connection than the one at the head of this article. Nine years ago* a paper in this Review called attention to the labors of M. Naville in the more complete rehabilitation of the works and philosophy of Maine de Biran. The recent publication in English of three series of lectures on the philosophy of religion places him more fully before the public, giving us, in fact, the choice fruit of thirty years of healthful, earnest thinking.

The purpose of this article is to give a rapid survey of this author's life, and of its significancy for evangelical Christianity.

M. Ernest Naville is yet in the vigor of manhood, and in the midst of widely planned intellectual labors. He is of an ancient refugee Huguenot family, and was born December 13, 1816, in a village of the Canton of Geneva, of which his father was long the revered Pastor. His first studies were prosecuted under the direction of his father, who had founded in the village a private seminary. Subsequently he took a thorough course of philosophy and theology at the National Academy (University) of Geneva. At the age of twenty-three he received the degree of licentiate in theology, and shortly thereafter made a tour of several months in Italy, sojourning longest at Florence, but visiting also Rome and Naples, and returning to Geneva in July, 1840. Here he was employed in the "religious instruction of the youth," and was charged by the government with the superintendency of primary education in the Canton. In 1844, having been called to the chair of History of Philosophy in the Faculty of Letters of Geneva, he entered more outwardly and actively upon that career of philosophical labor for which years of predilection and meditation had been ripening him. But the sunshine of academic life was not to be without clouds. The Liliputian republic felt two years beforehand the throes of that political revolution which so suddenly threw all Europe into convulsion. In 1846 the conservatives gave place to a very radical *régime*, and in 1848 M. Naville was expelled from his chair in consequence. At this time he renounced his character as ordained clergyman in the State Church of the Canton, and ever since he has preferred to

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* October, 1862.

main in the ranks of the laity. The radicals, however, did not succeed in silencing his eloquent and healthful utterances. He opened a course of *free* lectures on philosophy, at first in a private hall; but at a later period, when the popular passions had calmed down, he transferred them to the National Academy.

His expulsion from his public professorship was the occasion of giving his labors a more decided literary turn. His voice, though silenced in the State auditorium, was, in fact, given a much worthier auditory. He addressed himself to the great literary public.

His first publication was "Maine de Biran, his Life and Thoughts," one volume, 1857—an exposition of the personal character and leading thoughts of his favorite master in philosophy. His next work was a painstaking labor of love, the collecting and editing of the posthumous papers of the sage of Bergerac. It appeared in three volumes in 1859, under the title, "The Inedited Works of Maine de Biran."

The first of these works, and the elaborate introduction to the second, obtained at once for M. Naville an honorable place among the philosophers of the day.

These volumes were successively followed by three works which made their author's name familiar wherever there are wide-awake students of Christian apologetics. "Life Eternal" appeared in 1861, "The Heavenly Father" in 1865, "The Problem of Evil" in 1868. These volumes, though of a strictly philosophical character, are yet popular in style, and were severally delivered with great success to audiences of males, first at Geneva, and then at Lausanne, before being finally edited for the press. They constitute each an attempt at a theodicy in the special field suggested by its title, the whole being an elaborate effort to justify the central doctrines of evangelical religion as opposed to the various godless systems of the day.

The spirit that breathes in these volumes is admirable and winning; is generous, hopeful, enthusiastic; but what is their scientific and theological worth? Are they but the honest theorizings of a good man to serve a good cause, or are they in the main solid, irrefutable truth?

These questions can better be answered after a brief glance

at M. Naville's philosophical position, at his notion of the mission of philosophy, and of how far it may and should be put to the service of religion.

While yet on the threshold of a cultured manhood, M. Naville's mind received an impression which formed the key-note to all his subsequent thinking. A German writer had published some verses which began thus: "Our hearts are moved with a tender sadness at the thought of the ancient Jehovah, who is about to die." They were a farewell tribute of tears to the departing phantom of the God of Christianity, and they caused in M. Naville's heart a sinister thrill which has never been forgotten, and all the more so, as he recognized in them a correct reflection of the opinion of a large proportion of the *literati* of the day.

M. Naville set himself to the earnest work of solving the religious question for himself. Is theology only mythology? Is existence an absolute enigma? Is all knowledge only relative, or may we *know* the origin and purpose of things? In the settling of these questions he was greatly helped by the works of Maine de Biran. He here based himself upon the thoughts of God as moral, personal, creative, and man as personal, free, and immortal. He became in fact a leader in the right wing of the French spiritualistic school—a tendency which is now earnestly working for the establishment of what may be called the Philosophy of Liberty.

This new spiritualism is daily gaining ground. It vigorously maintains the rights of the conscience, and is seeking to found on the notion of moral liberty a new system of metaphysics which shall satisfy at once the dialectic laws of reason and the moral wants of the soul. It is true, this school has not at its head any such name as Leibnitz or Kant. Even Royer-Collard and Victor Cousin did not serve it as much as were to be desired. It halted too long in the doubts of Eclecticism. It began with great enthusiasm and wise principles, but it failed to bear much fruit. Its most significant divergence from Leibnitz and Descartes was in its preponderatingly moral character, its more healthful and full appreciation of the notions of duty and moral liberty. This phase of the spiritual life held the first place in the thoughts of Maine de Biran, the ripe conclusion of whose life-time of meditation was that "religion alone

can solve the problems which philosophy proposes." And this same tendency has been fruitfully pursued by Jouffroy, Jules Simon, Saisset, Janet, and Caro. Others might be cited in France, Germany, Italy, and Switzerland, who are faithfully working in the same direction. The efforts of Vinet have been especially productive. None, however, has better expressed the new philosophy and developed its rich consequences than Charles Secrétan.* What with others was too often only a vague, general tendency, has become with him an original positive philosophy, with a full consciousness of its principle, and of its mission in the world.

To this new philosophy of liberty M. Naville belongs heart and soul. He regards the notion of moral liberty as something more than an excellent argument against Pantheism. It is a truth of immeasurable significance, one which is destined to give the theological world at last a satisfactory theodicy, and, in fact, to revolutionize every branch of philosophy. It invests the whole sphere of life with brighter and richer colors; it raises human thought at once and definitively above the dangers of Pantheism; it furnishes the only solid basis for the personality as well of man as of God; it alone enables us to understand their true relation to each other; it alone, in fact, gives dignity to our life and sublimity to our destiny. There is a law higher than that of logic—the law of duty. There is a grander and more beautiful world than that of the infinite evolutions of eternal force—it is the world of free spirits freely seeking God, the plan of infinite love realized by the free love of his creatures.

Such is the inspiring thought of M. Naville's life. To its establishment and propagation he has devoted all his powers. It draws itself like a silver thread through every page of his works. It is the bright sun which gives warmth and fructification to all his intellectual efforts.

More abstractly and summarily stated, this philosophy embraces the following three points: 1. The mind contains elements which are inherent in itself, and are known as metaphysical or transcendental, among which are the ideas of cause and purpose, and the notions of the one, the infinite, the necessary, the absolute. This is the reason in its special, philosophical

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* "La Philosophie de la Liberté," second edition, 1866.

sense. 2. These ideas and notions manifest themselves only on occasion of experience, but in their totality they cannot be applied to the objects of experience, whether internal or external. The phenomena of nature reveal to observation neither their first cause nor their end. The human soul is a cause, and the idea of purpose arises from the contingent and limited. 3. The mind is by its very constitution prompted to search for the cause and the purpose of nature and of humanity, and this search conducts us inevitably to the conception of a First Cause of the universe, of a being answering to our conceptions of the Eternal, the Infinite, the One. There are, therefore, within us, besides the faculties of intelligence which enable us to observe and classify facts and determine their laws, faculties of another order, which demand also to be employed—unless, indeed, we admit that reason is a source of inevitable error, which would be equivalent to admitting that our nature is in a state of irremediable disorder, and would plunge us into a skepticism which could neither be attacked nor defended, because the attack as well as the defense would have to be made by reason, which had already been declared unreliable.*

The intensity of M. Naville's belief in moral liberty is the key to the choice he has made of a field for his Christian activity. He believes that every phase of normal spiritual life has equal rights, that the reason, the will, and the conscience may and should be equally satisfied and in perfect accord, and that consequently to show men the facts, the reasonableness, and the purpose of the divine law, is as real a serving the cause of moral progress as the more technical expounding of the Gospel. His labor, though philosophical rather than dogmatic, is none the less a part of the great work of turning the world to God. Though not in person ministering at the altar, he yet lingers in the neighborhood of the temple, raising a sweet voice in the hearing of all passers by, explaining to them the beauties of the sanctuary, and then conducting them if possible into the fore-courts.

In this course he has no difficulty in justifying himself. He holds that every wide-awake human being is, by virtue of his spiritual nature, necessarily a philosopher. For what is philosophy? It is a search after an explanation of the universe.

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* Revue Chrétienne, April, 1869.

God made man with reason, and the peculiarity of reason is to ask, Why? Christians have all asked this *why*, and have settled it by *believing* Christianity for preponderating *reasons*. Those who never ask this *why* (of the universe and of life) remain in a state of spiritual infancy. Those who ask it honestly, but make no final positive decision, remain throughout life in a state of inquiry and fluctuation. This class numbers many individuals in all civilized communities. It is to them that wise apologetics may render fruitful service; but the positive religionist has also need of all possible service of this kind. There is scarcely any Christian who has not somewhere in the sphere of his beliefs a place which needs strengthening, a place where he is in hesitation or doubt. On some point or other his view of revealed doctrine is in violent and painful conflict with his conviction of the teachings of philosophy, in which case there is always error somewhere, for true philosophy and correctly understood revelation are always and necessarily in perfect harmony. They are the truth, and no one truth conflicts with another, and all truths which are truths are equally sacred, be they revealed in the intuitions of the soul, in the phenomena of nature, or in the articulate word. All these separate truths are but parts of *the* truth—but different rays from the one central sun. They are collectively the soul's natural heritage; their united and harmonizing effect alone constitutes the true daylight of the soul, setting God, nature, and humanity in their true relations to each other. The shutting of our eyes to the light coming from either of these sources not only involves us so far in darkness, but pretty surely reacts disturbingly on the light which comes to us elsewhither. Revelation, intuitions, nature—these must mutually uphold and relieve each other. If we ignore the voice of conscience we may do revelation the insult of finding in it fatalism, unconditional election and reprobation, passive regeneration, the direct punishment of one moral agent for the particular acts of another, etc. If we disregard the help of science we run a risk of understanding the Word puerilely, taking popular or poetical allusions for intended physical truth. If we lightly esteem the Word we inevitably fall into error somewhere, ignoring the personality and the liberty of God or of man, or of both, merging humanity into deity or deity into humanity, denying moral

evil, or, which is the same thing, declaring it a necessary incident of finite being. It is only by having attentively heeded all three of these sources of truth that the body of Christian knowledge is to-day in so relatively advanced a state. Science, metaphysics, and revelation have lent each other a helping hand, and have in turn elucidated and transfigured each other. And it is only by their harmonious co-operation that any absolute progress in the knowledge of the truth can be expected in the future.

To make a free use of all attainable truth in the elucidation of farther truth, with a view to a progressively clearer solution of the problems of existence, is to philosophize. To philosophize is, therefore, simply to seek the truth—the whole truth. In this sense of the word every true man is, in so far, a philosopher. In this sense M. Naville willingly accepts the title. He is devoting his life to the cause of absolute truth. His chosen life-task is, to the extent of his powers, to bring the thinking of his age more nearly in harmony with absolute truth; in other words, to break up the gulf of prejudice and misunderstanding which intervenes between so-called science and the truths that are implied and contained in revelation.

The method he has adopted in this work is peculiarly happy. He places himself on a broad philosophical basis, leaving in abeyance, for the time being, all questions of dogmatics proper. He claims for philosophy simply its universally admitted task—that of seeking a solution of the collective *facts* of being. But what are facts? Facts are whatever *is*. Facts are whatever holds a place in history or experience. Conscience is a fact—as real a fact in human life as is hunger or thirst. The intuition of duty is a fact—no less a real fact than the sensation of heat. Liberty is a fact, an immense fact, the most real and essential of all the facts of human life.

Now it is the chronic misfortune of philosophy to have ignored some of these essential facts, while at the same time seeking to solve the *whole* enigma of being. As well attempt to solve an algebraic equation without taking into account all the factors. This has been especially the case with the fact of moral liberty. And this single oversight is sufficient to explain all the follies, absurdities, contradictions, and fruitlessness which have characterized so-called philosophy hitherto. Because men

could not comprehend how the will could be a cause unto itself—could put forth volitions without being itself acted upon—they have denied the fact. Because they see not how evil could *begin* to be, they have denied that it *is*—have ignored its presence in the equation they attempt to solve. Because they could not understand how a primitive sin could vitiate all the individuals of the race, they have denied the fact of the moral solidarity of humanity. But these facts are none the less facts for their mysteriousness; and true philosophy must frankly accept them as such, and attempt, as far as possible, to comprehend them. In this attempt the whole sphere of human history is at its command. Christ is as legitimate an object of philosophy as Plato. A philosopher may help himself from the teachings of Christ as properly as from those of Plato—may confess himself a Christian or a Platonist without impairing his character as philosopher in the one case more than in the other.

M. Naville has used this liberty. He finds in Christianity the germ of a philosophy purer than that of Plato, sounder than that of Kant—the only true philosophy, the philosophy toward which all other honest philosophies have ever been darkly groping, the Philosophy of Liberty, the philosophy of the future. In M. Naville's opinion the great dogmas of Christianity furnish the hypotheses which best solve the enigmas of existence. But this philosophy is given us only by implication, only in germ. It is the duty of Christian reason to develop and construct it. Toward this end M. Naville is employing all his powers. The three apologetic works above mentioned are parts of the result. The first sheds the combined light of science and the Gospel upon the great dogma of the immortality of the soul; the second, upon that of the creating and redeeming Divine Personality; the third, upon the origin, nature, history, and remedy of evil. These will be followed by a fourth, on the philosophical and world historical significance of Jesus. In addition to this M. Naville "is engaged in preparing a complete *Course of Philosophy*, which he has delivered orally at the Faculty of Letters, (at Geneva,) but which cannot be published before several years."

This much will give some notion of the *savant*-phase of M. Naville's life. It has, however, another and no less interesting phase. M. Naville is no recluse, no mere academician;

he is an active power in society. He does not lock up his best thoughts in abstract formulæ, designed solely for the scholar. They are enshrined in a happy literary form, and brought within the grasp of the great public. Before receiving their final form they were mostly delivered as lectures, with those winning graces of oratory of which French professors seem as yet to retain the secret. I yet distinctly remember with what enthusiasm the theological students of the seminary of Lausanne spoke of the delivery of the series on "Eternal Life" in that city some years ago. The literary polish which he has given his works has not been labor bestowed in vain. Though troubling himself little with modern languages, he has had the pleasure of seeing himself wholly or in part translated into German, Dutch, English, and Italian, and even Russian and modern Greek.

But we would do M. Naville great injustice were we to make the impression that his influence is mainly of a merely intellectual character. On the contrary, the peculiarity of his writings is that they speak, not to the intellect alone, not to the will alone, not to the conscience alone, but to all of them at once—to the whole spiritual nature of man. They abound in serious frankness. No unwarranted advantage is taken. In turning their pages you feel that you are brought face to face with a generous, earnest, cheerful friend. The heart is touched and the conscience quickened, at the same time that the judgment is informed. A charming feature of the three apologetical books is a semi-autobiographical thread that meanders through them. M. Naville gives us frequent glances into the secret history of his interior life. Every here and there we are told of the lasting impression made on his conscience by some seemingly insignificant incident—incident that set his own life in a new light, or revealed virtue in the midst of seeming utter depravity, or gave his conscience a sharp reproof. One example: He heard two grave divines, in the presence of a simple-hearted, aged woman, finding traces of heresy in a received translation of the Bible, and suggesting a new version. On referring to the woman for her opinion she said, "Would it not be enough if we were all as good as this translation requires?" It proved a seed-word that did not miss its fruit.

Though no longer technically a clergyman, M. Naville is yet an active worker for the Church. He is a constant con-

tributor to her periodicals—has furnished her with several popular biographies—among them of Madame Swetchine, Professor Diodati, Père Girard. He is liberal toward those from whom he profoundly differs, and is on terms of intimacy with some of the great theologians of liberal Catholicism. In ecclesiastical sympathies he is with the warmly evangelical tendency represented by Vinet and Pressensé, though he is scarcely so radical as the latter. In the Evangelical Alliance he takes a deep interest. He cannot attend its session in New York, but he has written and addressed to it a discourse on the relations of philosophy and the Gospel.

M. Naville's life has also a political phase. He is a Conservative Republican. This much might be inferred from his expulsion from his professorship by the ultra-radicals. For several years he has been laboring to effect a reform in the political representation of the people—such a one as shall admit a proportional representation of the minority, so that the collective legislature shall be of the same political complexion as the collective population: a reform that is evidently needed also in America. On this subject he has written some valuable pamphlets.

A closing word as to M. Naville's personal character would not be superfluous. His character stands forth in the matter and spirit of his writings as clearly as years of acquaintance could reveal it. He is a man in all senses of the word—clear-headed, upright, warm-hearted, hopeful—a noble representative of that aristocracy of head and heart of which Genevan history offers so many examples. His family circle is what might be inferred—what a truly Christian family ought to be; a little regained Eden. In his church-going habits M. Naville is, however, a little peculiar. Though usually joining with the worship in a plain chapel near his residence, he yet does not limit himself to that, but frequently visits the various other congregations of Geneva. One of his intimate friends, when asked as to his usual place of worship, remarked, smilingly: "Ah, sir, in this respect M. Naville is very peculiar. There is nothing which he finds so tedious as a sermon. He worships a little every-where." Evidently this statement must be understood as reflecting, not on our author's piety or good taste, but on the liveliness of the Genevese sermonizers.

Art. II.—SOUTH AMERICA AS A FIELD OF MISSIONARY LABOR.

Over thirty years ago a Methodist Episcopal Church was formed in Buenos Ayres under the direction of the Missionary Society of our Church. Rev. Dr. Dempster was the first Pastor. This Church continues to exist and to prosper, and is now presided over by Rev. W. G. Jackson, who is also Superintendent of our South American Mission.

Over five years ago a second Methodist Episcopal Church was founded, likewise under the direction of our Missionary Society, in the city of Rosario, of which the writer was the first Pastor. Continuing five years in charge of this station, he was succeeded, a few months ago, by Rev. Thomas B. Wood. The city of Buenos Ayres contains a population of two hundred thousand people, and has four Protestant Churches, namely: one Methodist Episcopal, one Scotch Presbyterian, one Protestant Episcopal, and one German. The city of Rosario, which lies on the banks of the Parana river, about two hundred miles from Buenos Ayres, has a population of eighteen thousand, which, by the enlargement of its commerce and shipping, is rapidly increasing.

There are certain facts which render South America a promising field of labor:

1. The tolerance of all forms of religion by law, and generally the *absolute liberty* of worship in practice, have removed every legal barrier to the promulgation of the Gospel, either by preaching or by the distribution of the Bible.

2. The favor with which these descendants of Spain look upon Protestant ideas seems singularly and providentially to have prepared the way for the kingdom of God. One of the missionaries of our Church, the Rev. Mr. Thompson, has been engaged for some time preaching in Buenos Ayres and Monte Video in the Spanish language. Every one who has heard him knows that he does not spare the errors of the Roman Catholic Church—that he is most decided and outspoken in his attacks upon them. He has gathered around him a number of Spanish converts, among whom is a Roman Catholic priest. One evening in Buenos Ayres, when Mr. Thompson was presiding, and

this priest was lecturing in Spanish, a boisterous son of Erin, incensed at his statements in regard to the Church, interrupted him with the loud allegation that what he said was false. Instantly he was silenced and put out of the room, in which, although many native Spanish people, professedly Roman Catholics, were his auditors, there was not a single voice to support him. The subject was taken up, immediately after, by nearly every native paper in Buenos Ayres, and without an exception that we have heard of, every one of them spoke out strongly in favor of the American Church. An example in Rosario, in the interior of the Argentine Republic, shows the same spirit. A well-known Spanish gentleman there brought his four boys to the Rosario English school, and said he desired us not only to educate them, but to indoctrinate them with our ideas in every particular. We never lost more than a single scholar, to the best of our recollection, from religious prejudices during the five years that the school was under our direction, although the pupils were almost altogether composed of Roman Catholic children, many of them from the higher classes of the population, and although the New Testament was read by the pupils every day, accompanied by prayer, and three times a week a lecture was given by us in Spanish explanatory of evangelical religion, and detailing, according to the capacities of the children, as a basis of the discourse, the events of the Old Testament.

3. The docility of spirit shown by the educated classes on political subjects opens the door to the introduction of religious truth. The government of the Argentine Republic is a copy, as nearly as possible, of the government of the great Republic of the United States. Hence a veneration and respect for their northern and more powerful sister, with a desire to copy her social customs. It is a general sentiment that the people of the United States, and, indeed, all English-speaking people, are ahead of them in the various branches of the arts and sciences, and especially in their educational institutions. An intelligent gentleman said to us in substance one day, "We desire your people to come to our country that we may learn from those who are superior to us."

4. The comparative freedom from religious prejudice of the people, their rulers, and even their clergy. We do not recol-

lect a single instance in which a tract, book, Testament, or Bible has ever been refused when offered by us as a gift, except from inability to read. On the contrary, they are gladly and gratefully accepted by all classes, often with the question, "How much shall we pay?" During our five years' residence in Rosario, in the midst of Spanish Roman Catholics, we never received an insult from them, directed against us as a Protestant or a Protestant minister. If at any time we happened to be among persons to whom we were unknown, the fact that we were a Protestant minister, on becoming discovered, instantly commanded respect. Among the very first children sent to our day-school at its opening were three Spanish children. Long afterward, in conversation with their mother, she remarked to us, "I told the priest that we sent our children to your school, and he said it was well, that you were a good man." One day we offered Señor Piñero, who is the presiding officer and priest of the Spanish Roman Catholic Church in Rosario, a copy of the "South American Monthly," a magazine, hereinafter referred to, which we published in Rosario. He accepted it with thanks and evident pleasure. Not long after, on a visit to his house connected with some business, we saw it lying on his table, open to the inspection of every one. In the course of a long conversation with him at that time he remarked, "Whatever our differences may be on some points, we are all brethren in Christ." And such is the very declaration, we are told, he has made from his own pulpit.

In our visits to the interior of the country we have gone out where the native people were at work, and have given them religious books and tracts in Spanish, and, when our supply was exhausted, have been followed and importuned for more, and have left little knots of people listening to one who, better educated than the others, had gathered them around him that he might read the Gospel to them in their native tongue. Traveling one day in the cars of the Central Argentine Railway, we gave some Spanish tracts to the passengers. On such occasions they always gladly received them, but it was like seed cast upon the waters, which we never expected to hear from in this world. Some time afterward (it may have been months) we were making a visit at the house of a native family, the children of which attended our school. We were sitting at

their hospitable board, when an old gentleman, whom we learned afterward was a relative of the family, accosted us familiarly in Spanish, "Do you not know me?" "I do not recollect meeting you." "Do you not remember me in the train? Have you forgotten this?"

He took out his pocket-book, opened it carefully, and taking from it a paper, as if it had been a bank-bill, exhibited a four-page Spanish tract, which I then remembered to have distributed on the occasion to which I have alluded.

There was a gentleman in Rosario who, we were told shortly after our arrival in that city, was a strict Roman Catholic. He kept a book-store, and was the proprietor of the principal Spanish newspaper. We became acquainted with him by meeting him in his place of business, and during all the time of the publication of the magazine already referred to no brother could have given us more effective or more valuable assistance in every thing we needed than this estimable man. The name of Don Eudoro Carrasco will ever live pleasantly in our memory, associated with every literary effort there. We do not say that the Church of Rome has changed in her doctrines or her practices, but we say that the people who profess to belong to that Church whom we have met in South America have not the religious bigotry we have observed in other places.

Such are some of the facts which render South America a promising field of labor. They apply to the native or Spanish population. We are not now speaking of the English-speaking people who have settled among them. There are, as in every place, obstacles to be overcome, the chief of which is the utter indifference of the people to all spiritual religion. They are a gay, polite, pleasure-loving people. The few who think seriously reject too often every thing that is supernatural in the Bible, and base their religion on morality. The great question is, How shall we reach them, and how reach the English-speaking population dwelling among them? Five modes were in active operation during the whole or part of the time of our residence in Rosario:

1. The distribution and sale of the Bible. It is generally conceded that, except in rare cases, it is better to sell the Bible than to give it away. It is more certain to be valued. Thousands of copies of the word of God have been sold already, and

will no doubt produce fruit. Andrew M. Milne, Esq., Agent of the American Bible Society, residing formerly at Rosario, and now at Monte Video in Uruguay, is active in this good work. George Schmidt, formerly employed by him as colporteur, a man who never feared the face of man, with wonderful tact has explored many of the towns of South America, leaving the good seed wherever he went. This remarkable man is now engaged selling Bibles, school-books, and other useful works on his own account. The agents of the British and Foreign Bible Society are occupied in other quarters.

2. English Churches have been established by different denominations at various points on the Atlantic and Pacific coasts, as well as in the interior, to reach the English-speaking people who are drawn to this southern clime. These are doing a work which has two aspects: the direct benefit of the class to which it is addressed, and the indirect effect upon the native South American people. It must be confessed that this is a slow and gradual work, and yet it is an important and indispensable one. It is slow, because (though the number of persons who speak the English language is considerable) the Church-going people are comparatively few; it is slow because men who have become Gospel-hardened in their own land go there, not to remain, but to grow rich, and to be religious, if ever, after they return to the United States or England; it is slow because the influences of intemperance are more terribly effective, because the Sabbath is every-where a holiday, and because men of sterling, decided religious principles, capable of resisting the current around them, so rarely come, even as temporary residents, to the help of the missionary. It is at the same time important and indispensable because children are growing up who, if left without religious influences, will be drawn irrecoverably into the vortex of sin, but who may be early trained to become our supporters and Church-members; it is important and indispensable because, as far as our own people and our own language are concerned, we must not leave them to be a curse to these fair lands; it is important and indispensable because, if we cannot induce the people who speak our tongue to be godly men, it is hard to reach the native classes. They, like every one else in every place, will look at our works, will look at the kind of Christians we are ourselves

and then judge of our religion and our preaching by the effects which they produce. Notwithstanding the difficulties in the way, English and American Churches have been established by different societies, and are in successful operation within the cities of Buenos Ayres, Valparaiso, Santiago, Rosario, and at various other points in South America.

3. A third mode is the preaching of the Gospel in the Spanish language. This has succeeded in Rio Janeiro and Buenos Ayres. But in both of these cities the Gospel has long been preached in English. Many years ago Dr. Kidder was missionary in Rio, not to mention others of different denominations who have labored there. Thirty years and more ago, as we have already stated, the American Church was formed in Buenos Ayres. There is no doubt that success in both cases among the natives largely proceeds from the seed cast upon the waters in those years when, toiling under discouragement, devoted men labored among the English-speaking classes. The American Church in Buenos Ayres is composed mainly of persons who speak both Spanish and English, many of them born in the country of English parents. Previously to any attempt at preaching in their own language to the natives in that city there were held in our church, morning and evening, two regular English services. These were both well attended. To facilitate the Spanish work the evening English service was changed to Spanish, so that the English congregation, speaking Spanish as they did, became the basis of the Spanish congregation. How far successful preaching to the natives, independently of all English influence, may become, is yet to be seen.

4. Without undervaluing the distribution of the Bible, or the preaching of the Gospel, either in Spanish or English, we proceed to notice another mode, already hinted at, wherein success is certain. It is a mode which may and ought to include within itself all the rest we have named—a mode for which the providence of God seems to have opened the way in South America: we mean the establishment of schools.

At the time we arrived in Buenos Ayres (February, 1864) we could count about seven or eight of the members of the American Church who were at the head of academies or schools. Some of them had for years been occupied in this profession on their own account solely, receiving no help

from the Missionary Society. They had educated many of the prominent native men who had already gone forth into public life. We call to mind at the present time the large academies of Messrs. Parody, Negroto, Junor, and Reynolds, each in separate sections of the city, and each educating great numbers of native boys. Even our young Church in Rosario has now a representative in this work, who has charge of a recently formed, and yet small school in Monte Video. Messrs. Parody, Negroto, Junor, and Reynolds have, at different times, been the superintendents of the Sunday-school (three of them, at least, if not all) connected with our church in Buenos Ayres. Let us imagine, then, what an influence on the native society such schools must have, conducted by such men, on the principles which they would adopt. They have been sowing widely the seed, and the harvest will yet come. For five years, with such assistants as we could secure in Rosario and Buenos Ayres, we kept the Church school going in the former city, depending, on account of the small number of English children in the place, for its support almost altogether on natives. At one time the number of our pupils went up as high as fifty-eight, and, if we could have secured proper help, or could have devoted ourselves exclusively to that work, it might have been further enlarged. During all this time we never failed to instruct the children carefully in religious truth, opening the school always with prayer, and, as we have already said, reading the New Testament and giving regular lectures in Spanish on the Old. This was never objected to but once, when we received a message from one of the parents requesting us not to require her son to read the New Testament. We replied it was the rule of the school and must be complied with. We heard no more objections, and the child continued in the school almost to the time of our leaving the country. Even the government has shown itself so favorable to our schools that on two occasions it made monthly subsidies of money to assist Church schools established in the region of Buenos Ayres. I have been told by a gentleman long a resident on the west coast, and formerly a director of a school there, that throughout all the countries of South America the people not only send their children to schools established by English-speaking persons, but that they prefer them to their own.

We have detailed these facts for the purpose of showing what a vast field there is in South America for those who desire to give themselves to the work of teaching. We do not advise young men to go there who have not fixed religious principles. They will find the current of irreligion too strong for them. But if a man of principle and industry will go to any town of South America with a desire to do good, and establish an English school, and as he becomes familiar with the language teach his pupils in Spanish, he will sow the Gospel seed in a soil where it is certain to take root. Before they are carried away by the flood of irreligion which surrounds them the children will learn to read and value the Bible, they will begin to apprehend the great purpose of life, and by line upon line, precept upon precept, they will become prepared, just as the twelve tribes were prepared during those forty years that God led them in the desert, to enter a higher life. We must remember that God does not always work in the same way, but according to the age in which we live, and according to the moral attainments of the people we aim to reach. If he has opened a way to preach to the children of South America, how earnestly we should endeavor to shape our plans according to his! It is this watching God's providential openings which makes effective our work for him as well as our zeal and industry. It was thus with the apostles. They went where the Spirit directed them. They passed over into Macedonia when God pointed out the way. They saw also the indications of the Spirit as to the mode. At one time it was standing on Mars Hill and preaching, at another instructing Lydia, at another teaching the jailer and his household.

We proceed to notice another mode adopted by us before we left the country. There is, as we have already hinted, a large English and American population in many of the cities of South America. We cannot state the number, but if we add together those residing in the cities of Rio Janeiro, Monte Video, Buenos Ayres, Rosario, Valparaiso, the total will be thousands. While the number of English people far exceeds that of the Americans, yet the latter are numerous. Among all these people throughout the whole of this vast territory, from the Isthmus of Darien to Terra del Fuego, three years ago there was not a single religious newspaper or periodical

published in the English language. Papers and magazines from England and the United States were in circulation, but extremely few of them were religious, because extremely few of the people care for any religious reading, and would rarely subscribe for it unless it were brought to their very doors. Besides this, the mail delivery of newspapers and periodicals from the United States is very uncertain. Of those subscribed for by ourselves we generally received not more than half, although the postage was paid in New York, and they were regularly forwarded. Still further, our Churches in Buenos Ayres and Rosario are American, while the congregation and supporters of each are principally English people or their descendants. Even, therefore, if we could have received the publications of our Church regularly it was difficult to interest the people, being English, in our Advocates, our Repository, our Missionary Advocate, our Quarterly Review. Added to all this was the fact that on the whole of the eastern coast throughout the cities of Rio Janeiro, Buenos Ayres, Rosario, and Monte Video there was but one English paper of any kind, and that was a secular one, conducted by gentlemen who were Roman Catholics, and whose voice on the great questions of evangelical religion, the observance of the Sabbath, the temperance reform, was adverse.

We, therefore, started an English magazine, devoted to education, literature, and religion, for the purpose of forming a public sentiment in favor of religion, in favor of the Sabbath, in favor of temperance, among those who attended no sanctuary, and for the purpose of giving power and unity to the opinions of those who still clung to the moral principles they had brought from their homes. Our magazine was entitled the "South American Monthly," and for a year and seven months before we left the country it was regularly published about the first of every month in Rosario. Always moral in its tone, though not exclusively religious, we aimed in every number to strike a blow for religion, for temperance, and for the Sabbath. It is not surprising that we received little countenance from the English newspaper we have named. It would have been strange if it had been otherwise; but through all difficulties we continued our way. Not stopping to notice any attacks upon us, our "monthly" increased in circulation, and paid its cur-

rent expenses from the first, so that it never drew a single dollar either in its commencement or continuance from the funds of the Missionary Society. It circulated in the cities of Monte Video, Buenos Ayres, Rosario, Cordova, Asuncion, in Paraguay, and almost at every station along the line of the Grand Central Argentine Railway. This circulation, according to the liberal postage law of these countries in regard to non-illustrated papers, was always free.

Unassisted, as we have said we were, in this work by the English paper of Buenos Ayres, it was just the reverse with the Spanish newspapers. Almost without an exception, at every monthly appearance of our magazine it was greeted with a commendatory notice from the principal Spanish newspaper in Rosario, speaking in favor of our work, in favor of ourselves, and recommending the moral and religious character of our publication. Articles were frequently translated and published in Spanish, thus reaching in this indirect mode the native inhabitants of the country. If there ever was a providential call for an effort of this kind it seemed to be this; if there ever was a need of the religious use of Heaven's gift to man, the press, it is among the sister cities of our southern hemisphere.

Throughout these republics of South America the preaching of the printing press in English, multiplied like the leaves of the forest, should stand side by side with the preaching of the Gospel in the pulpit and in the school. Our literature should be scattered day after day from house to house, so pregnant with interesting facts that the native secular papers will translate them, and carry them to their thousands of readers.

There are three great points we must carry: the Bible, the Sabbath, and Temperance. The Bible, its truth against infidelity, its sufficiency against superstition, its atonement against Mariolatry, is the foundation stone; the Sabbath, its holiness as a day against the promenade, the race-course, and the dance, must be gained or there can be no living Christianity; temperance against the wide-spread use of ardent spirits must be patiently, urgently, perseveringly advocated, until the rock yields and we penetrate the consciences of the masses of the people.

And how shall we accomplish this if we neglect the great

agency of the printing press, which we confess has done so much among ourselves?

We have thus enumerated these different modes of reaching the inhabitants of South America, and proceed to answer two questions which naturally are suggested to the reader, namely: 1. Is life safe in those distant regions? 2. Is the climate healthy?

1. Is life safe? Much is said against the native people and the native character by foreigners in South America. We often hear such remarks as the following: "It is a fine country if it were not for the people." When we first went to South America we went there with the impression that our life was not safe in a native town. Going out shortly from Buenos Ayres a hundred miles to preach, and obliged to stop on the route in a native village until morning, we felt some little anxiety as to how we should pass the night alone in such a place. Proceeding to a hotel, we asked for a sleeping-room, a room in which we would have no fellow-lodger. The answer was that such we should have if possible. Being conducted to a large chamber, we observed that it contained six beds. Thinking that they might be intended for some special occasion, and that we were to have the six beds for that night to ourselves, we lay down to sleep. Soon a fellow-lodger came in, and rattled down his gaucho-belt, which sounded like a sword and chain. Then another and another, until the six beds were full. Thoughts of assassination and murder chased each other rapidly as we lay there in the dark, until finally we committed ourselves to our Father's care, and remembered that we could go to heaven if we should die from the blow of a gaucho-assassin in such a place as easily as from among Christian friends; that every-where

> "Jesus can make a dying bed
> Feel soft as downy pillows are,
> While on his breast I lean my head,
> And breathe my life out sweetly there."

It seemed but a moment after that we heard the splashing of something like water. Looking up, we saw that daylight had appeared, and one of the dreaded gauchos had thrown the water in which he had washed his hands upon the brick floor,

according to their custom. We had sweetly and safely slept among them, and have learned since to have more confidence in the native people.

It would be more becoming the English and American character to make some effort to elevate the people of the country rather than to depreciate what there is good in them. They seem too often to aim at the reverse. Is there a low grog-shop in some native city? Not seldom you hear the English language behind the counter. Is there a drinking debauch among young men from the camp? You distinguish the English language in oaths and blasphemies high above all else. Is it strange, then, that many English-speaking people have been killed by the natives?

An assassination rarely happens where there has been no liquor. Conducting himself as a Christian and a gentleman, a man is almost as safe in a native town of South America as in any town of the United States. In one respect he is safer—house-breaking seldom occurs; the people have no talent for this accomplishment. During five years' residence in Rosario we recollect only one instance of burglary, and that was supposed to be the work of foreigners. The readiness of the lower classes to use the knife is proverbial, but a stranger need not descend to the moral level where the gaucho's knife will reach him. The children, even, are said to be so accustomed to the sight of flowing blood and the slaying of sheep and oxen from their childhood, that they have a certain pride in the dexterity with which they use the knife. And yet, with all the quarrels incident to children connected with our school experience in Rosario, we never knew more than a single case of the drawing of a knife upon another. There have, notwithstanding, been times in Rosario when every night some one was assassinated. As darkness settled down no one considered it safe—no one, especially in the outskirts of the town—to go outside of his house. At the time of the different revolutions in Rosario, and about the time of their elections, which are always held on Sunday, there are multitudes of gauchos from the country in the town. Sometimes hundreds of them are encamped in its vicinity, and murders are frequent; but they are murders of their own associates and their own people, and not, generally, of foreigners. A man has no need either to drink with them,

meddle with their politics, or wander about alone in the unlighted parts of the town.

He who goes among them to do them good at once acquires their confidence, and, if he do the work he proposes faithfully, he secures their respect and friendship.

2. Is the climate healthy? The prairies of our Western country are rich and broad, and bounteous in their reward of the laborer's toil, but too often the miasma of fever and ague for the whole lives of the first settlers renders existence a continual burden. The pampas of South America are equally rich in soil, and as broad and bounteous, but no fever is the result of breaking up their surface. Among all the new settlers for hundreds of miles around Rosario we never heard of a case of chills and fever as the result of opening new soil. Whenever such a case occurs it is brought down the river from the tropical regions nearer the equator. The cholera was twice a visitant of Rosario during our residence there, and with great malignity spread from town to town and from house to house in the rural districts. It was not the scourge of the city alone, as it usually is with us, but selected its victims every-where throughout the sheep districts. But it had never appeared in these regions before, and no one can make an argument from this against the salubrity of the climate. The utter contempt for all sanitary regulations had long been sufficient to provoke the breaking out of a pestilence.

The clear atmosphere, the almost constant sunshine, have their effect upon the modes of constructing the houses, so that certain things which are necessities to us are unknown in South America, or only regarded as luxuries peculiar to foreigners. The houses of the poor are built of mud, with grass roofs, within which no chimney is ever known, or stove ever seen. Winter and summer the cooking is done outside of the house on a little three-footed iron furnace called a *brazero*. If the weather be cold, they wrap their heads in a woollen shawl and sun themselves outside of the door. If it be warm they gather on the shady side of the house, or erect a temporary awning of leaves in front of the door. The dwellings of the rich are constructed of large brick made every-where from the soil, and often put up with the mud dug from the land, which, in the absence of frost, is almost as durable as lime. Within, the rooms are

plastered on the wall and never lathed. Until recently fire-places and grates were almost unknown. To the natives they are not necessary. The winter months, which are June, July, and August, are sometimes cold enough for fire, but the natives prefer extra clothing and exercise. In Rosario the winters are usually long seasons of drought, with a clear sun, which renders exercise in the open air delightful and healthy. The better classes have a kitchen, which is never in the house, but some small building entirely separate, where, often without chimney, and in the midst of smoke, the cook performs his functions. Snow has been occasionally seen in the country around Buenos Ayres, but we never saw it in Rosario. Once or twice during the winter water is found frozen early in the morning, outside of the house, to a thickness of half an inch. During the night it is often extremely cold; the keen air penetrates to the very bones. In a wooden house a fabulous amount of blankets is used to keep warm, but the thick brick walls of the ordinary dwellings retain so long the heat of the day's sun that the cold air is tempered. Even in summer the nights are cool. At the close of a warm summer's day we were journeying on horseback several leagues in quest of an American family, when the sun went down. As the darkness gathered about us we became conscious of the painful fact that we were lost, and the cool air already blowing suggested an uncomfortable night, without overcoat, on the wide plains. The air became so piercing that we began to wish even for the hospitality of some native dwelling, when, happily, we reached a *pulperia*, where we hired a guide.

A person takes cold rarely from the changes of the seasons. Winter passes away, and there is no frost coming out of the ground to strike through the bones; you throw open your windows as in the midst of summer. The rain pours down in your *patio*, (paved yard,) and you sit by your open door without fear. The shower passes away, and the dampness occasions no alarm. The rain may beat in through your window or roof, and cover the brick floor of your bed-room, and you go to sleep without fear of danger. Consumption, so dreaded in northern climes, has lost its power here. We do not remember more than a single case which originated in the country. The fact that the climate permits every one to live out of doors is, per-

haps, one reason why consumption is so rare. Every respectable house has its *saguan*, or entry, which is open in the rear, and this in the daytime is one of the most pleasant places in the house—at one season for its shade, at another for the warmth which comes from the changed direction of the rays of the sun.

Having answered these two questions, look finally at the vastness of the field open to our missionary efforts.

An area equal to a great continent is before us. The empire of Brazil alone contains more territory than the United States did before the acquisition of Alaska. Watered by the Amazon and its immense tributaries, penetrating to the Andes, rich in every tropical production, the pioneers of commerce and agriculture are busy entering its most remote regions. The Argentine Republic, more to the south, on the Atlantic side; the republics of Peru and Chili, on the Pacific coast, more temperate in their climate than Brazil, are inviting foreigners to settle among them as a means of improving and enlarging their population; but more especially are asking educators for their children. By the side of and through the Argentine Republic runs one of the most noble rivers in the world. The "Rio de la Plata," so vast at its mouth that you are out of sight of land on both sides when you enter it, stretches inland until it changes its name to the "Parana," which, though more narrow, is so vast that the name given to it, "Parana," means "like the sea." We look with pride upon our noble Hudson, navigable for a hundred and fifty or two hundred miles; we boast of our great Ohio, through which a flat bottomed steamer can push its way for a thousand miles; we talk of our Mississippi, with its snags and shoals, as if it were unequaled by any river in the world; but you may leave the mouth of the grand "La Plata" in a steamer and pursue your way up the Parana or the Paraguay, unchecked by a single snag or a single cataract, for twenty-five hundred miles, into the very heart of South America. Far up on the banks of the Vermejo, one of the tributaries of this mighty stream, a party had gone up, headed by an American, shortly before we left, to cut the valuable cedar wood which abounds in that region. An American was occupied beyond Asuncion, the capital of Paraguay, where he had erected a saw-mill, in preparing the valuable woods of that

region for market. An American has lately constructed the grand Central Railroad from Rosario to Cordova, a distance of over two hundred miles, which was opened to the latter city three days before we embarked. Thus commerce is pushing its way to these remote and luxuriant regions. Gold, silver, and copper are already being disemboweled from beneath their surface. A late letter from South America informs us that there is great excitement in Rosario at the discovery of gold mines in the Sierras, and that a company was already at work, and had sent down the river specimens of the gold, so as to obtain the necessary legal permission to work the mines. Coal, it is well known, awaits the toil of the miner. Meanwhile the inhabitants are stretching out their hands to more favored lands, saying, "Come and teach us your manners, your customs, your language, and," though they do not express this in words, "your religion."

Señor Sarmiento, who is now President of the Argentine Republic, was elected to the distinguished office while he was in the United States as Minister for that country. He was elected partly because he was acquainted with our institutions, and had resided among us. We say partly, because Señor Sarmiento has one great hobby, which had its influence in his election, and that hobby is the education of the masses. Thirsting for knowledge, the people gave him their votes because they believed he would do his best to educate their children.

Prepossessed in favor of our great republic, imitating our form of government, admiring our school system, an American school-teacher or professor, an American mechanic or farmer, goes there already recommended because he is an American. How many families there are in the United States who would be glad to change their sterile soil and cold climate for the fertile plains and almost perpetual spring and summer of the Argentine Republic! Such persons, by going in colonies, will not be dependent upon the country for society. They will form a society of their own, and for social intercourse will depend upon each other. If they go in the name of God, and to promote his glory, as Abraham came to Judea from Chaldea, and as our pilgrim fathers came to New England, the Providence which notes the sparrow's fall will give them success; but if their object be a selfish, mercenary one—to increase in wealth

and lands—they must not be disappointed if they find themselves in a few years, as many have done, on a level with the native *gaucho* population in refinement, morality, and religion, and with but little prospect of ever gaining the very object for which they left their homes.

Art. III.—WESLEY AND METHODISM.

[SECOND ARTICLE.]

In 1743 the first Conference, or convocation of the leaders of Wesleyan Methodism, including six Pastors and four lay preachers, was held at the Foundry Chapel, London, and confirmed all the rules and proceedings of their chief in classing the whole membership in four divisions: the United Societies. Band Meetings, Class Meetings, and the penitents, or those who were still unconverted, but expressed a desire for salvation—the only condition requisite for admission to the fellowship of the Methodists. These classifications, since simplified, indicate the principles which have preserved Methodism, and constitute its force and permanence—that of a spiritual life in common. a seeking of souls for redemption, by the union and solidarity, so to speak, of the faithful, thereby forming what Spener had called *ecclesiolæ in ecclesia;* for the Conference affirmed that they ought to continue to obey the Bishops in all indifferent things, and submit themselves to the canon law as much as conscience permitted. They remained, by right of preemption, in the Episcopal hierarchy, but stipulated for an actual independence. Neither the Episcopal nor the popular prejudice was satisfied with so little. The attacks of intolerance assumed more boldly the form of persecution: whole pages of the Journals and chronicles are filled with narrations of the disorderly and riotous demonstrations of which Wesley and his fellow-workers were the objects. In Staffordshire, in Cornwall, at London, he was insulted, maltreated, wounded. Wild bulls were driven into the gatherings of hearers in order to break up the meetings; petards and squibs were thrown among them; stones were hurled upon the roofs of houses for the purpose of injuring the preacher. The magistrates were not inclined to extend their protection to these peaceful assem-

blies; they naturally sided with the clergy, and were encouraged in their neglect and indifference by the declamatory opposition of these latter. To this day the register of the parish of Poole bears record of the expenses of certain church-wardens, payable to the inn-keeper of the place, said expenses being incurred for the purpose of chasing out the Methodists. In certain towns the people organized themselves for this commendable work, and the mob was master of the place for several days. At Walsal a placard was posted, announcing a certain day "for the destruction of the Methodists." Another placard at Wednesbury offered a reward of five hundred pounds sterling for their expulsion. Later the Edinburgh Theater announced the play of "Trick upon Trick, or Methodism Unvailed;" and the *Evening Post* of London contained news from Staffordshire of the insurrection of a people called Methodists, who, it was said, fired houses; for calumny was added to violence. Charles Wesley having prayed in public that God would lead back his captives, was accused of desiring the return of the Stuarts, which, in truth, was much debated at the time. His brother was also obliged to defend himself against the charge of holding secret communication with the Romish partisans of the Pretender, and was required by a magistrate to renew the oath of allegiance and the declaration against Papacy. It was reported that through the influence of his mother he had been something of a Jacobite in his youth, but he was so free from any such tendency in his maturer years that in 1745 he asked permission to exhort the royal army and urge upon it the necessity of eternal salvation, by the consideration of the public dangers. His disciples bore on the battle-field good testimony to his loyalty. It is asserted that at Fontenoy four preachers and a great number of Methodist soldiers fell in the conflict. Wesley was not only faithful to Protestant royalty, but he adhered to the political opinions of the Anglican Church. His preoccupation with spiritual concerns was incompatible with that direct and deep interest in the affairs of the world which begets and justifies opposition. His Tory critics accord him full justice in this respect; they remark with satisfaction that at the outbreak of the American War for Independence he declared himself on the side of the mother country, and when he saw the first kindlings of the

French Revolution he feared and denounced it as an incendiarism. Unlike the other sects born or emancipated by the Revolution of 1640, his Church received little or no impulse from it in the molding of political opinions, and to-day, of all Dissenters, the Methodists furnish the fewest recruits to the party of the opposition. They are conservative by principle and by indifference; and it is observable that piety often invests indifference with respectability and good repute, and often confirms it as well.

Toward the middle of the century it was evident that the cause of Methodism had planted itself firmly and was gaining ground. Wesley was allowed to preach at Oxford, and the University of which he was Fellow permitted him to explain himself peaceably before its assembled functionaries. The period of conflicts had not entirely passed, indeed. The Wesleyan missionaries were often severely tested by the rigor of the seasons, by poverty and hostility. Nevertheless Wesley was one of the foremost men in England, and found himself the leader of a vast association which extended over all his country. He had also pushed his conquests into Ireland. He was astonished at the cordiality and eagerness with which its impulsive people received him; but in a country where passion and imagination are stronger than the development of reason, the effect was demonstrative rather than profound—rapid rather than durable. However, Methodism was established in Ireland, and notably in the city of Cork, where a remarkable man, Thomas Walsh, carried on the work with much ardor; and when Wesley made a second journey to the island he had the satisfaction of seeing the seed that he had planted germinating and growing abundantly. In Scotland he had received a respectful but hardly a cordial welcome. The Presbyterianism of the North was not so overcome with lethargy as that of the South, and it suited the simplicity of the Scotch character better than Anglicanism. Moreover, the steadfast, austere convictions of the people were hostile to innovations, and suspicious of Arminian tendencies; for the antagonism of the two doctrines (Calvinism and Arminianism) was steadily maintained, and the religious revival continued to follow two distinct courses. Schisms broke out even among the Wesleyan societies. "What a work might have been wrought in all this region," wrote

Wesley, concerning Staffordshire, "if it had not been for the miserable contentions stirred up by the partisans of predestination, who have succeeded in turning from the good way so many souls that walked well! In the days of persecution, when we carried our lives in our hands, not one of them approached us; the waves were too high for them; but now that calmness is vouchsafed, they dare come upon us from every direction, and have robbed us of our children."

Yet a reconciliation had been effected between himself and Whitefield. They were not associated, as at first, in their labors, but they pursued simultaneously the same work, and, though differing on a question of theology, each had the same ideal of piety, and accorded with the other in efforts for the public good. A new phase of religious belief must have gained no small advantage of permanence and acceptance ere it attracts the consideration of the higher classes, and Methodism had at last won a hearing even from them. The extraordinary eloquence of Whitefield attracted their curiosity. He had made an energetic adherent of his doctrines, and patroness for himself, in Selina Shirley, widow of the ninth Count of Huntingdon. She was styled the Countess Matilda of Calvinism. She gave herself and her fortune to Christian works, endowed colleges, built chapels, gathered audiences in her saloon to hear her favorite preachers. It was there that Whitefield spoke before Bolingbroke and Chesterfield, both of whom appreciated his oratorical power. Pitt, also, one of the fittest judges of true eloquence, Lord Aberdeen, and the Duke of Argyle were members of these select audiences. The *salon* of Lady Huntingdon was one of much influence. Possibly it had some share in forming the present evangelical party of England.

Wesley having fallen gravely ill, Whitefield wrote to him from Bristol (December, 1753) a touching letter, wherein are these words:

> The news I have received, causing me, as it does, to apprehend a fatal termination of your illness, fills me with apprehension. I pity myself, I pity the Church; but I cannot mourn for you who will ascend to a glorious throne and be received into the joy of your Master. He holds your crown; he will receive you amid the hosannas of saints and angels. I, a poor worm, who have awaited my dissolution these nineteen years, must remain below to toil and suffer yet a few more years. Ah! well, the chariots

> of the Most High cannot long delay their coming, all unworthy though I am! But if prayers could detain them you would not leave us yet. If, indeed, the sentence is already pronounced, and you are now to fall asleep in Jesus, may he sustain your soul and give you to die in the arms of Divine love! Next week I hope to bid you my last farewell, should you still be on this sphere of sorrow and death. If not, reverend and very dear sir, good bye, *ego sequor etsi non passibus aequis.* My heart is full, my tears overflow; I fear that you yourself are too infirm for me to say more. May the everlasting arms of the Lord be around you!

Thus, despite the persistence of dogmatic differences, the friendship and Christian fraternity of their youth were restored. They sometimes spoke in the same assemblies; their hearts were no longer estranged; and when, sixteen years later, Whitefield died, while ministering to the Independent Churches of America, Wesley learned with emotion that the last wish of his friend was that he should preach his funeral sermon. This request he fulfilled in a chapel which Whitefield had built, and which seemed as a monument raised to his memory.

Up to the age of forty-nine Wesley had lived in celibacy. He believed that the freedom of a single state was desirable, if not essential, for his laborious life, especially for his habitual and prolonged journeys, which forbade his permanent settlement in any locality. Moreover, like Saint Paul, he seemed not to regard marriage as the most desirable state, though his heart had not remained intact from tender influences through all these years. During his early life in Georgia he had become attached to a niece of the chief magistrate of the colony, and had asked her hand in marriage. The proposal was declined; and when, soon afterward, the young lady formed an alliance with another aspirant to her favor, Wesley could not refrain from a feeling of resentment toward her. He followed her with an unquiet and jealous eye, and, believing that by virtue of his office he had the right to address her certain warnings, which she repelled with indifference, he went so far as to forbid her the communion. He thus drew upon himself the hostility of an influential family; the latter instituted proceedings against him for his conduct toward the young lady, and the trouble he experienced thereby was one reason of his return to Europe. It is difficult at this remote date to judge of the motives which actuated him in the matter; but it must be remembered that

he had not yet "come to himself," to find within, as he said, "the effectual working of the Spirit of God."

It is no less difficult to explain the motives which led him to marry in 1752, nor yet to comprehend how this skillful discerner of spirits, trained by long experience to penetrate at a glance, so to speak, into the secret heart of his adherents and auditors, should have been so egregiously deceived in the choice of a wife for his riper years. He addressed himself to a widow, the mother of four children, a woman of middle life, and of defined character, as one would naturally suppose. He stipulated beforehand that marriage should impose no restraint on the free activity of his life; that he should still have the care of all his societies, and should continue his yearly journeys, each of which averaged about five thousand miles. "Were I to travel a thousand less," he said to his betrothed, "as truly as I love you, I would never see your face again." The lady acquiesced in these conditions, but she had not considered in the account the effect of them upon her unquiet and jealous spirit; and scarcely was the union effected when she began to torment her husband with the most irrational suspicions. She respected neither his liberty nor his repose; jealously pursued him on his journeys, opened his letters, and kept watch over all his public and individual life. She was wretched herself, and made existence almost insupportable to him; she tried several times to effect a separation between them, and when at last, after twenty years of wearisome trouble, she left him never to see his face again, Wesley wrote in his Journal, (February, 1771:) "She has gone to Newcastle, I know not for what reason, saying that she should never see me again. *Non eam reliqui, non dimisi, non revocabo.*"

The life of a missionary is made up of a succession of labors and journeys, interesting indeed, yet of too uniform a character to admit of detailed recital. When the existence of Methodism was fully assured, and Wesley was at the head of an organization distinguished for zeal and talent, he became simply the administrator of government to the kingdom which he had formed and given to Christ, and his life was passed in abundant and monotonous cares. The violent hostility which had more than once caused bloodshed in peaceful assemblies had entirely subsided; his recognition by the higher ranks of

society caused him to receive all needed countenance and support from the magistrates. Yet he did not govern his people without opposition; aberrations of a fanatical character were manifest from time to time among them, and compelled ruptures and painful exclusions. The Anglican clergy continued to attack him. Two Bishops, one of them the noted Warburton, wrote against him with bitterness. He was compelled to answer accusations whose absurdity proves how readily and easily all constituted authority despises its opponents, and how rashly and ignorantly it speaks when it attempts to judge them. "He is a man," said Warburton, "who takes fools and renders them madmen."

This controversy convinced Wesley that, despite his sincere wish not to sever his last ties with the Establishment, he was in duty bound to institute an independent clergy. From his university education he had retained the belief in a transmission of authority from the Apostles to the Bishops. He had not contested the titles of the latter, when he was compelled to withdraw himself from their jurisdiction; but, at this time, reading in the New Testament that bishops and elders were in the same rank, he recognized the fact that a national Church is a political institution, and that the divine right of Bishops was an invention of the reign of Elizabeth; yet, in changing his opinion of the episcopacy, he was still unwilling to attack it. "This Established Church is truly a Babel," he was wont to say. "Let it exist as it may; I will do nothing to destroy it, but I will do nothing to hinder it from falling. Let us the rather busy ourselves with building the city of God."

The Methodists were not always freely allowed to partake of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper in the Anglican Churches, and many of Wesley's followers were reluctant to ask permission to receive it of that clergy. The Dissenting ministers had voluntarily undertaken to administer it to their Methodist brethren, yet Wesley hesitated to approve their action, and the Conference of 1755 declared that it was not expedient to effect an absolute, entire separation from the Establishment. It desired, like Wesley, to leave a door open for reconciliation; but the organization of Methodism, the personal work of the genius of its founder, was confirmed and further developed by the Conferences of 1776 and 1770. The societies that it then

numbered, and the classes—germs of societies—included twenty-nine thousand four hundred and sixty-six members; and Wesley, when sixty-three years old, wrote as follows:

> The power that I exercise I have not sought; it has been laid upon me, and I have had to use it as well as I could, and according to the best of my judgment. I have not coveted it; I have always borne it, and still bear it, as a burden that God has put on my shoulders, and that I have no right to reject; but find me any man who can and will charge himself with it, and I will be grateful to him and to you. To preach twice or thrice a day is no burden at all; but what is heavy indeed is the care that I have of the preachers and societies.

The last twenty years of his life furnishes us with a picture of happiness and peace, animated by an activity equal to that of his days of combat. His journeys as an itinerant, his visits as pastor, his studies and publications as an author, are all sustained with the same zeal, as if the cause had not been gained; as if he was not one of those who had overcome the world. He traverses several times the area of the United Kingdom, and every-where he witnesses the fruits of his labors. Insensible to the weight of years, his robust body and serene spirit are adequate to all the exertions and cares which devolve upon him by a vocation whose parallel it would be difficult to find. He is still able to address thirty thousand auditors in the open plain, and publishes his works in thirty-three volumes. Fervor and zeal herald his approach, good-will and reverence give him welcome. All the former clamor of opposition is stilled: he has become popular, and the favor of the people imposes the restraint of silence upon his enemies. During the ten years subsequent to 1770 the classes are increased to about fifteen thousand members; fifty-two itinerants are added to the hundred and sixty which the sect previously counted. Wesley writes to a friend:

> Luther said that a revival could hardly last thirty years. The assertion is not always true. The present revival has already lasted fifty years, and, God be praised! it is as effectual to-day as it was twenty or thirty years ago; or, rather, it is more so. It has more extent and depth than ever. A greater number can bear witness that the blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth from all sin. Let us hope that this revival will go on until the day when all shall be saved.

The progress of Methodism in both hemispheres compelled

Wesley to take action on a matter which he had long held in consideration. The organization of the Societies in the unity of a Church structure was incomplete, particularly in America. Dr. Coke, who had been chosen to supervise these latter, and whose memory is still cherished in the United States, was desirous to replace in some way the episcopacy which had been impaired and rendered ineffectual by the War for Independence. "I am convinced," said Wesley, "that I am an *Episcopus* in the scriptural sense as much as any person in England, for I do not consider that the succession is interrupted by a fable." He did not perceive that neither Christ nor his apostles had prescribed a particular form of Church government, but he was of the opinion that the episcopal form was the best suited for the American Churches. His colleagues were of one accord on the subject, and at Bristol, in September, 1784, by solemn imposition of hands he conferred upon Coke the charge of Superintendent, thereby investing him with the episcopal authority. The title of Bishop was revived somewhat later by the American Methodists. By this act Wesley placed himself and his Church on an equality with the Establishment. The Annual Conference, composed at first of a hundred preachers, was instituted as an ecclesiastical body, and was also empowered to perform most of the functions of a civil corporation. Thus it was made lawful owner of all the houses of worship, of which the principal, City Road Chapel, London, was built in 1778, and is to-day the mother Church of Methodism.

As for Wesley, his old age had scarcely begun when he was an octogenarian, for the infallible testimony of his Journal shows him to have borne the burden of years without abatement of his natural force. He was eighty years of age when he first visited the Channel Islands, whither his doctrines had already penetrated. In sight of the shores of France he pondered the project of extending his conquests to that country, and soon afterward Jersey and Guernsey sent missionaries to Normandy. Not until 1790, when he had reached the age of eighty-seven years, does he admit in his Journal that he begins to feel the feebleness of an old man. Yet he still preached thrice on Sundays; he visited all the chapels of London and its suburbs, and he set forth on a last tour through the North,

visiting anew the cities of the West and of Yorkshire, stopping at Newcastle, and penetrating into Scotland. Every-where, with the single exception of Glasgow, he noted the success and progress of his work. At Bristol he presided over the forty-seventh Conference that had been held since the opening of his mission. At Winchelsea he preached under a tree from the text, "The kingdom of heaven is at hand." This was the last time that he spoke in the open air, and his Journal closes in October, 1790, with a simple note. He had preached, he says, in the morning at the Anglican Church in Spitalfields, in the afternoon at St. Paul's, Shadwell, "which was more crowded than ever," he adds, "while I expounded this important truth, 'But one thing is needful;' and I hope that several determined to choose the good part." But he still continued to preach. His voice, though feeble, was heard during the following year, and not till the February of 1791 did he leave the pulpit never to ascend it again. It is stated that he preached not less than fifty-two thousand four hundred times from the date of his return from America. His friends have preserved the record of the slightest incidents, the least words of his latter days. All these touching details reveal the calmness of the good workman, satisfied with his work; the pious security of the Christian resting on the promises of Jesus Christ. The sunset is all golden: not a cloud of regret, remorse, or fear is apparent to dim its mellow glow. The tenor of all his words is indicated by a remark made to some friends who came to solace him with their prayers and attentions: "I can only say to you to-day what I said at Bristol; I am the chief of sinners, but Jesus died for me." He often repeated, in a low voice, "God is with us." Once he began this sentence: "Nature is—" "Soon exhausted," added a person present, finishing his thought; "but you are about to be clothed with a new nature, and will enter the company of glorified spirits." "Yes, most truly!" he exclaimed.

He listened to the prayers and hymns offered by his friends. From time to time he uttered words of confidence and cheer—these among others: "The best of all is, God is with us;" words which now form the motto of the Wesleyan Missionary Society. He expired on the morning of March 2, 1791, surrounded by his friends, uttering as he left them the single

word, "Farewell." "All fell on their knees," said one who was present, "and the chamber seemed filled with the Divine Presence."

We may differ in opinion as to the form wherein the mysteries of the Invisible should be clothed; but assuredly there is nothing better for the soul to observe than to what extent human nature may be transformed by a pure purpose, a strong will, and a healthful conscience. John Wesley is assuredly one of the noblest examples of holiness in practical life, that is, of the true religious ideal of humanity; but if we consider in him the man of nature, rather than the man of grace, we discover a greatness of character of which it would be hard to find a parallel except in the apostolic age. Luther, with more hardihood, more imagination, more genius, more of the gifts which have power with men, is less simple, less pure, less devoted—in a word, less irreproachable. The exalted model of both Luther and Wesley, Saul of Tarsus, superior to all, rises alone above the religious great men of the Christian era; but who can say whether his mighty energy and vehemence could not well have been tempered with something of the patience and gentleness of his humble imitators?

Wesley's life is one of the marvels of the last century. It was composed of itinerant, pastoral, and literary labors. He was called upon to proclaim the Gospel in the open air, to visit and rescue souls in peril or anguish—the sick, the dying, the condemned. The founding and government of the Churches, onerous theological studies, an examination of all the controversies of the time, and the composition of the essays and other works which they required, were some of the cares which filled up the measure of his activities. He fell short in no single condition of success for his heroic undertaking. Whitefield, it was commonly said, was the more eloquent speaker; his sermons were more impassioned and striking. But Wesley was more nervous, more solid—less brilliant, doubtless, yet more winning. His reasoning was more forcible; it reached the souls of his hearers directly, and asserted its power over them unquestionably. His literary productions are not of the highest order. They make slight pretensions to profound thought, or elegance of style; but in a forcible, simple way he says touching and convincing things; he expresses his thoughts

neatly, clearly, not seldom felicitously, with a rare combination of reason and sentiment. He is calm, yet the love of God and of men animates every page of his works. Philosophically considered, his mind was adapted to moderate rather than aggressive principles and parties; to the good sense of practical life, rather than to the unattainable ideal; at the same time he is impressed to the depths of his soul with the divine purpose in all things; he is devoted to it, thinks of naught else, and consecrates to it with passion all the power of his wisdom and virtue. He has been accused, with some justice, of credulity, a love for the marvelous, a certain inclination for alarming the imagination of his followers, of producing violent emotions, and thereby causing doubtful if not dangerous physical disturbances. Assuredly he was no adherent of Locke or Shaftesbury; but this tendency of his mind may have contributed to the extraordinary, if not altogether legitimate, power which he exercised over the world of his day. Possibly a less credulous man would have been less persuasive. It was apparently a new and bold idea to initiate a religious movement in the eighteenth century; by the popular voice, to undertake the conversion and sanctification of the contemporaries of Chesterfield and Bolingbroke. Wesley succeeded therein, and justly merited the praise since accorded him as the first of theologian-statesmen. Macaulay also spoke truly when he said of him, "With his penetrating logic and eloquence he might have been eminent in literature; but his genius for government was equal to that of Richelieu." His excellent biographer attempts with much warmth to defend him from the charge of ambition—a defense which seems both needless and impossible; for who has ever risen to the exercise of extraordinary power without being more or less urged thereto by the passion for power, which is simply ambition? How can a disinclination to dominion be characteristic of a great ruler? And who have most loved power? Were they not Alexander, Saint Paul, Luther, Cromwell, Charles V., Loyola, and other mighty men who, being born to command, have desired and striven for the sway that was theirs by the prerogative of nature?

The result has exalted the workman and justified the work. Wesley at his death left to Methodism five hundred and forty preachers, and nearly a hundred and thirty-five thousand

members. Of these about two hundred and thirty preachers and fifty-eight thousand members were in America.

According to late statistics, England and Wales contain about thirty-four thousand five hundred places of worship. Of these upward of eighteen thousand are free churches; nine-tenths of them are closed to the Anglican Liturgy. And as regards the whole population, only fifty-two in a hundred belong to the Establishment. The Wesleyan Societies occupy three thousand two hundred and forty-four chapels; the other Methodists five thousand three hundred and sixty-five. The latter include eight divisions: the Connection of Lady Huntingdon, Methodists of the New Connection, Primitive Methodists, Methodist Protestants, Bible Christians, Associated Methodists, Inghamites, and Welsh Calvinist Methodists. According to M. Lelièvre, Methodism throughout the world to-day numbers eighteen thousand itinerant preachers, nearly three million communicants, and probably ten million hearers.

These are significant figures. Yet if the work of Whitefield and Wesley had resulted simply in these statistical details, if it had not been an important movement in the national history, the moral phenomena would still afford us a subject of interest and study. The rise and progress of Methodism compels our attention as the manifestation of a spiritual need in an entire people—a trait of the national character which had lain well-nigh dormant for more than a century in the heart of the Anglo-Saxon race, and which perhaps would never have been aroused nor satisfied had not this renaissance of the Reformation found champions so signally gifted, and empowered to awaken faith in slumbering souls. The immediate results of their ministry were great, indeed; but the student of history discerns in their example and work an indirect force whose power cannot well be expressed by a merely mathematical estimate. Throughout all English-speaking countries they have originated a religious movement that has been in progress for a whole century, and has utterly refuted the predictions of all such prophets as Voltaire and Montesquieu. Not that they were prejudiced or incompetent observers. On the contrary, they convey to us a just and fair indication of the condition of the times. Just as Blackstone said, twenty years after Voltaire's visit, that though he had frequently and attentively listened to the most distin-

guished preachers of London, he had yet to hear a sermon wherein could be detected more Christianity than might easily be eliminated from a discourse of Cicero's, and that it would have been impossible to determine from the utterances of any of these speakers whether he was a Mohammedan or a Christian. Especially was this criticism applicable to the pulpits of the Establishment. The Dissenting communions still adhered to their dogmatic creeds, and retained in some measure their primitive zeal; but they were affected and somewhat incapacitated by the universal torpor, and lacked men capable of authority or of inciting them to a new life. Moreover, a rationalism pervaded their ranks; a rationalism not Antichristian, but yet ill adapted to engender and nourish the ardor which is essential to an efficient and communicative piety. Its effect was to put at rest all opinions or questions that agitated the heart. A nation finds relief in the cessation of controversy, and the fanaticism and persecution engendered by it; but such discussions as were rife at this period on differences in the phraseology and style of creeds, though they were in a certain sense an evidence of religious growth, do not give proof of that vigilance which we commonly associate with the Christian life.

An effort was made in Parliament to free the Dissenters from the legal restrictions imposed upon them; and the motion made by Sir William Meredith called forth some noble utterances from Chatham that deserve to rank with his famous reply to Walpole's sneer, or his last speech in the House of Lords. The motion was foiled by certain growing societies that had undertaken to lead the Church back to its first faith. It is well known that Lady Huntingdon took pains to awaken Lord North's resistance, and that she even succeeded in exciting the generous mind of Burke to that conservative prejudice which was later to render him deaf to every demand for emancipation and liberty. She had zealously continued her religious work in high circles, and had doubtless by her example incited men devoted to the Establishment to adopt with certain revisions Wesley's project of restoring life to the Church. As it always happens, Methodism was attacked by those who borrowed from it; its enemies were among its imitators. The founders of what is now called the Evangelical party, among whom was

Venn, men who had accepted the truth as delivered by Whitefield, began to seek a quarrel with Wesley, who thereupon instituted the *Arminian Magazine;* but these hostilities lasted not long, for Venn, Thornton, Miss Hannah More, and soon afterward, Wilberforce, had the good sense to abandon subtle questions of dogma for works of Christian charity; and for these latter Dissent offered them opportunities which they could not ignore, for the Dissenters had been aroused and stimulated by the example of the Methodists. Howard, Wilberforce, Thomas Clarkson, and William Allen arose and girded themselves for the reform of gigantic corruptions, the relief of multitudes of bondsmen. Organizations of men founded the Bible Society, Sunday-schools, and a score of other philanthropic institutions, while each sect had its missionary society; and to-day that of the Wesleyans is one of the foremost. All these undertakings had the sympathy and protection of the Evangelical party, called in the political world the Saints' party; for they were distinguished by a genuine piety, and had won their way to power in Parliament.

The same title had been given originally to the Methodists, and between them and the "Evangelicals" discord could not long continue. Wesley showed to the end of his life an earnest interest in all the undertakings acknowledged by a Christian civilization. There exists a letter of his bearing date of February 26, 1791, perhaps the last that he ever wrote, which is addressed to Wilberforce, and bids him Godspeed in the war he maintained against slavery, "that execrable infamy which is a scandal to religion, to England, and to human nature."

We have seen that the awakening of England by Wesley and his disciples has attested its genuineness by numberless organizations for the public good, and by a practical though not nominal union of the sects in these common efforts for the elevation and consecration of social progress. The hostility inspired by the French Revolution produced a more clamorous effect, particularly in the higher classes and within the limits of the Establishment; but it was lacking in purity, for its piety was not disinterested. It was Toryism that became devoted, and religion inevitably compromises itself when it incorporates itself with diplomacy, for the saving of souls and the regulating of a State are functions that have nothing in common. The

religious condition of England to-day is by no means that of ideal perfection; yet the effects we have mentioned above are so wide-spread, so gracious, that all friends of religion must heartily pray for some analogous awakening in the countries of the Continent, and must hope that the day will dawn wherein the ardor of faith will be manifested as it is not now in their civil and social progress.

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ART. IV.—GROWTH OF THE SUNDAY-SCHOOL IDEA IN THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

History of the Methodist Episcopal Church. By NATHAN BANGS, D.D.

History of the Religious Movement of the Eighteenth Century, called Methodism. By ABEL STEVENS, LL.D.

History of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States of America. By ABEL STEVENS, LL.D.

Journals of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1796 *to* 1868.

History of the Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church. By ROBERT EMORY, D.D., (1773 to 1844 inclusive.)

Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1848 *to* 1868.

Annual Reports of the Sunday-School Union of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1845 *to* 1871.

FROM the beginning of the Sunday-school movement Methodism has been intimately associated with its history and progress. While we would not take the well-deserved laurel from the brow of Robert Raikes, it must not be forgotten that when, in 1781, he pointed to groups of neglected children in the streets of Gloucester and asked, "What can we do for them?" it was a Methodist young woman who answered, "Let us teach them to read, and take them to church;" and the two together attended the first company of Sunday-scholars to the house of God amid the ridicule of the spectators. It must also be borne in mind that while the original design of Mr. Raikes contemplated the employment of salaried teachers, Mr. Wesley improved the plan by soliciting and obtaining volunteers from the members of his society, who labored in the Sunday-school gratuitously.

The same interest in the good work has ever been manifested by the Methodism of America. The spiritual welfare of the children has been the subject of serious inquiry from the com-

mencement of American Methodism to the present hour. In the Conference of 1779, five years before the organization of our Church, the question was asked, "What shall be done with the children?" The answer was given, "Meet them once a fortnight, and examine the parents with regard to their conduct toward them." We do not claim that formal Sunday-schools were at that time organized, but the Sunday-school Idea was evidently there, and to trace the growth of this Idea in our Church is the object of the present paper.

For the better illustration of our theme we divide the Sunday-school labors of our Church into five distinct historic periods:

I. The *Period of Recognition.* This begins with the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and ends with the official recognition of the Sunday-school by the Conference—a period of six years, 1784–1790.

In the first Discipline of our Church (1784) the question is asked, "What shall we do for the rising generation?" and five distinct answers are given, the first of which we quote as bearing upon our subject: "Where there are ten children whose parents are in the society, meet them at least one hour every week." In addition to this, every Preacher before being received was required to solemnly promise to diligently instruct the children in every place. Thus the Church among its first duties assumed the spiritual instruction and supervision of the children. Amid the momentous questions which came up for consideration during the ten days' session of the famous "Christmas Conference," it is pleasing to reflect that the children were not forgotten. The noble band of enterprising, vigorous, progressive young men who in the rude chapel in Lovely Lane, Baltimore, formed an ecclesiastical organization which they intended should be long-lived and useful, had the sagacity to see that in order to perpetuate the Church some spiritual provision must be made for the children, and they acted accordingly.

Two years after this, namely, in 1786, Bishop Asbury established the first Sunday-school in America, in the house of Thomas Crenshaw, in Hanover county, Virginia. One of the first converts in this school afterward became a useful minister in our Church. Not long after this other Sunday-schools were established by our ministers in different parts of the country.

and some of these godly men were beaten and otherwise abused for the interest they manifested in the spiritual welfare of the children, especially where those children were so unfortunate as to have a black skin.

In 1787 directions were given by the Conference for the formation of classes for children with a view to their graduation into the Church. The Preachers were to meet these classes weekly, or appoint suitable persons to do it. Two years later the Preachers were directed to prepare a list of the names of the children thus organized into classes.

The year 1790 is made memorable in the history of our Church by the official recognition of the Sunday-school in the Minutes of the Conferences. The question is asked, "What can be done in order to instruct poor children, white and black, to read?" This is the answer: "Let us labor, as the heart and soul of one man, to establish Sunday-schools in or near the place of public worship. Let persons be appointed by the Bishops, Elders, Deacons, or Preachers, to teach gratis all that will attend, and have a capacity to learn, from six o'clock in the morning till ten, and from two o'clock in the afternoon till six, where it does not interfere with public worship. The Council shall compile a proper school-book to teach them learning and piety."

It is to be noticed here that these Sunday-schools were not intended to supersede the children's classes already spoken of. Those were designed for "children whose parents are in society"—for "the children of our friends;" these were established for "poor children, white and black." The great object of the classes was personal piety; to this the Sunday-school added learning to read. The children's classes are frequently referred to in the Discipline after the formation of Sunday-schools.

The two sessions of four hours each on every Sunday, making eight hours in all, must have been a severe tax on the persons appointed "to teach gratis;" and, unless human nature were then more enduring, and piety more self-sacrificing, than now, we must suppose that the plan was greatly modified after a brief practical trial. We may smile now at the crude notion of the Sunday-school which was manifested in that early day; but here stands the fact prominently set forth, that the Methodist

Episcopal Church only six years after its organization, and when it numbered but 227 ministers and 57,631 members in all this land, recognized the Sunday-school as an element of moral power that was worthy of encouragement, and was the first ecclesiastical body in this country to give it recognition.

II. The *Period of Organization*, beginning with the official recognition of the Sunday-school by the Church, and closing with the time when it was made the duty of the Preachers "to form Sunday-schools"—a period of thirty-eight years: 1790–1828.

To what extent the official exhortation of 1790 was heeded we have no means of knowing, but no doubt the experiment was faithfully tried in various places. In 1796 the General Conference requested the Bishops to prepare "Annotations on the Form of Discipline." In these notes Coke and Asbury earnestly urge "the people in the cities, towns, and villages to establish Sabbath-schools wherever practicable, for the benefit of the children *of the poor*."

We find no official action on the subject of Sunday-schools from the publication of the Bishops' notes to the General Conference of 1824, a period of twenty-eight years. During a part of this term the interest in Sunday-schools languished, and many of them were given up, the teachers becoming discouraged. The recommendations in the Minutes of 1790 and in the Annotations of 1796 were, however, all this time before the Church, and in accordance with them many schools were organized in different parts of the country, there being a marked increase of the number from the year 1815 onward. Thus the Sunday-School Idea was constantly growing in the Church, slowly, it is true, compared to its growth in later times, but surely and steadily.

The General Conference of 1824 passed three resolutions on Sunday-schools: 1. It was made "the duty of each traveling Preacher in our connection to encourage the establishment and progress of Sunday-schools." 2. Arrangements were made for the compilation of a catechism "for the use of Sunday-schools and of children in general." 3. The Book Agents were instructed "to provide and keep on hand a good assortment of books suitable for the use of Sunday-schools."

It is worthy of note here that the Church had by this time

outgrown the notion that Sunday-schools were intended mainly for "the children of the poor." All limitations were taken off, and the Preachers were not simply urged, but directed, as a part of their official duty, to encourage the work of organization.

The period under consideration is still further marked by the formation of the "Sunday-School Union of the Methodist Episcopal Church." This was organized in the city of New York, April 2, 1827. There were reasons which satisfied the founders of this Society that our Church could be more efficient in the Sunday-school work with an association of its own than by uniting with other denominations in a general society. They accordingly formed a denominational union whose objects should be "to promote the formation and to concentrate the efforts of Sabbath-schools connected with the congregations of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and all others that may become auxiliary; to aid in the instruction of the rising generation, particularly in the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, and in the service and worship of God."

This was a great improvement on the primitive Sunday-schools, whose primary object was to give instruction in the elements of secular learning, mingling such instruction with religious truth. It will be seen, however, that the Sunday-school was still regarded as a children's institution. The Idea had not yet sufficiently expanded to take in adults as students of the Bible.

At the General Conference of 1828, which met at Pittsburgh, the Sunday-school cause was considered of sufficient importance to demand a committee to look after its interests in connection with those of the Tract Societies. This conference also amended the Discipline so that it became the duty of "every Preacher of a circuit or station to form Sunday-schools." Thus for the first time the Sunday-school is referred to in the Discipline of our Church. We must not fail to notice the marked improvement in four years. In 1824 the General Conference by resolution made it the duty of each Preacher to "*encourage* the establishment and progress of Sunday-schools." In 1828 the Discipline made it the duty of every Preacher "to *form* Sunday-schools." The latter implies a greater degree of personal interest and activity than the former, and with this rule in the Discipline the Period of Organization properly closes.

III. The *Period of Development*, beginning with the time when it became the duty of the Preachers to form Sunday-schools, and closing with the time when a special editor was appointed for Sunday-school publications—a period of sixteen years: 1828–1844.

The Sunday-school began now to assume definite shape, and manifested signs of vitality and of growth that were encouraging. There was still, however, much to be done in the way of development. The Bishops, in their address to the General Conference of 1832, state that it is the opinion of many that "the Sunday-school system might be improved, and made more simple;" and they recommend the subject to the attention of the Conference. The General Conference accordingly requested the Book Agents and Editors in New York to prepare a book "in which shall be laid down, in the most simple form, the best entire system of Sunday-school teaching."

The Discipline was so amended at this Conference as to make it the duty of the Book Committee in New York to co-operate with the General Editors in the selection of Sunday-school books. It was also made the duty of the Presiding Elder to "promote" Sunday-schools, and of the Preacher in charge to report the statistics of his Sunday-schools to the last quarterly conference of the conference year, and to each annual conference.

The next General Conference (1836) gave the Bishops authority to appoint conference Sunday-school agents when requested to do so by the annual conferences.

At the General Conference of 1840 there were greater evidences of development than had before that time been seen, important amendments being made to the Discipline in reference to Sunday-school interests. It was made the duty of the Presiding Elder carefully to inquire at each quarterly conference if the rules for the instruction of children have been faithfully observed. These rules were entirely remodeled and enlarged, occupying more than two pages of the Discipline, and giving five distinct answers to the question, "What shall we do for the rising generation?" Four of these answers are devoted exclusively to Sunday-school affairs, and the fifth has reference to the personal duty of the Preachers to the children. In addition to the duties formerly devolved on the Preacher in

charge in reference to Sunday-schools, he is required by these rules "to visit the schools as often as practicable, to preach on the subject of Sunday-schools and of religious instruction in each congregation at least once in six months," and to form Bible classes "for the instruction of larger children and youth." Thus the Sunday-School Idea in its development was gradually rising from the position originally occupied. Efforts were no longer limited to young children. "Larger children and youth" were recognized as legitimate objects of Sunday-school supervision.

The year 1840 is also memorable as the time when the Sunday-School Union of our Church was reorganized. From various reasons the Society, which, as has already been noticed, was formed in 1827, had languished, and at last died. A number of brethren in the city of New York determined to make vigorous efforts for its resuscitation. They accordingly prepared a new constitution, which they sent to the General Conference, with a memorial requesting that body to give official recognition to the Union, and to indorse the constitution offered. This the General Conference did most heartily, and from that hour the Union put forth a new life which has not since languished.

The same conference also directed that the Editors of the "Christian Advocate and Journal" should edit all books for use in the Sunday-school. One result of this arrangement was the establishing in the following year, 1841, of the child's paper, which has since become widely known as "The Sunday-School Advocate."

During the session of the General Conference of 1844, in the city of New York, a Sunday-school convention met, "For the purpose of adopting measures more efficiently to advance the cause of Sabbath-school instruction throughout the Methodist Episcopal Church." This, we believe, was the first convention of the kind ever held in our Church. It sent a memorial to the General Conference recommending the creation of "a distinct and separate department for the editing and publishing of Sunday-school books." It also recommended the appointment of "a competent editor especially and solely for the Sunday-school department." It likewise requested the General Conference so to amend the Discipline as to make

Sunday-school superintendents members of the quarterly conferences."*

The last request was not granted; the Church was not yet ready for the full incorporation of the Sunday-school into its organization. The other recommendations were, however, cordially adopted, giving to the Sunday-school a new impulse, and vastly increasing its powers of usefulness; the new department being placed under the charge of the Rev. Daniel P. Kidder, D.D.

IV. The *Period of Incorporation*, beginning with the appointment of a special Sunday-school Editor, and ending with the admission of Sunday-school Superintendents to the quarterly conference—a period of twelve years: 1844–1856—including all of Dr. Kidder's administration.

Up to this time the relation of the Sunday-school to the Church had not been definitely fixed. Many regarded the Sunday-school as an institution independent of the Church, in which Church-members and others might voluntarily assume responsibility and perform labor, the Church having no special control over it, but simply patronizing it. The more thoughtful and sagacious men among clergy and laity were, however, beginning to see that the power of the Sunday-school for usefulness could not be brought up to the highest point of efficiency if the institution were suffered to remain isolated from the Church. There were those who feared that this condition of independency would lead to collisions and disputes about authority, and to other unpleasant results much to be deprecated, and inevitably detrimental to the peace of the Church and to the usefulness of the Sunday-school. Efforts were accordingly put forth to establish such a relation between the Church and Sunday-school as should give to the Church the entire control of the school, and incorporate the school into the organization of the Church. This was happily accomplished during the period under consideration.

Dr. Kidder entered upon the labors of his office with his characteristic tact and persistence. It is not germane to the design of the present paper to notice all the varied details of those labors, but we may say in passing that during the

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* A full report of this convention was published in the "Christian Advocate and Journal" of May 22d, 1844.

twelve years here referred to the facilities for Sunday-school instruction were multiplied in a way that had not been before known. Large numbers of new books for study and for libraries were published, and requisites of different kinds were provided for the more complete furnishing of the schools of our Church.

The General Conference of 1840 had given to each quarterly conference the "supervision of all the Sunday-schools and Sunday-school societies within its limits;" but something more than this was needed to make an organic union between the Church and the school. There were those who thought that, while the quarterly conference, properly enough, had supervision of the school, the school ought in some way to be officially represented in the quarterly conference. Accordingly, as we have already seen, the Sunday-School Convention of 1844 requested the General Conference to make all Superintendents members *ex officio* of the quarterly conferences. This request, as before noticed, was not complied with; it was not even indorsed by the Sunday-School Committee of the General Conference.

The effort was renewed in 1848, and this time the proposition succeeded in obtaining the recommendation of the Sunday-School Committee; but the General Conference, while adopting the other suggestions of its committee, laid this one on the table. In 1852 the question was again brought before the General Conference, which body so amended the Discipline that male Superintendents, being members of our Church, were admitted to the quarterly conferences, "with the right to speak and vote on questions relating to Sunday-schools, and on such questions only."

This was a great step in advance, but the General Conference of 1856 very wisely took off the restriction above noted, and made the Superintendents members of the quarterly conferences on the same footing as other members, with power to speak and vote on all questions that may legitimately come before a quarterly conference; the only proviso being that the quarterly conference shall first approve of the appointment of the Superintendent to his office.

Thus the Sunday-school became fully incorporated into the working forces of the Church.

V. The *Period of Expansion*, beginning with the admission of Sunday-school Superintendents to the quarterly conferences, and closing with the appointment of an additional special Editor for Teachers' books and Sunday-school requisites—a period of twelve years: 1856–1868—including all of Dr. Wise's administration as Corresponding Secretary of the Sunday-School Union.

The labors of the preceding periods had not been without effect. Glorious results followed the efforts put forth by the earnest workers for Christ. The Sunday-school had steadily risen in the estimation of the Church to a high position as an agency of usefulness. It was but natural to suppose that its usefulness would increase as its real relation to the Church became understood. We accordingly find that the period under consideration gave more indications of progress than any which preceded it. This remark, however, must not be construed into any disparagement of the efforts of previous years, but rather as a compliment to those efforts, because without them we should never have seen these glorious results. They prepared the way for this expansion of the Sunday-School Idea.

The General Conference of 1860, by the addition of a single word to the Discipline, placed the Sunday-school in a higher and more prominent position than it had ever occupied. For some years it had been the duty of the Preacher in charge "to form Bible classes for the larger children and youth." The word "adults" was now added, so that the rule should read, "to form Bible classes for the larger children, youth, and adults." At first sight this might not seem to be a matter of much significance; but when we remember that for a long time the Church had looked on the Sunday-school merely as a place for children, the importance of this amendment becomes apparent, indicating, as it does, a wide step forward. The progressive steps by which this result was reached are worthy of notice. At the first, our Sunday-schools were intended for the children of the poor; next, they were arranged to include all children; after the lapse of years, "larger children and youth" were considered worthy of special mention; and at last the Idea was so expanded as to embrace adults. The theory of our Church now is that the Sunday-school is a place where all, children and adults, may study the word of God.

The same General Conference ordered "the publication of a monthly paper for the benefit of Sunday-school Teachers." This order resulted in the establishment of the "Sunday-School Journal," which has done much to promote the efficiency of our schools.

The following year, 1861, is memorable in our Sunday-school history for the introduction of a new measure which has since become widely known and used: we mean the Sunday-School Teachers' Institute. As early as 1847 Dr. Kidder, in his annual report to the Union, suggested the formation of these institutes on the plan of the "Teachers' Institutes," so popular and useful in connection with secular education. The Church, however, was not yet ready for this advance movement, and in the following year the Doctor in his report says, "We fear the day is distant when the Church will take as high ground on this subject as that assumed by several States of the Union; namely, that in order to promote general education most effectually institutions must be provided for the special instruction of teachers."

The suggestion, though for a time apparently lost sight of, was not forgotten. As the years passed by the necessity of some means by which our Sunday-school teachers might be trained for their work became more and more apparent. In October, 1860, at the session of the Rock River Conference in Chicago, the Rev. J. H. Vincent brought the subject before the Sunday-School Committee, and the committee reported to the conference that in their judgment Institutes for Sunday-school teachers were desirable. The conference unanimously adopted the report. The experiment was tried for the first time on the 17th of April, 1861, at Freeport, Illinois, in connection with the Galena District Sunday-School Convention, then in session, and was under the direction of Mr. Vincent.[*]

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[*] As this was the first regularly organized Sunday-School Teachers' Institute ever held, we give its programme as a matter of historic interest:

PROCEEDINGS OF THE GALENA DISTRICT SUNDAY-SCHOOL TEACHERS' INSTITUTE.—At the first meeting in Freeport, April, 1861: Wednesday, A. M., from 8 to 8.20, Devotional Services; 8.20 to 8.45, Scripture Study, (historical.) conducted by Rev. D. Casseday; 8.45 to 9.10, Drill on Order of Exercises in Sabbath-School, by Rev. C. M. Woodward; 9.10 to 9.30, Remarks on Public Examinations in Sabbath-Schools, by Rev. C. F. Wright; 9.30 to 10, Scripture Study, (doctrinal,) conducted by Rev. H. Ely.—Adjourned. Wednesday, P. M., from 2 to 2.10, Devo-

In 1864 the General Conference gave evidence of the progress which the Sunday-school was making among us by further identifying it with the Church. It invested the quarterly conferences with power to remove unworthy or inefficient Superintendents. It also made it the duty of each quarterly conference to appoint a Sunday-School Committee, the Preacher in charge to be chairman, the duties of which committee to be to aid the Sunday-school in every possible way by procuring suitable teachers, by promoting the attendance of children at Sunday-school and public worship, and by raising money for the expenses of the schools. The committee, with the Superintendent, are also to decide what books shall be used in the schools.

The demand for improvement among Sunday-school teachers increased to such an extent, that the Rev. Dr. Wise, the efficient Corresponding Secretary of the Union, who already had the work of two or three men on his hands, asked the Board of Managers in 1866 for the appointment of a General Agent who should travel throughout the country to hold institutes, and to further all the interests of the Society. The Board appointed the Rev. J. H. Vincent, of Chicago, to this office. He traveled far and wide, aroused Sunday-school teachers to efforts for improvements, held institutes, established normal classes, and in a variety of ways so demonstrated the necessity for special efforts in behalf of an elevated standard of Sunday-school education that the General Conference of 1868 created a "Department of Sunday-School Instruction," which should have supervision of all Sunday-school requisites, and of all text-books for Sunday-schools and for Normal Classes. Mr. Vincent was appointed to the superintendency of this department, in connection with the Corresponding Secretaryship of the Union, and the office of Editor of the "Sunday-School Journal."

We have thus traced the growth of the Sunday-School Idea from the earliest history of our Church to the present time. A glance at the present position of the Sunday-school in its official relation to the Church will serve to show how great this growth has been.

tional Service; 2.10 to 2.30, Plan of conducting Teachers' Meeting, by Rev. J. M'Clane; 2.30 to 3, Sacred Geography—Drill conducted by G. J. [illegible]; 3 to 3.30, Lecture on "Our Institute and Sub-Institutes," by Rev. J. H. Vincent.—Adjourned.

I. The Sunday-school is clearly recognized as a part of the Church.

The Sunday-School Union is organically connected with the Church by act of the General Conference. The Bishops are *ex officio* its presiding officers. Its executive officer, the Corresponding Secretary, is appointed by the General Conference, which body has also ordered that collections shall annually be taken for it in all our Churches. To this Union every Sunday-school in our Church is auxiliary.

The central authority of each Sunday-school is the quarterly conference of the Church to which it belongs. The Presiding Elder is required to ask certain questions in reference to the school, and it is the duty of the Preacher in charge to report statistical and other items in relation to it. The Superintendent is a member of the quarterly conference, and may by it be removed from office for cause. The same body appoints a committee to promote the welfare of the school.

The Pastor's duties in relation to the Sunday-school are defined by the Discipline. He is to preach on the subject of Sunday-schools at stated times; to visit the school as often as practicable; to supervise the selection of books to be used; and in every way possible to further the interests of the school.

II. Abundant provision is now made for the wants of our Sunday-schools.

There is an Editor for the "Sunday-School Advocate," for library books, and for children's publications generally, and another Editor for the "Journal," and for Teachers' text-books. There is a department of instruction specially designed to facilitate the work of teaching. Hundreds of thousands of library and text-books are furnished, as well as an immense quantity of what are known as "Sunday-school requisites." Sunday-School Institutes and Normal Classes are established for the training of teachers; and there is a uniform lesson system for all the schools in our Church, with special and efficient helps for teacher and scholar.

III. The present statistics of our Sunday-schools, according to the report published in January, 1871, will show how the Idea has grown in our Church.

We have in round numbers 17,000 schools, 190,000 officers and teachers, and 1,220,000 scholars. Of requisites, books of instruction, etc., there were published in 1870:

Volumes (bound)	227,934
In paper covers	149,412
Picture Paper	128,000
Picture Lesson Paper	403,493
Teacher's Leaf	118,307
Scholar's Leaf	266,045
Berean Lesson Leaf	354,483
Sunday-School Journal	272,485
Sunday-School Class-Book	21,483
Leaf Cluster	1,636

The total number of pages of printed matter issued in 1870 by the Department of Requisites of the Sunday-School Union is 28,237,400.

There were forty-one volumes added to our Sunday-school libraries; 489,166 library books bound; 275,212 books in paper covers, and 290,613 children's tracts. The number of printed pages in the issues was 12,235,000. The maximum circulation of the "Sunday-School Advocate" was 368,000.

Thus has God's providence led us, until we find grown up in the Church an institution whose power of usefulness it is difficult to estimate. We have not, however, seen the perfect development of which the Sunday-School Idea is capable; and while it is proper for us to rejoice over the progress already made, it is also well for us to see in what direction there can be further improvement. There is a general consciousness that we need a higher grade of teaching than we have had in the past. Common school facilities are constantly increasing, and care must be taken that there be not too marked a contrast between the style of teaching our children receive during the week, and that which they get on the Sabbath. This reflection ought not to bring discouragement to any right-minded person who desires to do good in the Sunday-school, for the facilities for self improvement now offered to Sunday-school teachers are such that pious persons of ordinary good sense, though having but little culture, can by determined perseverance become qualified for the duties to be performed.

We also need a more general practical acceptation by the

Church of the principle, already recognized theoretically and formally, that the Sunday-school is not a mere independent voluntary association, but an essential part of the Church organization. When this truth is recognized as it ought to be, every member of the Church will feel that his solemn Church covenant binds him to an active participation in some way with the Sunday-school. There are a few Churches, we believe, where the members are all engaged in the Sunday-school either as scholars or teachers. As the Idea continues to grow, the number of such Churches will increase. Every member of the Church should also feel it to be his duty to contribute to the necessary expenses of the school, and these expenses ought to be regarded as a part of the necessary expenses of the Church, and provided for as all other Church expenses are.

There is also needed a constant spirit of consecration to the work, and never failing spirituality on the part of the workers. We do not share the fears expressed by some, that the progressive movements in our Sunday-schools during the last few years may result in higher attainments in biblical knowledge at the expense of vital piety. We see no reason for these fears while our Sunday-School Conventions and Institutes are characterized by their present deep tone of spirituality; nevertheless, if we would keep the standard to its present height we must have perpetually before us the need of an intimate spiritual relationship to Christ, and the necessity of a constant presentation of the Saviour to the school. A Christless Sunday-school will inevitably produce disastrous results.

The signs for the future are hopeful. We think there is a deep meaning in the general awakening in the mind of the Church to the importance of the Sunday-school movement. There is significance in the anxious desire so frequently and so freely expressed by our Sunday-school laborers, for the means of greater efficiency in their work. What is to be the peculiar characteristic of the historic period of Sunday-school labor on which we have now entered can only be known when the lapse of years shall develop some marked event which shall indicate its close. We should have great reason for joy if we thought it might truthfully be called the *Period of Realization;* the period when the great ideal of the true Sunday-school should

be reached. All devout hearts should labor and pray that the Church may become a thinking, Bible-studying Church; a Church built up in Christ by faith in him, and by a diligent study of his divine word. Then will the Sunday-School Idea be fully realized.

Art. V.—ARTS OF INTOXICATION.

Arts of Intoxication: The Aim, and the Results. By Rev. J. T. Crane, D.D. New York: Carlton & Lanahan. San Francisco: E. Thomas. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1870.

Temperance literature is becoming extensive, and, though apt to be somewhat monotonous, it is always interesting. This literature has three elements of great power to secure attention—economy, comedy, and tragedy; and nowhere else is there a better theater for their combination and exposition, for vivid delineation and dramatic illustration.

These elements of interest have been used and applied during a third of a century with increasing force and skill. Comic orators and writers have amused the people with representations of the grotesque effects of intemperance. Books and newspaper serials have done with the pen what Hogarth did with the pencil in his "Rake's Progress;" and the successive steps from the gay, social glass, down to a broken fortune and a desolated family, have often been portrayed with fidelity and power. The injury which intemperance inflicts on the finances of the State, on the morals of the people, and on the bodies and minds of its victims and their offspring, have often been clearly and forcibly expounded. But while these powerful arguments and touching recitals have stirred the feelings, and awakened inquiries and earnest desires for the suppression of intemperance, they have failed in many cases to remove an injurious indecision of judgment and of purpose, because of conflicting ideas which have prevailed respecting the operation and effect, and the proper uses, of the intoxicating agent.

Yet these endeavors of the friends of temperance have not been unavailing. They have exerted directly a vast moral effect on the community at large—promoting a fuller and deeper comprehension of the subject of temperance, more union of sentiment among its friends, more firmness of attitude and

recognized moral force. The "Arts of Intoxication" is the latest product of this growing intelligence and power of the temperance party. It is a Nilometer which shows the highest point to which the tide of thought has risen in this direction. It brings into full relief and definite outline an idea or principle toward which scientific opinion has for some time been tending—the only principle, we believe, that will explain all the phenomena of intoxication.

The title of the book introduces into the world of letters a new phrase, which will probably never pass from our literature till intoxication itself is numbered among the lost arts. It aptly embodies the original conception that intoxication is an art—a black art—and that in all ages it has been pursued as an art, as a combination of contrivances for an end. This is shown in the first chapter, which gives an account of the historic origin of intemperance. A beverage was prepared by Helen, the inconstant Greek beauty, the effects of which are minutely described by Homer, and answer exactly to the intoxication of modern times, and the mode of preparing it is mentioned as a valuable secret. The original discovery was doubtless accidental; but, so far as history gives us light, the preparation of intoxicants has been pursued as an art in all ages.

This implies that intoxication is a source of pleasure; it can be sought for only on this assumption. It may give pleasure either by dispelling care or destroying pain, or by originating peculiar sensations and emotions. In varying proportions and degrees it does all these. Its pleasurable effects are more striking in some conditions and on some constitutions than others; but these are the ends sought in all the subjects and in all degrees of inebriety.

In the second chapter the mysterious connection between mind and body is expounded in a style that deserves to be called classic. The intoxicant is material, and is received into the body; yet while it intoxicates the body it also intoxicates the spirit. Body and mind are in sympathy, and the effects on both are similar. If either is exhilarated, both are exhilarated. If either is stupefied, both are stupefied. The intoxicant is, therefore, taken for the sake of its effects both on the body and mind; and sometimes the mind, and sometimes the body, is primarily sought to be affected. The orator, the poet, and the

humorist may have recourse to it on the assumption that it will help them in their task; or the unfortunate and the wretched may resort to it to relieve their sorrows; and the worn laborer and the weary traveler may also use it for its supposed tonic effect.

In analyzing the physiological and psychological effects of the various intoxicants which have been used by mankind, it is shown that, while there is specific variety, the essential property is in all the same, that this is intoxication, and that this effect is the main end that is invariably sought—not the pleasures of the palate, which are always subordinate, but the pleasures of intoxication. A further analysis shows that all these intoxicants are poisonous, and that intoxication in all cases, whatever be the form of the intoxicant, is a process of poisoning. This is exhibited in an interesting account of the popular use, as intoxicants, of the coca-leaf, thorn-apple, the betel-nut, opium, and hemp.

The author gives three chapters on the history, the poisonous operation, and the wrong use of tobacco. His treatment of this subject is in every respect excellent. Taken all in all, we know nothing elsewhere that equals it.

> Few of the devotees of tobacco have an idea of the power of the drug, or how heavy is the hand which it lays upon them, how far it goes into the depths of their being. The writer once tested the pulse of a clerical friend sitting quietly in his parlor puffing a cigar, and found that in the space of a quarter of an hour the pulsations had increased from seventy-four to eighty-six in the minute. In the case of another clerical friend, smoking a pipe in a moderate way, the pulse rose from seventy to eighty-five within thirty minutes. In neither case, so far as I could see, was there any thing but the narcotic to cause the acceleration. In both cases, also, the pulse fell off in force, while it increased in frequency.—Page 70.

Some abusers of the weed will deny that it is an intoxicant; but their denial is vain. Dr. Crane is evidently no smoker, but there are plenty of witnesses to the truth of his description who are or have been smokers—chiefly the latter. Those who still continue the practice are naturally reluctant to inculpate themselves; while those who have repented, and brought forth fruit meet for repentance, are necessarily willing, on all proper occasions, to confess their former sin. In fidelity to truth some

of us are compelled to confess that the effect of tobacco, though specifically different from that of alcohol, and of a milder type, is generically the same. Both are intoxicants. We have ourselves used it for this effect, and we know that this has been the object of others in its use, even in the pulpit. Liquor they abhorred, but this they considered innocent and safe. We have also heard old "snuff dippers" describe their experience. They have confessed to us that they were so narcotized, not sickened, that it was only with effort that they could walk steadily, and they have even lain down to sleep off the effect.

The author contends that tobacco is a destroyer of intellectual social intercourse.

> Note the progress of things at some little gathering of friends for an evening's entertainment. Before supper, and at the table, how animated the conversation, how full of mind, wit, humor, intelligence, force. There is a steady rise in the interest and mental enjoyment, till the time comes when the host, knowing the habits of his guests, deems it polite to invite them to another room and offer them cigars. From that moment every thing declines, the mental interest and pleasure die out, the company tend to silence, or utter speech which is no improvement on silence, and the affair is over.

The celebrated Bautain of France has, in a public lecture, given utterance to a similar sentiment.

This is surely and obviously true. Tobacco separates the sexes in social gatherings, and thus represses at once the operations of the finer instincts and promptings of our nature, and the aroma of social intercourse has departed. It is this among other causes that make women its born foes. It is a foe to their sex, and to all their instincts of neatness and purity.

It is admitted that in social life tobacco helps to put some men at their ease. But who? Only those who lack conversational power. And how does it do this? Only by deadening their sensibilities. But in so doing it takes away the incitement to make an earnest effort at conversation. They are made contented with smoke and dreamy silence.

It is further argued against tobacco that its use is wholly artificial, without any foundation in natural wants. Some think that because we like it there must be a reason for it in our constitution. But this argument proves too much, because the more we supply this supposed natural want, the greater

the want and the more imperious the demand—a result which is contrary to the law of natural need and supply. If the love of tobacco is a normal taste, and its existence proves its right to be, then it should be indulged till it is duly satisfied, like hunger and thirst. But this cannot be done, since uniform increase up to constant indulgence is the law of its demand, if complied with at all. Besides, we cannot discover any good end that it serves, while such an end is very obvious in all undisputed natural appetites. The strongest men, and classes and tribes of men, have never used either tobacco or any other narcotic, as Samson, the Roman soldiers, the Brahmins of India. So the lower animals are never known to eat the natural narcotics which are found in their range.

But if we cannot discover any beneficial end that it serves, we can readily see that it is the source of much evil. It is a filthy thing, and a public nuisance. The chewer cannot open his mouth without showing that it is "full of all uncleanness," and often when shut the evidence is not less clear and repulsive. "Such men ought to herd by themselves, and when they travel ride in the cattle train."

It is also shown that it debilitates both body and mind. This was so evident among the students at Paris a few years ago that the emperor forbade them to use it. It destroys health and even life, prepares the way for stronger narcotics, is a great waste of pecuniary resources, and tends to become a fixed tyrannical habit, so that to begin to use it is unwise and even dangerous.

The discussion of the alcoholic poison very properly occupies more than half the volume. It is in the discussion of this that the author develops the distinguishing feature of the book—the physiological principle that all intoxicants are anæsthetics. It is this part, therefore, which demands our chief attention. The previous chapters are excellent, but these on alcohol have a deeper practical interest, and furnish in full exposition the philosophy for all.

We are first presented with a chapter on the production and history of alcohol, in which the admitted facts on the subject are epitomized. Alcohol may be generated by fermentation in all substances containing sugar or its chemical equivalent, and it may then be concentrated or purified by distillation—a

process which was not discovered till the thirteenth century. By this process the alcohol may be separated from any fermented liquor, which then ceases to be drinkable, for it is equally repulsive to the natural taste of a sober man and the abnormal taste of a drunkard. Distill the alcohol from any toper's favorite beverage and the residue becomes disgusting to him, showing that it is the alcohol that he wants. It is this only which gives attraction to our domestic wines as well as to all others. Distill wine, beer, or cider at a temperature that will carry off with the alcohol a certain proportion of the flavored water, and we now have "spirituous liquor," which is the same beverage with a greater proportion of alcohol, and it is, therefore, pronounced the best, since in either state alcohol is all that gives it attraction.

We then have a chapter on the Delusions of Alcohol, which are described as charming while they last, but their charm is of a debasing and vulgar order.

> And herein lies the fatal power of the whole list of intoxicants. They are cheats, impostors, mockers. They exalt men to a high state of mental enjoyment which has no foundation in reason or reality. He who is fully under their influence may be happy after a fashion; but his enjoyment is based upon a mockery. He feels like a giant while he is really shorn of his natural force. He drivels the veriest nonsense, while he thinks he reasons better than Plato.—Page 145.

We have next a chapter on the true effect of alcohol. This is the most important portion of the volume. This chapter will inevitably excite discussion and elicit thought, and if its leading principle is true, it is destined to effect a great change in the sentiment and usage of society.

We are informed that three French scientists of distinguished rank, M. Perrin, M. Lallemand, and M. Duroy, after pursuing the investigation for years, sum up the result in the following seven formal statements: 1, That alcohol is not food; 2, that in small doses it is an excitant, but in large doses a stupefiant; 3, that it is neither changed nor destroyed in the human organism; 4, that it accumulates in the brain and liver; 5, that through the lungs, skin, and kidneys it is eliminated from the human organism unchanged in nature and undiminished in quantity; 6, that it has a direct and serious disease-producing

operation; 7, that spirituous liquors derive from alcohol their common properties and their special effect.

Our author shows from an extensive induction that intoxication, in all its stages, is a partial paralysis of the brain. Eminent medical authorities are quoted in support of the principle, and the truth of it is shown in detail by the following facts: That *alcohol diminishes animal heat*, and, by lowering the tone of the body, lessens its power to resist either heat or cold; that it *diminishes muscular strength*, which follows from diminished vital heat and is proved by independent experiments, so that athletes always abstain from it; that it *disturbs the action of the senses*, which needs no proof, yet properly receives it with both gravity and humor, the author pointing us to Burns's confessed inability when drunk to count the horns of the moon, and to the strict abstinence of all who are about to perform delicate operations, as surgeons and tight-rope dancers; that it *disturbs the mental action*, banishing cool judgment, clear perception, and delicate self-poise; that it *wars with moral self-control*, unseating reason and benumbing the conscience, so that the lower passions, left to themselves, often run riot, and sometimes commit all manner of folly and crime; that its apparent power to excite and exhilarate is only a consequence of its narcotic operation, which lulls caution and the keen sense of propriety, and the excessive anxiety for success or fear of failure; and hence, by dulling the sense of pain and the perception of risk or danger, it gives an apparent courage and fortitude, which are only apparent.

Dr. Christison, a high authority on both sides of the Atlantic, says: "The sedative action of alcohol on the brain constitutes it a powerful narcotic poison." Dr. Anstie, of London, has reached "one distinct conclusion, the importance of which appears to be very great; namely, that, as in the case of chloroform and ether, the symptoms which are commonly described as an evidence of excitement are in reality an essential part of the narcotic, that is, the paralytic influence. This palsy of the brain is responsible for all the so-called mental excitement." Thus he denies that alcohol ever stimulates either body or mind, and affirms that it dulls every power it touches from the first to the last moment of its operation—that "the so-called mental excitement" is itself paralysis.

Dr. Davis says that "alcohol diminishes the sensibility of the brain and nervous system in the same manner as other anæsthetics." This gentleman's report of his experiment, proving that alcohol diminishes vital heat, is also quoted by our author; and this report is again supported by Professor Bing, of the University of Bonn, in Prussia, who affirms that "the heat of the body is always lowered by alcohol."

With this diminution of heat the pulse always falls off in force. We are therefore prepared for the declaration of Sir J. Richardson, an eminent northern explorer: "I am quite satisfied that spirituous liquors diminish the power of resisting cold." On this ground alcohol is forbidden to the Russian soldiers on the eve of a long march in cold weather. And as only a vigorous vitality can resist heat as well as cold, so alcohol is just as injurious in excessive heat as in excessive cold. Hence Sir Charles Napier addressed to his regiment at Calcutta the following emphatic utterance: "Let me tell you that you are come to a country where if you drink you are dead men." This was the sentiment also of the gallant Havelock.

That alcohol diminishes muscular strength is supported by Drs. Chambers and Brinton, of England, and by MM. Lallemand and Perrin, of France. But while this is the latest and ripest conclusion of science it has been the verdict of all ages. Not only the athletes of Greece, but the prize-fighters and racers of our own day abstain from it. E. P. Weston, the famous walker, holds that "the use of intoxicating liquors is not only unnecessary, but wholly injurious," in performing his feats.

That alcohol diminishes the discriminating power of the senses and of the intellect when a man is visibly intoxicated is sufficiently obvious; but it stands to reason that a small dose of the drug will, in its degree, operate in the same way. We know from experience and self-inspection that this is true. The domestic wines which the writer of this article has been induced to taste a few times in his life have given him sufficient proof of this. Our author adduces other testimony of like kind, and also of a physician who, in consequence of a small dose which produced no outward sign of inebriety, found himself incapable of the nice observation requisite to obtain a proper diagnosis of a patient whom he visited in that state. This is,

therefore, becoming one of the settled conclusions of medical science.

Dr. Brinton, in his work on Dietetics, writes: "Mental acuteness, accuracy of perception, and delicacy of the senses, are all so far opposed by alcohol that the maximum efforts of each are incompatible with the injection of any *moderate* quantity of fermented liquid. A single glass will often suffice to take the edge off both mind and body, and to reduce their capacity to something below their perfection of work." For twenty years Professor Davis, in his lectures at the Medical College at Chicago, has taught the doctrine that "alcohol is simply an anæsthetic, a sedative to nervous sensibility, and debilitating to all the physical functions." It differs from ether and chloroform in being a little more durable in its effect, doubtless because it cannot escape from the system as rapidly as they. This fact is acted on continually. Men often take a heavy draught of some alcoholic liquor when they are about to have a tooth extracted, or undergo any other painful operation, whether of body or mind. Its anæsthetic agency is thus practically and widely recognized and acknowledged.

Nor does alcohol greatly differ from some other anæsthetics in the exhilaration which attends it. One of them produces so powerful and striking an effect of this kind that it is called laughing gas; and this high and strange exhilaration, so far from being considered a proof that it is a stimulant and not an anæsthetic, is acknowledged to be one of the symptoms of narcosis. It it always attended by enfeeblement of the intellect and the sensibilities. The same is equally true of alcoholic exhilaration. Dr. Anstie tested the effect of a small dose of alcohol on himself, "and in a very few minutes found his pulse beating more rapidly, felt a degree of numbness in his lips, and was conscious of a confusion of thought."

But there are some facts which are supposed to prove that alcohol is a true stimulant, and these will be adduced in opposition to the doctrine of this book. Our author replies that, while alcohol is in no true sense a stimulus either to mind or body, yet where these have become disordered and diseased by indulgence they cannot work as well without it until the habit is conquered and the disease removed, but that they can never work as well with it as they would have done had it never been

used. A second answer is that, as alcohol lulls caution, dulls sensibility and the keen sense of propriety and the power of acute criticism, it makes its debased and cheated victim very self-complacent, so that while he feels very free and energetic he is simply reckless, and his judgment is unhinged and his wit is invariably of a coarser grain, and sometimes ludicrously contemptible, if not something worse. A third answer is given to the effect that, notwithstanding the too common assumption that alcohol is a mental stimulant, there is at the same time a truer and deeper feeling to the contrary, so that we listen to drunken wit "in something of the same frame of mind with which we witness the performances of 'the learned pig' or the feats of the 'educated mules.'"

It is also pertinently inquired how this agent can at once stimulate the mind and drown trouble. That it does the latter all are agreed, and that it does this by stupefaction cannot be denied. How then can it stimulate at the same time? The supposition is self-contradictory. Wine is described in Scripture as deadening and exhilarating, but never as stimulating. Drink it, and "they have stricken me, shalt thou say, and I was not sick; they have beaten me, and I felt it not." "Give wine unto those that be of heavy heart. Let him drink and forget his poverty, and remember his misery no more." "Merry with wine." It exhilarates by deadening the senses and the judgment. It gives no particle of strength anywhere; but to the deluded victim it amounts to the same for the time being, and afterward there is a heavy price to pay for the delusive enjoyment.

But allowing that the direct operation of alcohol is always sedative and deadening, is it not sometimes a real and practical stimulant indirectly? It must be admitted on this theory that when a man is in good health and spirits, and assured of being equal to his situation, the effect of alcohol must be a diminution of his force. But if he is chilled, and repressed by an ungenial moral and social atmosphere, or somewhat cowed by the dominant bearing of an adversary, or by the presence of a keen, unfriendly critic, or if he is in low spirits because of some misfortune or bad news, so that he cannot "be himself," cannot bring his powers into full exercise, nor make his resources available, then alcohol by deadening his sensibilities can make him

despise his adversaries and hostile critics, and be practically oblivious of all his sorrows and misfortunes, and his mind can operate to more advantage apparently, and perhaps with more real effect. By taking alcohol he is really stupefied, but he is also enlivened. His susceptibilities and his intellectual power are absolutely diminished, but their available value is really increased. He has actually less of soul and mind, but he seems to have more, because they reveal themselves better. Relative, therefore, to their immediate outward effects, alcohol, even on this theory, may operate indirectly as an aid, because in some circumstances and subjective conditions a man is able to make more of himself by its use than without. As our author admits, it may "utter the magic sesame which bids the rocky doors of the cave open, and reveal something of the wealth already gathered there."

Now this in many cases is all that is sought in its use. Many men are confident that there is mental wealth enough in them, but to get it out, "that's the question." Whoever is not self-possessed in public, whoever is too ambitious for his powers of execution, or who from any cause whatever thinks he cannot otherwise exert himself to full effect, whether in public or private, has here a temptation to use the drug for no other purpose than to reveal the assumed rock-fended treasures. This temptation remains, though our author's position is correct.

What advantage, then, have we gained by this principle? Have we gained all that reason and philosophy call for on the subject? or do we want an argument universally applicable, so clear, so strong, that in all situations and conditions it removes or destroys the power of temptation? This is impossible; it is contrary to the constitution of nature. God has made some things which can give pleasure or temporary advantage while they injure us, and these necessarily form a temptation to our ruin through the part of our nature to which they appeal. This is not only a fact of nature, but also a moral necessity. Temptation, probation, and moral agency are inseparable.

It is no small advantage to have a clear and definite knowledge of the nature of intoxication, or the physiological and psychological operation of the intoxicating agent. Having attained the true philosophy of it, we are better able to trace

and measure its subordinate effects, and to judge accurately why and when to use it, with a full knowledge alike of its good and evil. We now know that it is only by stupefaction that it can afford relief to the body or exhilaration to the mind, and when we use it we must calculate the whole effect. In certain pathological conditions any anæsthetic may operate beneficially by deadening parts which are morbidly active; but it is thus serviceable only when there is a concurrence of certain abnormal conditions. Hence, the use of alcohol as a steady regimen for body or mind, or for any chronic ailment, is precluded, and whenever it is rightly used it is primarily for its anæsthetic property. Where there is no call for this property there is no call for alcohol.

This is certainly a great step forward, scientifically and morally. Its prospective advantage is incalculable. Let this be universally received as a fixed principle of science, and it will vastly change the practice of medicine. It must have a great influence on the usages of society when all are convinced that alcohol is a real stupefier of every brighter power of mind and heart. Every thinking man, who is not already its slave, must be superior to its allurements as an alleged quickener of the brain when he has become fully aware that its claim is a lie, and its operation a universal and unmitigated cheat. Henceforth men will begin to see more and more clearly, that if alcohol ever quickens a brain it is the maudlin's brain, whose product will be more or less maudlin; and that the purest conceptions and the noblest style can never be the product of an alcoholic brain.

Dr. Crane is not the first to call alcohol an anæsthetic. As he himself shows, this has been done before by scientists from whom he derives part of his proofs. But the prevailing impressions have been vague and conflicting, and as a consequence the truth in them has been less effective. Dr. Crane has the merit of giving us a consistent and scientific exposition. We now know that alcohol is always primarily and directly an anæsthetic only, and that it can operate as a tonic or exhilarant only anæsthetically, and in certain abnormal conditions. This is to be the rule of the "coming man."

It will be found on examination and comparison that all theories of the physiological and psychological operation of

alcohol, so far as they are true, find their expression in the principle advocated in this volume. It reconciles the conflicting impressions of its being an apparent stimulant and yet a narcotic, and shows their mutual relation. James Parton has advanced a new theory, or rather given us a new formula, that "it enables us to violate the laws of nature without immediate suffering and speedy destruction." This is sometimes true, not always, and it is otherwise very defective as a comprehensive formula. It is no sooner brought forth than it is swallowed up by the formula of our author, just as the Egyptian rod-serpents were swallowed up by that of Moses.

We have given so much space to the discussion of this chapter because it is the most original and important in the volume.

Six chapters follow, which discuss with force and unexceptionable taste the various social, economical, and moral aspects of the general subject of intemperance, closing with a chapter on remedial measures.

The style of the author is worthy of very high commendation. It is perfectly transparent; it is free from hackneyed phrases, and every-where reveals a mind as genial as it is solid. To read this volume is alike recreation and instruction. It has no dull pages or paragraphs. Narrative and argument alike beguile the reader's attention, and command his approval. Even the most labored demonstration is equally easy and clear. Our article shall conclude with the author's last paragraph, which aims to dispel a selfish indisposition to earnest temperance endeavors.

> Fighting hand to hand, foot to foot, with this powerful foe, we must contend for the nation's life, and suffer defeat, or gain at the best a hard won victory. And the saddest thought of all is that there should be among those who ought to be foremost in the action so much reluctance to act, so much apathy in regard to the ruin wrought before their very eyes. We are like the dwellers in a lofty mansion built on some dangerous coast where frequent wrecks occur. Darkness and storm may be without, but we are safe, and full of peace and comfort within. A ship crowded with passengers is going to pieces among the rocks, and we know it. We see the red flash of the alarm-guns, and hear the booming signal that death is at work and help is needed. But we are safe. We look around at the circle of loved ones; we glance at the cheerful fire, the table, the books, the pictured walls. Yes, we are safe. Faintly amid the roar of the winds and the sea we hear imploring

voices, but we are safe. We sing our evening song of praise, we say our evening prayer. We retire to our beds and fall asleep to the sound of storm and surf, and imploring voices still more faintly heard; while all through the night, one after another, men, women, and little innocent children are dropping, dropping from the icy wreck, and the busy waves are piling the dead along the shore under our very windows.—Pp. 262–264.

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ART. VI.—THE LIFE OF TRUST.

"THE LIFE OF TRUST," by George Müller, written by himself, is a curious book, which has been now several years before the American public, and has, very naturally and reasonably, attracted the notice of multitudes of Christian people. The work purports to be a narrative of "the Lord's dealings" with the author, and the American edition was edited by Rev. H. L. Wayland, accompanied with an introduction by his father, the late Rev. Dr. Wayland, wherein that great and good man clearly records his indorsement of the book, and concludes as follows: "We commend this most unpretending of narratives to the thoughtful consideration of Christians of all denominations. We have greatly overrated the teaching of these facts if they do not furnish strong incentives to *a life of holy exertion, and impart an unwonted and powerful motive to earnest and believing prayer.*"

This book comprises a full and minute account of what its title sets forth, *a life of trust*—trust sincere, firm, and unfailing in God and in his "exceeding great and precious promises." It is not a presentation of such a trust as is merely occasional and intermittent, but a trust that was daily, hourly, constant and wakeful like the breath, ever leaning, ever reposing, ever asking, ever receiving; and hence it furnishes to us one of the finest and most striking illustrations we have ever seen of that remarkable Scripture teaching us to "be careful for nothing; but in every thing by prayer and supplication with thanksgiving, let your requests be made known unto God. And the peace of God, which passeth all understanding, shall keep your hearts and minds through Christ Jesus."

Mr. Müller is a Russian by birth, born near Halberstadt

in 1805. He grew up a wayward youth, giving much trouble and vexation to his father, who, however, went to very considerable expense for his education. Amid all the irregularities and sinful practices of his youth he seems to have made commendable proficiency in his studies, and was well versed in the ancient and modern languages. When about twenty years of age he gave himself more fully than before to serious thoughts and a correct conduct, and before he had completed his education at Halle he had become a very decided Christian, deeply imbued with the spirit of a missionary, and was much exercised in respect to engaging in foreign missionary labors. In 1829, and when twenty-four years of age, he passed over to England; and shortly after reaching London he received information of a certain dentist who had relinquished a profitable business yielding him about $6,000 a year, with the intention of going, with his family, as a missionary to Persia, "simply trusting in the Lord for temporal supplies." This intelligence produced a deep impression upon the mind of Müller, and, we may presume, aided in giving a coloring to his whole subsequent career.

On coming to England, Mr. Müller gave special attention to studies preparatory to the ministry; and in the course of such studies he relates that he came, at length, to lay aside almost every other book, and gave himself to simply reading and studying the word of God. "The result of this was," said he, "that the first evening that I shut myself into my room to give myself to prayer and meditation over the Scriptures, I learned more in a few hours than I had done during a period of several months previously. *But the particular difference was that I received real strength for my soul in doing so.*"

He now began to preach as a sort of independent minister of the Gospel; for it seemed not, somehow, to accord with the genius of this man, or, at least, with his ideas of pure and simple faith in God, to attach himself to any existing religious organization or Church. With him, beyond most men of whom we have read or heard, the Lord Christ was all in all. He seemed to distrust all and every intervening agency. He shrank from any earthly Bishop, or Presbytery, or ecclesiastical council or guidance. He sought to draw nigh to God, and coveted to deal with him alone, and commune with him "face to face."

Mr. Müller presently entered upon a regular course of ministry at Teignmouth, where he had been invited to settle. Here he had, at first, received a regular salary, though a very limited amount; yet, small as it was, he soon reached the conclusion that it was wrong for him to labor in the ministry for any specific salary whatever, but that it was incumbent upon him to look to the Lord for such a provision as he might incline one and another of those to whom he ministered to contribute for his maintenance. For receiving these contributions a permanent box was placed in the chapel, and all desirous of aiding in the minister's support deposited here their offerings.

In the spring of 1832 Mr. Müller, after much consideration and prayer for the divine direction, removed to Bristol with a view of exercising his ministry there. Before and after leaving Teignmouth he seems to have been associated with a Mr. Craik, a gentleman of like spirit with himself; and at the end of two years' labor at Bristol, with moderate success, they were led to establish a Missionary Society on principles more in harmony with his peculiar views of trust *in God alone* than what he conceived to be the character of existing associations for missionary effort. A part of these principles was that the contributions of unconverted persons should neither be asked nor rejected if offered, that the help of this class of persons should not be allowed in managing the affairs of the association, and that the society should never incur any debt. Its scope included Sunday-schools, day-schools managed on scriptural principles, circulation of the Scriptures and tracts, and direct aid to missionary efforts proper. The sequel will show the progress and results of this undertaking.

The idea of another enterprise of charity and benevolence was presently revolving in the mind of Mr. Müller, and that was the establishment of a house and home for destitute orphan children, with a view of providing for the temporal necessities of this class of children, and of training them, by the aid of suitable assistants, "in the nurture and admonition of the Lord." The enterprise seems to have been suggested to his mind by the celebrated orphan establishment of Franke at Halle. "This evening," he writes, "I took tea at a sister's house, where I found Franke's Life. I have frequently for a long time thought

of laboring in a similar way on a much smaller scale, not to imitate Franke, but in reliance upon the Lord." Who may estimate (the thought is old and trite, but will bear repeating) the influence of one little book, or even of a single page thereof! And how true, as well as wonderful, that a single good seed from the sower's hand may, under a gracious Providence, spring up to a mighty growth!

An orphan house is determined upon by Mr. Müller, and it was to be founded and sustained upon the one great principle of *simple trust in a faithful God.* The plan comprised three prominent ideas:

1. A provision for the temporal and spiritual wants of destitute orphan children.

2. The securing of this provision not by the ordinary process of soliciting charitable aid, whether publicly or privately, from any human being, but by direct and trustful appeals to God alone for all needful funds and every requisite appliance.

3. Thirdly, the establishment thus of a visible and tangible monument and demonstration of the unchanged faithfulness of God in his prompt and direct answers to fervent and believing prayer.

This last, indeed, was the principal and favorite idea, and to this all other ideas were subordinate. "This, then," said Mr. M., "was the primary reason for establishing the orphan house. I certainly did from my heart desire to be used by God to benefit the bodies of poor children bereaved of both parents, and seek in other respects, with the help of God, to do them good for this life. I also particularly longed to be used by God in getting the dear orphans trained up in the fear of God; but still the first and primary object of the work was, and still is, that God might be magnified by the fact that the orphans under my care are provided with all they need only *by prayer and faith*, without any one being asked by me or my fellow-laborers, whereby it may be seen that God is *faithful still and hears prayer still.*"

In the same connection Mr. Müller further remarks:

> All these exercises of my soul which resulted from the fact that so many believers with whom I became acquainted were harassed and distressed in mind, or brought guilt on their consciences, on account of not trusting in the Lord, were used by God to awaken

in my heart the desire of setting before the Church at large, and before the world, a proof that he has not in the least changed, and this seemed to me best done by the establishing of an orphan house. It needed to be something which could be seen even by the natural eye. Now if I, a poor man, simply by prayer and faith, obtained, *without asking any individual*, the means for establishing and carrying on an orphan house, there would be something which, with the Lord's blessing, might be instrumental in strengthening the faith of the children of God, besides being a testimony to the consciences of the unconverted of the reality of the things of God.

At length the first actual step is taken—a public meeting; not for material aid, but "as a means of ascertaining more clearly the Lord's mind concerning the matter." Then, one evening, amid his Scripture reading occur the curious words, "Open thy mouth wide and I will fill it!" Simultaneously with this the "orphan house" looms up, and out goes a petition for the suitable premises—a petition for a thousand pounds for the suitable edifice, and a petition for the suitable assistants to take care of the children. Great requests these, and striking deeply at the very roots of the matter, and grasping beforehand the grand accomplishment. Faith is already at work—the same faith which "is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen" as yet.

Two days afterward a shilling is received for the orphan house—the first shilling! In two days more appear a piece of furniture, ten shillings, and a proffered assistant. On the morrow a brother and sister offer themselves and their substance, while, in the evening, sundry articles of table furniture make their appearance. Other like articles follow speedily, together with $250 in cash from an unexpected source. Meantime prayer goes on, and faith is awake, and constant as the recurring days are the offerings—offerings of weekly money subscriptions, of furniture, of provisions, of personal services, of clothes, and every sort of household goods. More strangely still, an offering of $500 comes from one who with her needle was earning her daily bread, and whose average gain was from two to five shillings per week. Being remonstrated with by Mr. M. as having given unduly, she responds, "The Lord has given his *last* drop of blood for me, and should I not give him this hundred pounds?"

Such was the process, and such the success; and eighteen months after the commencing efforts the orphan house opened its hospitable doors, and seventeen children entered there to be cared for in body and in soul. There had been no soliciting for a single penny. Good men and women abounded, and generous hands were not wanting to proffer any aid for the asking; but there were no petitions for human help, not a solitary solicitation save those requests that were "made known unto God."

As time went on this enterprise was constantly extending itself. The orphan children applying for admission multiplied, as also the children of the day-schools, which, as we have seen, had been already established. The earliest accommodations for the orphans were rented premises, but it was not long before more suitable and permanent fixtures came to be a necessity.

The change from rented premises for the accommodation of the orphans to premises that should be the property of the institution forms a conspicuous era in this singular enterprise. After ten years of such efforts and success as above alluded to this change took place, and the new premises, edifice, furniture, every thing, were the fruits, pure and simple, of the same prayer of faith. For four hundred and forty-seven successive days was this prayer offered for the requisite means; and during these days, in different sums ranging from a few pence to two thousand pounds, £9,285 had been received—received without a single application to any one for help except God alone. Then the building arose and was finished, and, by succeeding donations, was furnished completely; and at the end of three years and seven months from the day when the first prayer was offered for the gift of the new premises and accommodations, one hundred and forty persons—children and assistants—passed in thither and occupied them, while the sum of $2.500 was, at the same time, on deposit for the maintenance and instruction of the orphans.

As this great enterprise of the erection of the orphan house was approaching completion, and when a large sum of money would still be necessary for the requisite furniture and fixtures, and for which amount of money the prayer of faith was daily ascending, a gentleman approached Mr. Müller, and, after a

few minutes' conversation, placed in his hands two thousand pounds, ($10,000,) with "permission to use it for the fitting up and furnishing of the new orphan house, or for any thing else needed in connection with the orphans."

Thus a great work had been executed, and such a work as would doubtless have satisfied many a good man to have accomplished. But Mr. Müller seemed hardly confident that all was done which was either necessary or possible. Three hundred orphans had been provided for, but applications were constantly made for others who could not be accommodated. Thousands of this class were scattered through the country, many of them confined in prisons to preserve them from starvation, while the public provision for these unfortunate children was inadequate, as well as, in many instances, unsuitable. The benevolent spirit of George Müller was stirred within him as he contemplated so much destitution and suffering. He had already done a great and good work for the aid and welfare of a multitude. In the prosecution of such a work he had gained a valuable experience in this sphere of benevolence. God had wonderfully helped him in such an enterprise. Through the Divine co-operation three hundred were already provided for; why, with the same aid and co-operation, might not a thousand be housed, clothed, fed, and educated as well as three hundred?

So reasoned this man; and he presently began to pray and trust, as well as to reason, just as he had before prayed in behalf of the orphan house, now completely filled. The idea grew upon him, and for a long time the contemplation and the praying proceeded with himself alone. For months he spoke of the matter to none but God. This idea was that of another orphan house, and one of sufficient capacity to accommodate seven hundred orphans, thus actually completing a round thousand! Such a project was too vast and weighty to be hastily talked of even to his wife. To most people it would appear preposterous. The outlay would require to be not less than $175,000, while not one dollar was in hand for such a purpose, and on Müller's principle of procedure not a dollar must be solicited from any human source. God alone was to be sought unto for the entire means for executing this stupendous work.

And, in brief, the praying, as we have seen, commenced—

commenced, and for a long time proceeded, with this one man only. But faith increased as prayer continued, and at the end of fifteen weeks of daily praying he records that during the last ten of those weeks all doubts touching the project were gone. "The greatness of the sum required," said he, "affords me a kind of secret joy; for the greater the difficulties to be overcome, the more it will be seen, to the glory of God, how much can be done by prayer and faith." The reader will here keep in mind that there were to be daily supplies of food, and instruction for three hundred persons. "Looking at it naturally," he very properly remarks, "it is enough to make one tremble. But trusting in the living God, as by his grace I was enabled to do, I had not the least trial of mind, and was assured that God would as certainly help me as when, fourteen years before, the number of orphans was only one tenth part as large."

And so with all his present responsibilities, and with no help, except from God, to meet them day by day, it was now fully in this man's mind to treble that responsibility—to increase his congregation of orphans from three hundred to one thousand, and in due time to behold before his eyes the requisite accommodations for such an unprecedented rallying. With the three hundred, the daily expenses were not less than $50 for the orphans alone, while another $50 would no more than cover the other expenses for each day. What would be the daily liabilities, then, when the thousand should be assembled, were easy to estimate.

The first donation for the new enterprise was half a sovereign, (about $2 50.) On the evening of the day after the plan became publicly known a lady presented a sovereign. Three days afterward came in ten shillings, a sovereign, four half crowns, three shillings, and two shillings and sixpence. In twenty-four days only about as many pounds had been given. "But I am not discouraged," said this brave believer. "The less there comes in the more earnestly I pray, the more I look out for answers, and the more assured I am that the Lord, in his own time, after he has tried my faith, will send me larger sums, and, at last, all I need." Small amounts continue to come in, but, in a month or two, he is incited to pray specially for larger sums; when presently comes in a gift of $2,500 for

the new building. "I was not the least excited," he writes. "*Even that very moment* when I received this donation I was looking out for means, for large donations, and I should not have been surprised if £5,000 had come in, or more." At the end of three months and a half from the day of receiving the first donation £883 had been given for the contemplated edifice, when the journal of Mr. M. reads as follows: "I am not disappointed, though as yet only the fortieth part of what is needed has come in. But how soon, how very soon, can the Lord alter the aspect of things! Even this evening while I am writing he could give me many thousand pounds." One day, a few months after this, came a present of a thousand pounds, whereby Mr. M. is, of course, greatly refreshed. Nine months afterward, during which small sums were of almost daily occurrence, a pledge was received of £8,100—the joint donation of several Christians. "The largeness of the donation," said he, "while it exceedingly refreshed my spirit, did not in the least surprise me, for I expect great things from God." "Is it not obvious," he adds, "that the principles on which I labor are not only applicable to the work of God on a small scale, but also *for the most extensive operations for God?*"

As the spring of 1856 arrived the New Orphan House Fund amounted to £29,298, and another year increased the amount to £31,817. Thus the addition of £3,000 more would carry up the building fund to the requisite figure for the erection and furnishing of the Orphan House. But the entire amount was forthcoming. Under date of February, 1858, is the entry following: "As far as I am able to judge, I have all I require in the way of pecuniary means for the third house also, so that I am able to accomplish the full enlargement of the orphan work to one thousand orphans."

The "third house" here referred to is explained by the fact that Mr. Müller had concluded to erect *two* houses instead of one, which should respectively accommodate 400 and 300 inmates. The first was already built, furnished, and opened; and the first active steps were taken for the erection of the second. Meanwhile the plan of an erection for 300 was so modified as to provide a building that should accommodate 450 instead. Considerably more expense would thus, of course, be incurred, and hence, at the end of two months after the de-

cision for the larger accommodations, £7,000 were donated and left entirely at the disposal of Mr. M., "as the work of God might more especially require it," and up to May, 1860, instead of £35,000, the sum he had at first deemed requisite for the great enlargement of his operations, £45,113 had been received—more than $50,000 beyond the estimated cost of accommodations for the 700 additional orphans! Well might this believer in God adopt the apostolic doxology, and exclaim, "Now unto Him that is able to do exceeding abundantly above all that we ask or think—unto Him be glory!"

So the third house was begun, and the walls thereof were ascending as the book we are noticing was issued, (1860.) Of these houses a visitor and eye-witness* writes as follows: "These are all built of stone, in the most complete and thorough manner. No pains have been spared in rendering them convenient, comfortable, and safe for children, and with special reference to warmth, light, ventilation, and cleanliness; and while all is in good taste, and exceedingly chaste and neat, it is all plain—nothing for show or ornament."

The entire cost, and the manner of obtaining the funds, he quotes from Mr. M., as follows: "Without any one having been personally applied to for any thing by me, the sum of £133,528 14 ($667,640) has been given to me for the orphans, as the result of prayer to God, since the commencement of the work, which sum includes the amount received for the building fund, for the houses already built, and the one now in progress."

Dr. Wayland presents, as follows, the summary of the orphan department of Mr. Müller's remarkable operations and efforts:

> By degrees the establishment increased, and it was necessary to leave the hired houses in which the children had thus far been accommodated. Land was purchased, and a building was erected in the vicinity of Bristol. This was soon filled to overflowing, and another building was demanded. This was erected, and it was also very soon filled. These buildings were sufficient to accommodate seven hundred orphans. At the present moment (December, [illegible]) a third building, larger than either, is in the process of erection, and is to be finished in the course of the ensuing summer. When this shall be completed, accommodations will have been provided for eleven hundred and fifty orphans. These expensive buildings

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* Rev. Dr. Sawtelle.

have been erected; the land has been purchased on which they stand; this multitude of children has been clothed, and fed, and educated; support and remuneration have been provided for all the necessary teachers and assistants, and all this has been done by a man who is not worth a dollar. He has never asked any one but God for whatever they needed, and from the beginning they have never wanted a meal, nor have they ever allowed themselves to be in debt. There seems in this to be something as remarkable as if Mr. Müller had commanded a sycamine tree to be removed and planted in the sea, and it had obeyed him.

Yet all this is but a part; for hand in hand with the great work thus portrayed, Mr. Müller, in connection with his associate and fellow-laborer, Mr. Craik, besides their personal ministry from Sabbath to Sabbath, and the care of a large Church, has, upon the same principles as in the orphan enterprise, carried forward an increasingly efficient Bible, tract, and missionary work. And here Rev. Dr. Sawtelle, the visitor and eye-witness above alluded to, shall sum up for us:

> During the past year, (1860,) and out of the same funds sent in answer to prayer, there have been expended for the circulation of the Holy Scriptures the sum of £5,681 13s. 3½d.; also more than £5,000, or $25,000, to aid missionary efforts in various parts of the world; and the total amount received since 1834, to aid the blessed work of missions in home and foreign fields, is £34,495 3s. 4d. Added to all this is the sum of £8,064 12s. 6½d. expended since 1840 for the circulation of religious books and tracts, by which sum 11,493,174 books and tracts have been circulated. Thus we see that for these various objects, disconnected with the orphans, there has been donated since March, 1834, the sum of £51,777 14s. 11d., which, added to the sum for the orphans, makes a total of £185,306 8s. 11d., nearly one million of dollars, sent to Mr. Müller from various parts of the Christian world, and from thousands who never saw him, all in answer to prayer, to aid him in carrying forward his benevolent work in saving souls, and to honor and glorify God.

With this imperfect glance at the book before us, and at the wonderful work whose process and accomplishment it reveals, we conclude our remarks with two simple and natural inquiries.

The obvious lesson from this book, and from what it narrates, is that of earnest and heartfelt prayer to God in reference to every concern of life both great and small; and our first in-

quiry is, *whether this lesson be in accordance with the teachings of the Holy Scriptures.*

That the doctrine of prayer itself is of the Scriptures it would be idle to argue for a moment. "I will that men pray," is unquestioned throughout the great world of Christendom. This being so, it seems equally certain that the prayers of men should comprise every lawful matter in which they are interested. Within this limit there can be no exception. The distinction of things and events into *great* and *little* is entirely common among men, and the "little" matters with which we are always conversant are too often passed over as either unnecessary, or unsuitable to be comprised among the subjects of prayer. All this assumes that we are capable of comprehending fully these apparent trifles, and of tracing all their bearings, and pondering all their results, however near or remote, and however slender or momentous. In other words, it assumes that we always see clearly what, among things and events, are great, and what are small, and of small consequence. It is quite unnecessary to say that this assumption involves an error most vital and important, and that human judgments of multitudes of matters in respect to their importance, absolute or relative, have proved essential, and often disastrous failures. Indeed, it is not at all unlikely that the distinctions of things into great and little, important and unimportant, eventful and uneventful, is merely human, and has little or no place in the divine mind; and it may very possibly be that with Him who made the world and all things that are therein, whose great Providence superintends all, and who, in respect to every thing, sees the end from the beginning—it may be possible, we say, that with Him there is nothing small, nothing unimportant or uneventful. Certain it is of ourselves that, in regard to every thing, we "see as through a glass darkly," and the keenest, clearest, largest human vision is essentially limited—so limited, indeed, that there is not a solitary matter or event, current or historical, ever so conspicuous or insignificant, and relating to ourselves or any other parties that are or ever were on the earth, upon which we may place our finger and say, *This I completely comprehend.* Ever are we moving amid multitudinous influences, a few of them proceeding from sources which we see and partially appreciate, and thousands of others where

of we are unaware, and take no account, while yet their tendency may be more or less directly toward our weal or woe. The Scriptures recognize this fact, as well in their teachings touching prayer as outside of such teachings. Hence the direction to man is, "In all thy ways acknowledge Him, and he shall direct thy paths." "Be careful for nothing; but in every thing, by prayer and supplication, with thanksgiving, make your requests known unto God."

And what do such Scriptures assume but that in every way of ours, nay, every step we take, literally or otherwise, we are incompetent to go alone; and that in all things pertaining to us, and our relations to others, we need the Divine help; and, needing this, we should ask for it with prayer and supplication?

The narrative further teaches that while prayer should be thus comprehensive, it should be *trustful* as well. In other words the prayer, in all its lawful requests, should be accompanied with a confident expectation of being answered. This was clearly the spirit and character of the constant prayer offered by Mr. Müller, which certainly bears the seeming of having been answered in a manner which we are accustomed to term wonderful. Were those trustful prayers scriptural, or was it a species of fanaticism to pray as he did for such things as he asked for, and especially with such expectations as he indulged in connection with his prayers?

Much is said in the New Testament of *faith* as accompanying prayer to God; and so various are the references to this matter, especially in the personal teachings of Christ himself, that we deem it quite unnecessary to repeat them. A single striking instance will be sufficient for our purpose; and it is recorded in Mark xi, 22–24, reading as follows:

> And Jesus answering saith unto them, Have faith in God. For verily I say unto you, That whosoever shall say unto this mountain, Be thou removed, and be thou cast into the sea; and shall not doubt in his heart, but shall believe that those things which he saith shall come to pass; he shall have whatsoever he saith. Therefore I say unto you, What things soever ye desire, when ye pray, believe that ye receive them, and ye shall have them.

Laying this remarkable Scripture along-side of the curious picture presented in Mr. Müller's narrative, and what is the discrepancy between the two? What are the marvelous details

of that history, from beginning to end, but a sort of running and perpetual commentary upon the scriptural declaration: This man asked of God. He asked for all lawful things; but he, as suggested by Dr. Wayland, asked as for the "removal of mountains," yet he asked *expecting to receive.*

And why did he indulge this expectation? Why this trust? What was its right or propriety? We answer that this confident expectation was founded upon what had been divinely promised, and it was, therefore, perfectly reasonable, and without a particle of fanaticism. The man simply believed God—the most rational thing under the sun. He who would cavil at the *trust* exercised by Mr. Müller when asking great and good things of the Lord should begin his cavils with God himself, and with his promise. He should first attack the great pledge that "*Every one that asketh, receiveth.*" The trusting of this pledge was the head and front of this man's offending. Go behind him, therefore, ye who demur, and hold your controversy with God that promised. The unreasonableness of the prayer of faith, and the whole of it, is that of *trusting Him who cannot lie.*

But how can one "believe that he receives?" receives while he sees nothing, feels nothing, and all is vacancy? Ask some little boy whose father, kind, excellent, and true, is sitting before him, and whom the child never thought of distrusting. Says this father to his boy, "My son, I have some delicious apples somewhere near by; ask for one and you shall have it." "Please, pa, give me one;" says the child; and as he thus asks, not a shadow of a doubt crosses his little soul that the apple is forthcoming. His father has the apples, and he has promised one for the asking, and he is true. The confidence or trust of the little boy is as if he were receiving the apple simultaneously with the asking for it. But from human imperfection the asking and receiving are not precisely identical in time. Here the latter must follow the former; and so it often is in the Divine giving, but not necessary or always so. The asking and receiving are often in the same moment. Amid the very moments of Daniel's supplication the Angel of Blessing was descending to him, "being caused to fly swiftly." Quicker than the lightning's flash can He answer the requests that are "made known" to him. The laws of time and succession

bind not that arm, nor limit at all the Infinite goodness. A day, a moment, is with Him as a thousand years. "Believe that ye receive," then, implies no error or fanaticism in him who is asking of God. Nay, not only is this asking and receiving often simultaneous, but the receiving sometimes anticipates the asking; for "Before they call I will answer," is one of the wondrous presentations of outbursting, overflowing mercy. Its grand proclamation is, "Believe that ye receive!" receive while you are asking, receive as you are, receive *now!*

But suppose the answer to the trustful prayer is delayed, as it often seems to be; then the doctrine of the Narrative, as well as of the Scriptures, is that the same prayer and trust be persisted in to the last—that it be urged day by day—that the delay of the response is doubtless for the best of reasons, and that the blessing thus sought, and sought earnestly and perseveringly, is sure to be received. So says, also, the Scripture teaching. The importunity of the man who had "nothing to set before" his friend is an illustration. So, also, the poor widow's long persistence with the unjust judge, "And shall not God avenge his own elect, which cry day and night unto him though he bear long with them; I tell you that he will avenge them speedily."

We conclude, therefore, that the career of Mr. Müller—especially in his constant and trustful prayer to God—was as fully in accordance with the teaching of the Holy Scriptures as its success was remarkable and astonishing.

Our second inquiry is, Whether the Christian community generally have attained to this life of prayer and trust?

We approach this inquiry with sincere reluctance, inasmuch as we fear that it must be answered in the negative. The simple, earnest, persistent, trustful prayer which in this article we have been contemplating is, as we think, certainly wanting with multitudes of professing Christians of every denomination, and with too many ministers of the Gospel. One man, George Müller, of Bristol, England, as he began his ministry, addressed himself to a life of trust in God—a trust as absolute as possible—in reference to every interest, great and small, with which he was connected; and the spectacle is before the world of what, with this man, a quarter of a century has brought forth. And what a work for one third of a life-time! What if ten thousand

of the Christian ministers had in the same time set themselves to the exercise of that same unfailing trust and that same prevailing prayer? What if a hundred thousand of the Christian laity had, in these last twenty-five years, thus dedicated themselves? No one can doubt that the result would have been immeasurably great and important. Of course, this result would not have generally taken the shape of orphan houses and orphan schools; but that a vast work of heavenly charity in many a beautiful form would have been the issue is as certain as revelation. Mournful is it to meditate that many a Christian, and, it is to be feared, many a Christian minister, stands to this day, in doubt in respect to the prayer of faith and its authority, propriety, and efficiency. The writer remembers with pain that when, at a union meeting some years since in Boston, this prayer and trust were illustrated very nearly as in these pages, an eminent minister of that city arose in his place and remarked, "I cannot believe, yet will not here dispute, the views just presented." But why not believe what God has promised? As to interpretation, is there any room for doubt about his meaning when he asserts that, "Every one that asketh, receiveth?" True, all this is wonderful in the extreme. It is beyond measure astonishing that such a prerogative is deposited with man. It must be granted that it is much as if the doors of the heavenly world were thrown wide open to a man, and he bidden to go in and possess it. True, heaven here comes down to earth. True, this goes far to explain how that "All things are yours." Were a father having immense possessions to say to his son, "Ask what you will, and you shall be gratified," we should pronounce such a son to be rich indeed.

And is not directly here one of the secrets of the difficulty? Is not the very immensity of good proffered by the "exceeding great and precious promises" that which causes us to stagger? "It is too much, too much for belief!" and so multitudes stagger on, and never, in all their lives long reach and grasp the faith that is commensurate with the divine proffers; and so distrust instead of trust characterizes their Christian experience and career, and from year to year till they die they miss, to a painful extent, the faith without which it is impossible to please God. "Open your mouth wide and I will fill it!" is

the proclamation. But the mouth remains closed, or opens but slightly, and the fullness remains unknown.

Listen to a thousand prayers, (alas for the seeming necessity of writing this!) listen to the current prayers of a multitude of Christian men—the prayers of the family, of the prayer-meeting, of the pulpit. Ponder those words, those formulas, those commonplaces, those circumlocutions, those often prolonged exercises, those wordy addresses and frigid formalities. Ah! where is *faith?* This would discern the great presence-chamber, and Christ in the midst, and heaven very near, and a world of good accessible and near enough to be touched and appropriated, and the infinite price that purchased it. This would banish all stupor, carelessness, irreverence, spiritual pride, and every vain thought. This would bring the man near to God, and purify his spirit, and chasten his words, and simplify his speech, and lay him infinitely low at the feet of mercy, and would grasp the great and desired blessing.

Faith—Trust! Is not this the grand desideratum all amid the "great and goodly fellowship?" Seizing upon this, and cherishing this, and holding fast forever to this, would not the Christians of the earth go on conquering and to conquer—having in veritable and joyous possession "the victory that overcometh the world?"*

* Our impression is that all this needs its limitations to guard it from fanaticism. Mr. Müller's history seems to us to indicate that his power of faith was a *gift*, a *charism;* such as doubtless abounded in the Pentecostal Church, and will abound more and more as the Church again rises to her true Pentecostal and millennial level. And as the gift is bestowed, so it is limited, by the wisdom of the Divine Giver. Even the power of Müller's faith seems limited to certain definite objects. The political rule of the world, the banishment of war, the establishment of perfect law and perfect freedom over and among mankind, are not *yet* subordinated to the prayer of faith; or, rather, the faith that can subordinate them is not *yet* given. But we thank God for giving us even an occasional George Müller to furnish the spy-glass through which we catch a vista, showing us the route by which the latter-day glory may be attained.—Ed.

ART. VII.—DOCTRINAL PHASES OF UNIVERSALISM DURING THE PAST CENTURY.

OUR Universalist friends of late have said some very caustic things about the changes of Orthodoxy* during the last century. This has led to the reply that Universalism has changed, which they have been unwilling to admit.

An examination of this question may not be unprofitable, but may lead to good results, as a contribution to the history of dogmatic thought. As we do so, we shall see that their denominational history divides itself into three doctrinal periods, each marked by its peculiarities.

The First Period extends from the landing of Murray in the United States in 1770, to the close of his ministry in 1809—the incipient stage.

The Second Period extends from the close of Murray's labors in 1809, to 1845—the Unitarian transformation.

The Third Period extends from 1845 until the present time.

PERIOD FIRST.—*The incipient stage—From the landing of the Rev. John Murray, in* 1770, *until the close of his ministry in* 1809.

Prior to Mr. Murray's arrival in this country, during the middle of the last century, a few original thinkers had appeared in different localities, who had broken away from the current Calvinistic theology, and had asserted the doctrine of the final holiness and happiness of all men. The most of these were Restorationists, who had probably become such largely through the works of Stonehouse and Seigvolk; but the transition was a natural one, for in most minds Universalism was originally a logical deduction from high Calvinism.

In 1741 there appeared in Germantown, Pennsylvania, Dr. George De Benneville, a refugee from persecution in Europe, who soon became very extensively and favorably known as a skillful physician and a lay preacher, who occasionally, for many years, made extensive tours through Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, preaching the doctrine of the final restoration of all men to holiness and happiness.

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* Embracing all denominations who hold to endless punishment.

In 1753 an edition of Paul Seigvolk's "Everlasting Gospel" was published in Germantown, in which the doctrine of Restoration was inculcated. In this place there was a society of German Baptists, descendants from the Anabaptists of Germany, from whom they seem to have inherited these peculiar sentiments.

Rev. Philip Clarke, Rector of St. Philip's Church, Charleston, South Carolina, was a believer in universal salvation. He preached in that city from 1754 to 1759.

Rev. Jonathan Mayhew, D. D., Pastor of the West Church, Boston, from 1747 to 1766, believed and preached the universal restitution of all things.

Rev. Charles Chauncey, D. D., Pastor of the First Congregational Church, in Boston, for nearly sixty years, seems also to have held the same view. He adopted this doctrine as early as 1757, and soon after wrote a book entitled "The Mystery Hid from Ages; or, the Salvation of All Men." But he was very cautious in expressing these opinions, and the volume was not published until 1784, only three years before his death, at the age of eighty-two years.

Three other preachers appeared before the American public about the time that Mr. Murray did, or very soon after: Revs. Adam Streeter, Caleb Rich, and Thomas Barnes. Mr. Streeter was an ordained minister of the Baptist denomination, and, on becoming a Universalist, he preached his new opinions very freely in various parts of New England, and died in Smithfield, Rhode Island, September 22, 1786. Mr. Rich joined the Baptist Church in Warwick, New Hampshire, in 1771, but soon became a Universalist, and preached those doctrines for many years. Mr. Barnes was an early convert of Mr. Rich, and subsequently became the founder of Universalism in Maine. These three preachers when they adopted the principles of Universalism had never heard of Mr. Murray.

Such were some of the first outcroppings of a revulsion from Calvinism, which was soon to become general. And as we progress we shall notice that all the first preachers of Universalism were originally Calvinistic, either by profession or by early associations. Mr. Murray himself was a *Calvinistic* Methodist, of the school of Whitefield and Lady Huntingdon. Winchester was a Baptist, and so were Streeter and Rich. In the subse-

quent periods we shall see that Hosea Ballou, and his nephew Hosea Ballou, 2d, D. D., Adin Ballou, Walter Balfour, Sylvanus Cobb, D. D., and many others, were Baptists, and had been reared under strong Calvinistic influences.

But two men stand more conspicuous than any others as the founders of Universalism in this country, and are referred to by the Universalists themselves as the patriarchs and pioneers of the denomination—Revs. John Murray and Elhanan Winchester.

Of these Mr. Murray occupies the most prominent position, having been styled THE FATHER OF UNIVERSALISM IN THE UNITED STATES because of the extent and publicity of his labors, his success in awakening public attention to his doctrines, and in founding societies of that faith. He was originally a Whitefieldian Methodist, and was converted to Universalism by Rev. James Relley of London. He was a very spiritual and devout man, and was thoroughly evangelical in his views, except at one point, the final holiness and happiness of all men. He retained high views of Divine sovereignty through life. He held to the doctrine of the trinity, substitutional atonement, the peculiar saving efficacy of divine grace through faith in Christ, regeneration and sanctification by the Holy Ghost, a personal devil, the resurrection of the literal body, the future general judgment resulting in the salvation of all men, and a literal hell, in which devils would be punished forever.

Mr. Murray entertained very high views upon the question, What constitutes a Universalist? With him the experience of salvation meant a radical change in men's hearts, and saving faith was a deep spiritual exercise of the soul, bringing men into conscious union and harmony with God. Speaking of some, "who," he says, "are not heart believers, but only head believers," and "who contend that because Jesus is the Saviour of all men therefore they shall be saved," he says,

> I am more and more convinced that nothing but the spirit and power of God can make a consistent Universalist. Do you ask me what it is that constitutes a consistent Universalist? I answer. A consistent Universalist must be taught of God and under the influence of the Divine Spirit,* etc.

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* Hints Relative to the Forming of a Christian Church. A Pamphlet. By Rev John Murray. Boston, 1791. Page 45.

Much more of this kind might be added had we space.

Murray's theology recognized no way of salvation but personal saving faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, upon which he continually insisted, as will be seen in the following extract. Speaking of those who "suppose that all will be on a level in the article of death," he says,

> Neither in life or death, in the body or out of the body, can any of the ransomed of the Lord be saved from misery till they are made acquainted with God as their Saviour; and though in death the spirit does not go with the body into the dust, and must be under the eye of the Father of Spirits, yet "where Christ is," that is, in "fullness of joy," they never can be till they have peace and joy in believing; no, he who dies in unbelief lies down in sorrow and will rise in the resurrection of damnation, or, more properly, condemnation.*

It is very important that we should obtain a clear view of Mr. Murray's doctrine of the judgment.† He regarded the Bible as teaching the judgment as *past and present*, and also *yet to come*. "The *past* judgment" was "by Christ, when on earth." "Now is the judgment of this world." "The *present* judgment" is that in which "every one taught of God judges himself." "Judge yourselves, and ye shall not be judged." "The judgment *yet to come*" is that of "the last great day," in which all who have not judged themselves, all unbelievers of the human race, and all fallen angels through whose influence the unbelieving part of mankind are held in darkness and blindness, shall be judged by the Saviour of the world, but these two characters shall then be separated—one placed on the right hand and the other on the left—the one, the "sheep," for whose salvation he laid down his life; the other, "accursed," whose nature he passed by. In that future judgment believers who have judged themselves shall not be judged, nor will they be present.

REV. ELHANAN WINCHESTER,

Pastor of a Baptist Church in Philadelphia, avowed himself a Restorationist in 1781. He was converted to these views by reading the works of Seigvolk and Stonehouse. Like Mr. Murray he was a deeply devoted and zealous man, of respect-

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* Hints Relative to the Forming of a Christian Church.

† Murray's Hints, pp. 9, 10, 33.

able literary qualifications, and their theological views seem not to have differed, except in regard to the punishment of the wicked after a future general judgment, which Mr. Winchester taught would then take place, resulting in the holiness and happiness of all men. But Mr. Murray denied that there would be any misery after the general judgment.

Mr. Winchester was very definite and positive in his views of future retribution, holding to a literal hell, a literal fire and brimstone, whose torment will be strictly penal, which he proclaimed in the most terrific strains, and the duration of which he taught would be forty-two thousand years, being equal in all cases. This period he seems to have deduced from a fanciful interpretation of certain prophetic types and numbers. He died in Hartford, Connecticut, in 1797, at the early age of forty-six years, leaving behind him more than forty volumes and pamphlets, but few of which now exist except in rare libraries. He had been very zealous and extensive in his labors, preaching seven years in England, where he made many converts to his views, as well as in this country.

These early Universalists seem not to have identified themselves in any

UNITED MOVEMENTS

except on a very few occasions. Dr. Chauncey never met with Murray and Winchester, and Winchester moved in an orbit entirely his own, except on two occasions. Once he occupied Murray's pulpit in Boston, and he was present with Murray at the first General Convention of Universalists, in Oxford, Massachusetts, in 1785, where he preached a sermon, of which Murray speaks favorably in his Autobiography. This convention was a small body, made up of only three ministers, and delegates from the Societies at Gloucester, Boston, Milford, and Oxford. The third minister was Rev. Caleb Rich. We have no evidence of any united action of Mr. Winchester with Mr. Murray at any other time.

MURRAY *versus* WINCHESTER.

The differences between these two men, although not numerous, were very decided; Murray being absolutely and uncompromisingly opposed to the doctrine of the punishment of sinners

even for a limited period, in the future world, and Winchester preaching and writing upon it in the most flaming and alarming strains.

But precisely at this point a controversy has arisen between Universalists of a later period. We occasionally find it stated in the Universalist literature of the last forty years that Murray was a Restorationist. It was not an uncommon thing to meet this assertion from 1823 to 1838 in the writings of Revs. Adin Ballou, Paul Dean, and others, who were the leaders in a split in the denomination, in favor of Restorationism, which then occurred.

In their circular, sent out at that time, they say that "there has been of late years a great departure from the sentiments of the first Universalist preachers in this country," and that they "believe with Murray, Winchester, Chauncey, and the ancient authors who have written upon this subject, in future rewards and punishments, to be followed by the final restoration of all mankind to holiness and happiness."

But these assertions were ably and unanswerably refuted by Rev. Thomas Whittemore,* then editor of the "Trumpet," by abundant quotations from Mr. Murray's writings, explicitly declaring his dissent from Mr. Winchester's doctrine of restorationism.

And yet in "The Universalist," February 11, 1871, Rev. Adin Ballou re-asserts the same thing, declaring that the Universalist denomination "was originally Restorationist in faith, and so remained, in doctrinal exposition, till after the year 1815." "The doctrine of universal salvation, without any disciplinary punishment after death, was advocated by certain persons in England and America before and after the Universalist Convention in 1785, but was strongly denounced by Winchester and Murray, the leading founders of that Convention." "Hosea Ballou was the first preacher (at least of any note) inside the Universalist denomination who advocated universal salvation without any disciplinary punishment after death, some time between 1815 and 1820." Such are Rev. Adin Ballou's present assertions, notwithstanding the demonstrations of Mr. Whittemore to the contrary, from thirty to forty years ago, over and over again in the "Trumpet."

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* See "Trumpet" of that period.

Now what are the facts in the case? If we have correctly apprehended the views of these men the disagreement has grown out of a want of discrimination at one point, which will soon be brought out. But it is due that Mr. Winchester should first be permitted to state his views of the punishment of the wicked in his own words. He says:

> Some suppose that all punishment and pain shall end at the coming of Christ, and mankind at once shall be restored; but destruction shall be to the workers of iniquity, and to those who refuse to submit to the Lord; and as for punishment ceasing when he first comes, it is a mistake of great magnitude, for the punishment of the wicked will continue ages of ages after the day of judgment.*

Again he says, "They can never be loosed from it until they are wholly subdued." †

We are now ready to proceed with the solution of this question. In the first place, what does Mr. Murray himself say in regard to the doctrine of restoration? To a friend he said:

> Mr. Winchester considers weak, ruined individuals as paying their own debts; yea, to the uttermost farthing. I see no strength but in Christ Jesus; be you assured, therefore, I am not of Mr. Winchester's school. ‡

Again he says:

> A second class of Universalists insist on purgatorial satisfaction, according to which every man must come to be his own savior; for if I must suffer as much in my own person as will satisfy Divine justice, how is or how can Jesus Christ be my savior? If this purgatorial doctrine be true, the ministry of reconciliation committed to the apostles must be false; to wit, "God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself, not imputing unto them their trespasses." In fact, I know no description of people further from Christianity, true Christianity, than such Universalists. . . . As I descend into the vale of life these discoveries give me a touch of sorrow, and I anticipate a harvest of evil. §

In these extracts, more of which might be given, we see Mr. Murray explicitly declaring that he is "not of Mr. Winchester's school," and joining direct issue with Restorationists.

Whence then has arisen the discrepancy in the views of these leading Universalists as to Mr. Murray's opinions? It has been

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* Winchester on the Prophecies, vol. i, p. 265.

† Ibid., p. 278.

‡ Murray's Letters, vol. ii, p. 263.

§ Ibid., vol. ii, p. 130.

from this point. Mr. Murray did nevertheless believe that those who die in sin and unbelief will suffer after death until the judgment day. Hence Mr. Whittemore ("Trumpet," July 8, 1837) says, "Universalists have always allowed that Mr. Murray believed in future misery, but he did not believe it in any such sense as the Restorationists now do."

Mr. Murray believed that all men had broken the law of God, and were all therefore justly exposed to its penalties. But these penalties had been fully suffered by Christ for us on the cross. His punishment on the cross was our punishment for sin. Hence, strictly speaking, Mr. Murray did not hold to punishment for sin either in this life or in the next, for Christ had suffered all the punishment due to sin. But every man must be saved by faith, by a personal acceptance of Christ. Hence the miseries attendant upon unbelief will continue as long as unbelief shall continue, whether in this world or the next; but they are unavoidable consequences, and not penalties. It is these unavoidable consequences of sin and unbelief, and not punishment for them, which will extend into the future world, because sin and unbelief will exist there. Mr. Winchester held to a day of judgment after death, at which men would be sentenced to punishment; but the judgment in which Mr. Murray believed was designed to deliver men from all sin and all unbelief, by revealing to them the character of God, showing the things that belong to their peace, and making them acquainted with salvation. In that day all knees should bow and accept Christ, and enter into eternal rest.* In Mr. Murray's opinion, the sheep were mankind and the goats were the devils; and in the day of judgment mankind should be separated from the body of sin and death, and gathered on the right hand.† In the light of these facts, it is beyond dispute that Mr. Murray, the chief founder of Universalism, was not a Restorationist.

The early conventions of 1785 and 1803, and of the intervening period also, embraced men of the two schools, Murray's and Winchester's, who agreed as to the final happiness of all men; and in the platform which was adopted in 1803 the differences were ignored, as may be seen in the second Article:

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* See "Trumpet," August 11, 1832. Also, Murray's "Hints," Boston, 1791.

† See Murray's Life, third edition, pp. 323, 324.

> We believe in one God, whose nature is Love, revealed in our Lord Jesus Christ by one Holy Spirit of grace, who will finally restore the whole family of mankind to holiness and happiness.

Such was the condition of things during the first period of Universalism. 1. It was a departure from the generally accepted evangelical theology chiefly at one point—the final salvation of all men. It was in the hands of deeply religious men, and it had no taint of Unitarianism or of Rationalism. 2. Murray held to the salvation of all men at the general judgment, and that unbelievers would be in a state of misery until that time: not penal, but the natural consequence of sin and unbelief, Christ having endured the penalty for them. 3. Winchester held to a local hell, and a long period of disciplinary punishment after the general judgment, resulting in the final salvation of all men. In what proportion these different opinions then prevailed in the denomination we have no means of judging.

PERIOD SECOND.—*The Unitarian transformation—From the close of Mr. Murray's labors in* 1809, *to* 1845, *under Rev. Hosea Ballou.*

We have shown what Universalism was in its incipient stage under Murray and Winchester. The leading spirits of the second period were Revs. Hosea Ballou, Walter Balfour, and Thomas Whittemore, D. D. Rev. Sebastian Streeter should also be introduced, being many years a very popular Universalist preacher in Boston; and, during the latter part of this period, Revs. William A. Drew, Stephen R. Smith, Adolphus Skinner, T. J. Sawyer, A. C. Thomas, and others, became prominent. But Messrs. Ballou, Balfour, and Whittemore evidently shaped the period.

Mr. Ballou began to preach in 1792, became pastor of a Universalist Church in Dana, Mass., in 1794, then went to Barnard, Vt., then to Portsmouth, N. H., to Salem, Mass., in 1815, and to Boston in 1817, where he remained Pastor of the School-street Church until his death, in 1852. When he came to Boston he was in his forty-second year, and had already acquired considerable influence in the denomination. He had been a diligent student and a steady thinker, and the views for which he became distinguished were already nearly matured.

Mr. Whittemore says that "he became an avowed Unitarian

as early as 1795."[*] He thus early rejected the doctrine of the Trinity and of a personal devil. In 1804 he published a volume of "Notes on the Parables, and, in 1811, a "Treatise on the Atonement," which was essentially Unitarian in its character. He discarded the doctrine of regeneration and the efficacy of saving grace and faith in Christ, as taught by Murray and the evangelical theologians. Boston was a central position, where Mr. Ballou became very prominent at once, and was soon felt as a master-mind, the leader and champion of the denomination.

In the dissemination of his peculiar views Mr. Ballou was soon supported by several men, who exerted an extensive influence. The one who attained to the earliest prominence was Rev. Walter Balfour. He had been reared and well educated in Scotland, and became Pastor of a Baptist Church in Charlestown, Mass. In 1823 he avowed himself a Universalist, and within a few years he published some of their ablest controversial works. He died January 3, 1853, almost five months after the decease of Mr. Ballou.

Rev. Thomas Whittemore, D. D., although a much younger man, came very soon into the front rank, and maintained it until his death, in 1861. He was born in Boston, in the year 1800. In his twentieth year he fell under Mr. Ballou's influence, with whom he studied for the ministry, and entered upon its work in Milford, Mass., in 1821. The following year he became Pastor of a Church in Cambridge, where he remained nine years. During a part of this period he was editor of the "Universalist Trumpet and Magazine," which position he held with great ability for thirty years. He early[†] adopted Mr. Ballou's theological opinions, and was an able and zealous expounder and advocate of them in his paper.

Rev. Sylvanus Cobb, D. D., is worthy of especial mention in this period, having exerted a very extensive influence as a preacher, an editor, and the author of a "Universalist Commentary on the New Testament." He commenced preaching among them in Maine in 1820, came to Malden, Mass., in 1828, where he was Pastor of a Church ten years. He was editor of the "Christian Freeman" from 1839 until 1862, when it was

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[*] Life of Ballou, vol. iii, p. 87.

[†] See Sermon by Mr. Whittemore, preached in Cambridge, May, 1822.

united with the "Trumpet." Mr. Cobb was very prominent in the antislavery and temperance reforms.

Under the influence of these men and a few others we shall soon see Universalism molded into a new form, and taking on a new type. While retaining the leading idea of the final holiness and happiness of all men, it nevertheless underwent radical changes in its theology.

These changes were not wholly the result of individual influence, but were largely the drift of the time; a reaction from the extreme Calvinistic theology which then prevailed. But at the close of the last and the beginning of the present century the Unitarian defection was spreading. It was in the atmosphere of this period, and reached its decisive development from 1810 to 1825. It seems that the early Universalists were peculiarly susceptible to this tendency. Having broken away from Orthodoxy at one point, it was easier to make other changes. Mr. Murray seems to have noticed this tendency before he died.

In our sketch of the previous period we noticed Mr. Murray's apprehensions of changes about to take place among his followers. Mrs. Murray, in her continuation of her husband's autobiography, speaking of the Convention in 1785, says, "But, alas! in no long time a root of bitterness sprang up which destroyed his pleasure in the association." Mr. Demarest says:

> The "root of bitterness" to which Mrs. Murray refers was probably the widening divergence of the views of his brethren from those of Mr. Murray. Not only did these relate to expositions, but also to fundamental doctrines. Some had already, even before Mr. Ballou's day, adopted the sentiment that the painful consequences of sin are confined to this life. Others, retaining the doctrine of the Trinity, rejected the theory of vicarious atonement, while the general tendency of thought among Universalists was in the direction of Unitarian views of the Divine nature. These various sentiments, conflicting with Mr. Murray's own cherished ideas of Gospel truth, caused him much uneasiness.*

We shall soon see his worst fears realized, and the Universalism of Murray thoroughly

REVOLUTIONIZED BY UNITARIANISM;

and, as a consequence, losing the decided religious type which Murray and Winchester had given to it.

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* Life of Murray, 1870, p. 338.

Mr. Murray had been disabled by palsy in 1809, and died in 1815. But before his death his pulpit had been several times occupied by a rising man in the denomination, of marked and commanding abilities, bold, quick-sighted, and self-reliant, who had unhesitatingly proclaimed radical innovations in their current theology. During the next forty years he is to be the leader of the denomination; but he wears not the mantle of Murray, and under him a new impress and impulse is to be given to this people. This man we have already introduced. Mr. Ballou may be regarded as one of the earliest promoters of the Unitarian sentiment of New England. Some other Universalist ministers had entertained similar views for some time, but they were for the most part cautious and hesitating in their avowals, until they came under the bold and inspiring leadership of Ballou. Mr. Whittemore says that "He was not shy of his Unitarian opinions. Soon after his removal to Boston he assailed the doctrine of the Trinity with much power. He published clear and correct articles on the subject of the atonement, and on the general character of rational and liberal Christianity. The Unitarians were fearful they should be considered Universalists,"* and the younger Ware came out with a disclaimer, in letters to Dr. M'Leod, of New York. The transition to Unitarianism was rapid, and soon became complete on most of the leading tenets. Rev. Paul Dean, of Boston, preached before the General Convention of Universalists in 1825, and in his discourse he distinctly avowed Trinitarian opinions. Mr. Whittemore says, "This, we believe, was the *last* time the doctrine of the Trinity was ever preached before the Convention."† Again Mr. Whittemore says:

> From the early years of Mr. Ballou's ministry to the day of his death he was a firm, consistent, faithful defender of the strict unity of God, and of the sonship and subordination of Christ to the Father. Never did he waver in this matter. On every proper occasion, in public and in private, he declared, without any reserve, his Unitarian views.‡

In 1834 he published an extended article against the doctrine of the Trinity, and in his life-time the whole denomination became anti-Trinitarians, discarding the doctrines of a personal

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* Life of Ballou, vol. ii, p. 90. † Life of Ballou, vol. ii, p. 304.

‡ Ibid., vol. iii, p. 170.

devil, a substitutional atonement, depravity, the special efficacy of Divine grace, regeneration, etc., as held by Murray. But there were also

OTHER RADICAL CHANGES,

touching the doctrine of a future judgment and misery after death. We have seen that Murray and Winchester both believed in a future general judgment. Murray believed that the wicked would suffer the natural consequences of sin and unbelief in the period between death and the judgment and then be saved, and Winchester teaching that they would be punished for a long period after the day of judgment and then gathered into heaven. But Mr. Ballou rejected the doctrine of a future general judgment, contending that it takes place in the present life,* and that all punishment for sin is in this life. Originally he was a Restorationist. The history of the change in his mind we will give in his own words, in a letter which appears in Whittemore's History of Modern Universalism :

> When I wrote my Notes on the Parables, (1804,) and my Treatise on the Atonement, (1811,) I had traveled in my mind away from penal sufferings so entirely that I was satisfied that if any suffered in the future state it would be because they would be sinful in that state. But I cannot say that I was fully satisfied that the Bible taught no punishment in the future world until I obtained this satisfaction by attending to the subject with Brother Edward Turner, of Charlestown. For the purpose of satisfying ourselves concerning the doctrine of the Scriptures on this question we agreed to do the best we could, he in favor of future punishment, (Restorationism,) and I the contrary. Our investigations were published in a periodical called the "Gospel Visitant." While attending to this correspondence, I became entirely satisfied that the Scriptures begin and end the history of sin in flesh and blood, and that beyond this mortal existence the Bible teaches no other sentient state but that which is called by the blessed names of life and immortality.

This discussion occurred in the years 1817 and 1818.† From this time Mr. Ballou was fully committed to the doctrine of no punishment after death, boldly avowing it in a controversy with Rev. Timothy Merritt in 1818, in his pulpit discourses, and in his writings for the press. He was soon

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* See Ballou's Controversy with Rev. Timothy Merritt in 1818.

† Life of Ballou, vol. ii, pp. 28, 29.

recognized as the champion of this doctrine. It was not altogether new, but it had been only timidly uttered before, or presented as a speculation, or started as a query. It had certainly never before been so vigorously presented and insisted upon. In Mr. Ballou's hands it meant something; it was a cardinal doctrine.

It is not surprising, therefore, that there should have been some commotion in some quarters, and even opposition; for the doctrine of Restorationism in some form seems to have been held by many, and probably by the majority, of Universalists of that period. Hence from 1821 to 1823 we find a large number of articles on this subject in the "Universalist Magazine," called forth in opposition to the doctrine of Mr. Ballou and in defense of Restorationism, such as the articles signed "E. A. R."[*] "Stater,"[†] "Christian Universalist,"[‡] "Justitia,"[§] and "Restorationist."[‖] These articles are understood to have been written by prominent men in the denomination, Revs. Edward Turner, of Charlestown, Paul Dean, of Boston, Jacob Wood, then of Stirling, and Dr. John Brooks, of Bernardston, Mass. A book was also published in defense of Restorationism with the assumed title "Philo Bereanus." Some of these writers argued very strongly that the doctrine of Mr. Ballou was immoral in its tendency, and insisted that a belief in Restorationism ought to be a test of Christian fellowship[¶] in the Universalist denomination. The conflict became very spirited, enlisting a great amount of feeling, especially among the Restorationists, who looked with jealousy upon the growing influence of Mr. Ballou, and his doctrine of no punishment after death. But so dexterous and effective, and withal so conciliatory, was Mr. Ballou in every defense of his views, that he seemed to come out of every contest with a stronger hold upon the denomination. The opposing wing continued to agitate and struggle, and finally conspired;[**] and twice during a period of less than nine years their efforts culminated in attempts to produce

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[*] Vol. iii, p. 1.

[†] Ibid., pp. 6, 7.

[‡] Ibid., pp. 113, 123, 131.

[§] Ibid., pp. 127, 132, etc.

[‖] Ibid., pp. 150, 151.

[¶] Life of Ballou by Whittemore, vol. ii, p. 165, and "Universalist Magazine," p. 162, Ballou's reply to "Philo Bereanus."

[**] See Life of Rev. Sylvanus Cobb, D. D., p. 107.

A Schism in the Universalist Body.

The first attempt to effect a division in the denomination occurred in 1823, when "An Appeal and Declaration" was published, setting forth that "the ancient doctrine of Restoration had been corrupted, that this corruption was seated and growing among the Universalists in the United States," that "the doctrine of universal salvation at the commencement of the future state" is "subversive of a just sense of accountability to God and the proper distinctions between virtue and vice, lessening the motives to virtue, and giving force to the temptations of sin."* The parties to this declaration were Revs. Jacob Wood, Paul Dean, Edward Turner, Barzillai Streeter, Charles Hudson, and Levi Briggs. A few others sympathized with them, but did not join in the movement. Mr. Ballou immediately replied to this document, and with such kindness of spirit, tact, and ability that no further movement was then made. At a meeting of an association during the following summer, Messrs. Turner, Hudson, and B. Streeter signed a paper of settlement of their differences, and remained in fellowship with the denomination. Mr. Dean at first withdrew, but soon after returned.† Not long after, however, Messrs. Wood, Briggs, Hudson, and Streeter left the Universalist ministry.‡ Mr. Dean's society subsequently became Unitarians, and Mr. Turner shortly afterward removed to Portsmouth, N. H.

Such was the result of the first attempt to divide the denomination in the interest of Restorationism. The agitation of that subject nearly ceased for several years, and the leaders lost all their influence § with the Universalist body.

But four years after the controversy was opened anew by Rev. Charles Hudson, in a duodecimo volume of nine letters, addressed to Rev. Hosea Ballou, to which Mr. Balfour replied, and Mr. Hudson rejoined, in 1829.

In 1830 a new champion of Restorationism appeared. Rev. Adin Ballou, of Mendon, Mass., who had been about seven years connected with the denomination, having been originally

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* See "Universalist Magazine," January 25, 1823.

† Life of Ballou, by Whittemore, vol. ii, p. 259.

‡ Life of Ballou, by Whittemore, p. 224.

§ Ibid., vol. iii, p. 87.

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a Baptist. He published an elaborate sermon * in the advocacy of Restorationism, which was reviewed by Mr. Whittemore in the "Trumpet" of July 3, 1830, in which he declared that the sermon did not represent "the views of the American Universalists," and otherwise criticised it in terms of very decided dissent. Soon after, Mr. Adin Ballou, feeling that there was no chance for his views to be represented in "The Trumpet," and, perhaps, disaffected by other unpleasant things which had occurred, started a new paper in January, 1831, called the "Independent Messenger," for the special advocacy of Restorationism and some other peculiar opinions. This was the first step in another attempt to divide the denomination in the interest of Restorationism, more successful than the former eight years before, but which, in turn, was also destined to be a failure.

In August, 1831, a convention of Universalist ministers assembled in Mendon, Mass., and organized themselves as the "Massachusetts Association of Universal Restorationists." The ministers present were Revs. Paul Dean, Charles Hudson, Adin Ballou, Lyman Maynard, Nathaniel Wright, and Seth Chandler, of Massachusetts, Philemon R. Russell of New Hampshire, and David Pickering of Rhode Island—eight. In their preamble, they set forth that there had been "of late years a great departure from the sentiments of the first Universalist preachers in this country by a majority of the General Convention." Mr. Whittemore immediately replied in "The Trumpet,"† exposing their inconsistency in accusing the main body of Universalists of departing from the opinions of the fathers "when they themselves had departed as widely as any Universalists had done." He also said, "These men do not all profess to hold with Murray and Winchester the doctrine of the Trinity, (only Mr. Dean,) or to regeneration as Murray did, nor to a general judgment as he did; and Murray did not hold to punishment in a future state. He differed entirely from Mr. Winchester on the subject of misery in the world to come."

Great efforts were put forth to make this new body successful. The conflict was sharp at first, but it gradually declined,

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* Preached in Medway, Mass., in May, 1830.

† September 17, 1831.

and Mr. Whittemore says* it "died of itself." But Mr. Adin Ballou dissents from this statement. In the Universalist, February 25, 1871, he says, "Our association greatly prospered in its most important interests for ten years. It met regularly every one of those years, and more than trebled its original number of ministers, etc." And yet he also says that this body was disbanded in 1841, because on the question of "future discipline, etc.," "the tide had turned" in their favor, and that there was no room for "working the machinery of a Restorationist sect between the Unitarians and the Universalists under these changed circumstances."

We confess that these two statements do not seem to agree. Religious bodies are not likely to disband when in a state of prosperity. This association may have had some sympathy from some of the ministers who yet remained in fellowship with the Universalist body, who believed in Restorationism and who probably sometimes met with the new party. Mr. Cobb seems to confirm the statement of Mr. Whittemore. He says,† "They operated in a narrow sphere a little while, and in a few years were only to be found on record, among *the things that were.*"

Such was the end of the last organized effort to advance the doctrine of Restorationism in the Universalist body. Its decease has generally been regarded as a triumph of Rev. Hosea Ballou and his party.

As to the extent to which the doctrine of Restorationism existed in the Universalist denomination from 1830 to 1841 we have several testimonies. Mr. Whittemore, in "The Trumpet," July 3, 1830, says that "a very large majority of their ministers" discarded it. In his "History of Modern Universalism," pp. 439–441, (edition 1830,) he presents an array of testimonies sustaining this view. Mr. Adin Ballou, in the "Universalist, February 11, 1871, alluding to the same year, (1830,) says that "nine tenths" of the denomination were opposed to Restorationism. Mr. Hosea Ballou, in 1841, declared that "the doctrine of Restorationism is generally disbelieved by the Universalists in the United States."‡ These statements seem to accord with the best light that can be obtained from every

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* Life of Ballou, vol. iii, p. 90. † Life of Rev. Sylvanus Cobb, D.D., p. 111.

‡ Life by Whittemore, vol. iii, p. 321.

source. The doctrine of Restoration was retained in some form by a considerable number, but its believers were not numerous, nor were they very active in disseminating their views until a few years later, when, as we shall see in our review of the next period, other changes gradually passed over the denomination, not so radical as in the former period, modifications rather than transformations. 1. The Universalism of the period agreed with the opinions of Murray and Winchester only on one point, namely, the final salvation of all men. 2. The doctrines of Murray and Winchester that this life is a probation, the existence of a personal devil, a local hell, the Trinity, a substitutional atonement, the efficacy of divine grace through faith in Christ, regeneration and sanctification by the Holy Spirit, and a future general judgment, were all discarded during this period by Ballou and his followers, and Unitarian views were adopted in place of nearly all of them. 3. Even the Restorationists of this period discarded Mr. Winchester's views of a general judgment, nor did they teach regeneration and other evangelical views, as he did. Mr. Whittemore[*] admitted that neither party held the above mentioned views as Murray and Winchester did. He also says that "Mr. Ballou was instrumental in changing almost entirely the faith of the whole denomination."[†]

PERIOD THIRD.—*From* 1845 *to the present time.*

We had, at first, intended to fix upon 1852, the year of Mr. Ballou's death, as the turning-point between these two periods, but a closer scrutiny of these years has led us to adopt the earlier date as more nearly marking a transitional stage in the denomination. The decline of Mr. Ballou's vigor and the new currents of more modern thought were manifestly working modifications in some of the leading doctrines of the denomination before his death, which were more apparent to none than to him, and were often the occasion of anxious thoughts and admonitions as they had been with Murray before him.

The modifications of this last period seem not to have extended to the doctrines of the Trinity, the atonement, regeneration, a personal devil, a general judgment, in reference to which

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[*] See "Trumpet," Sept. 17, 1831.

[†] Life of Ballou, vol. ii, p. 88.

they seem to still retain essentially the Unitarian sentiments of the previous period.

EARLY TENDENCIES IN THIS PERIOD.

During the last twelve years of Mr. Ballou's life the question as to the moral condition between the present and the future life was constantly obtruded upon him by correspondents, by the sermons, essays, and speeches of his brethren, and also the Universalist periodicals of that period. In 1844 Rev. Darius Forbes preached a sermon before the Middlesex Quarterly Conference directly upon this question, entering into an elaborate argument to prove that the future life will be shaped by the moral character of this life. Mr. Ballou was very uneasy as he listened to it, and attempted to refute it. But this was only one of many such conflicts.

Soon after he was asked, in a letter, the following close and pertinent question:

> Is he who sedulously and practically cultivates his moral and religious nature in this life to be in no better condition in the future than if he had pursued an opposite course and followed the unnatural desires of his depraved animal propensities? *

He replied, "Am I to be blamed for not being able to answer this question? Do the Scriptures say any thing about this subject?" He then went on to quote examples of moral transformations of character, like the conversion of Saul of Tarsus, which he thought bore analogically upon the question, and led him to infer that when "this corruption put on incorruption" all men would enter into a state of holiness and happiness.

This was the great question of the earlier part of the third period, and Mr. Ballou was evidently unable to answer it in a manner which carried conviction to the hearts of his brethren, that there would be no sin or discipline after death, and hence there became a manifest drifting away from the doctrine of immediate happiness after death, which he had so long advocated. Hence, we find Dr. Ballou,† Editor of the "Universalist Quarterly," in 1848, writing that there are indications that the Universalist denomination was entered upon another dogmatic period in its history. He also says,‡ "Within the last few

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* Life of Ballou by Whittemore, vol. iv, p. 95.

† A nephew of Hosea Ballou.

‡ "Universalist Quarterly," vol. v, p. 80.

years the current of opinion has run more strongly in favor of a moral connection of the present life with the future."

"Father Ballou" noticed this remark, and was much concerned about it. He endeavored still to stem the tide that was setting in, but in vain. Great respect was entertained for him; his brethren were very kind and conciliatory toward him, but they were fast breaking away from his guidance and thinking for themselves. This question had been the principal point of difference remaining between Mr. Ballou and the Unitarians, and he had held a controversy with Dr. Channing upon it many years before. The surrender of this principle would be the loss of the last doctrine that distinguished them from the Unitarians, and he evidently feared that the Church for which he had spent his life would eventually be fused with them. That he viewed the subject from this stand-point is evident from his valedictory discourse, preached November 10, 1850, in his eightieth year, in which he alludes to the tendency to accept the opinion that men carry into the next world the imperfections of this, so that their moral condition hereafter will depend on the characters which they form while here in the flesh, but that they may and will improve and progress in virtue and holiness in the spirit-world. He then speaks of this tendency as showing "an inclination in some of the professed preachers of Universalism to adopt some of the peculiar opinions of our Unitarian fraternity."

The present status of Universalist belief on

The Future Condition of the Wicked

has been a matter of considerable uncertainty in many minds outside their denomination. Of late years so great a variety of statements have been encountered, in conversation with Universalists in their writings and oral discourses, and often too accompanied with a want of patient, clear discrimination on both sides, that the denomination has without doubt sometimes been misrepresented as a body, and many arguments which have been directed against them have undoubtedly, on this account, also fallen powerless, being misdirected. It is, therefore, a matter of some importance at this time to have a clear statement of this question which shall do justice to the denomination, and convey to all minds correct impressions. We may fail in

the attempt, but we have taken considerable pains, by the study of their recent literature, to arrive at correct conceptions of their views, and will venture, in a brief digest, to state the conclusions to which we have arrived.

We apprehend that there exists a variety of views, which may be arranged in several classes.

1. The first class embraces those who hold strictly with Hosea Ballou, that, after death, "there is no other sentient state but that which is called by the blessed names of life and immortality."* This is what has been called the "death and glory" doctrine. To this class belong chiefly the older portion of the denomination, whose earlier associations were with Mr. Ballou. If we are correct in our impressions, but few, if any, of the ministers now hold this view *precisely as Ballou held it*, that is, without some modification.

2. The second class embraces those who seem to be Restorationists; that is, who believe in a state of discipline after death for the wicked. We find, however, that but few of this class like to be called Restorationists, and they are very careful not to use the term punishment. Restorationism, as held by Winchester, as a state of direct penal infliction after a future general judgment, should not be thought of in connection with this modern Restorationism, for they reject both the doctrine of a general judgment and the idea of punishment after death, in this respect following Ballou. Future sufferings will not be penal but disciplinary, is their view.

3. The third class agree with Ballou that there is no punishment, nor even discipline, after death, and that there is only one place for all after we leave this world. They also agree with him in his view of sin, as being chiefly physical in its promptings and workings, while every soul is originally pure, and, however vitiated it may become, will still retain its germs of virtue and piety. While agreeing with Mr. Ballou on all these points, nevertheless they separate from him on the effects of the resurrection. Mr. Ballou taught that sin is like a rotten limb, which will be shuffled off in the transformation which will be effected in the resurrection, when "this corruption shall put on incorruption," and that all mankind will at once become holy and happy. Separating from Mr. Ballou at this

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* Whittemore's Life of Ballou, vol. ii, pp. 28, 29.

point, and contending very strongly that the soul will retain its identity, they hold that men will enter into the other world with the same moral character which they have here—that therefore some will start in the race of eternal life more advantageously than others, but all progressing upward forever. The consequences of wickedness in this life will be different degrees of inferiority and disadvantage in character and condition in the other world, an endless deprivation and loss. No future probation is recognized.

This class probably embraces a large majority of modern Universalists, especially the more thinking and progressive wing of that body, and there is no perceptible difference between their views and those of the progressive Unitarians of the present day, with whom, of late, there have been many attempts to affiliate and unite.*

OTHER POINTS.

The Universalists, like the Unitarians in late years, have adopted a kind of mediatorial phraseology, using the same styles of speech, in reference to theological and religious matters, which prevail among the evangelical sects, but which, when they explain them, plainly designate ideas very different from their evangelical meaning. Such a *pseudo* terminology thus becomes a mere semblance, a masked battery, from which destructive volleys are often fired into unsuspecting souls.

This denomination has suffered more than perhaps any other from the ravages of modern Spiritualism, which seems to have affected, to some extent, the views of many of them even in regard to the soul's condition in the future state. And modern Rationalism has undoubtedly exerted a great influence over a large number of their ministers and members, although not so extensively or so fatally as among the Unitarians. Greater reverence is felt for the Bible among the Universalists as a body.

Within the last period there has been a manifest effort to

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* See correspondence and editorials in the "Liberal Christian" during the last five years. The editor of the "Liberal Christian," April 4. 1871, says that the difference between these two bodies now is mainly one of perspective; one putting the doctrine of the salvation of all men in the front ground, and the other reserving it in the back ground.

organize the denomination more fully, to promote a more practical religious life among their people, to make them more devout, and to introduce various forms of social worship, such as prayer and conference meetings, etc. Religious activities have been, to some extent, inaugurated in some of their leading Churches, chiefly in the larger communities, and frequent confessions are heard among them of great wants in the direction of religious life and zeal—"a general lack of heartiness and amplitude in their customary mode of public worship and religious observance"*—that they "do not make their theory a practical force in the denomination,"† as they feel that they ought. These and other similar confessions are frequently made without seeming to suspect whether, in departing so far from the true doctrine of the efficacy and power of saving grace, through faith in an atonement for sin, into the barren and lifeless sentimentalism of Socinianism, they have not cut themselves off from the only source of spiritual life and power.

THE PERIODS COMPARED.

In the *last two* periods we have found an agreement in all those doctrines which are essentially Socinian in their character. We find the doctrines of a hell and a future general judgment discarded. In both periods it has been held that men suffer disciplinary punishment for sin in this life, and that regeneration is not a supernatural change wrought by the Holy Ghost, but is merely the beginning of a new life, a ceasing to do evil and learning to do well.

The disagreements of the doctrines of the *third* period from those of the *second* period are not numerous. They are, 1. The old doctrine of "death and glory" is not so distinctly set forth. The objective aspect of the denomination is more expressive of some kind of correction, or, at least, of moral culture after death. 2. Restorationism is more generally accepted than during the second period. 3. The moral connection between this life and the next, and the state of progression to which reference has been made, and which is now probably the most current view of the future state, was almost wholly unknown in the second period under Ballou.

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* The Universalists' Centennial, p. 13.

† Ibid., p. 72.

Between the *second* and the *first* periods we have noticed radical differences: the rejection of the doctrine of depravity, the Trinity, the atonement, as substitutional and expiatory; regeneration by the Holy Ghost, a personal devil, a local hell, a general judgment, as held by Murray and Winchester, the adoption of modern Socinianism, and the happiness of all men at death. Only one point of doctrinal agreement runs through all the periods, namely: *The final holiness and happiness of all men.* How great is the contrast between the earliest and the present phases of Universalism!

The modern school of Restorationists have very decidedly rejected Mr. Winchester, representing his views as monstrous, and holding them up to ridicule. Thus have they disowned him who, more than any other individual, has been the founder of their system in this country. The following extract will show the contrast between the founder and his followers. Mr. Winchester says: "*Ques.* Is the lake of fire and brimstone real or figurative? *Ans.* Real, by all means, according to the literal sense of Scripture."* Again, "They are cast alive into a lake of fire and brimstone, where they shall be constantly tormented, day and night, to the ages of ages, without cessation. . . . As the lake of fire is the last punishment which shall be inflicted upon rebels, none that enter there can ever be loosed from it until they are wholly subdued."†

MR. MURRAY DISOWNED BY HIS CHILDREN.

As early as 1841, Mr. Ballou, referring to Murray and Winchester, said, "The particular opinions about which these fathers of our Israel differed are now generally disbelieved by Universalists in the United States."‡ In the same year, and only twenty-six years after the death of Murray, it became a question which awakened considerable debate, whether an ordaining council ought to hesitate to ordain a preacher who held to Mr. Murray's type of Universalism. Mr. Whittemore says: § "Father Ballou supposed that it would not be prudent to ordain such, except over societies of similar views, or societies who understood the candidate to hold the peculiar opinions to which

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* Winchester on Prophecies, vol. i, p. 223.

† Ibid., vol. i, p. 227.

‡ Life of Ballou, vol. iii, p. 321.

§ Ibid., p. 319.

we have referred. There seems, however, to have been but little need of raising that question, as a Universalist of that kind could scarcely have been found at the time of which we write."

But, at the present time, the contrast is undoubtedly still more striking, and doctrines such as Murray and Winchester preached would not now be endured in Universalist congregations. Rev. G. L. Demarest, in his Introduction to the Centenary Edition of the Life of Murray, referring to his doctrinal views, says:[*] "It is probable that no living man or woman now entertains them in their wholeness." "Mr. Murray's peculiar opinions were not of a character to secure a permanent hold of the public mind, or largely to affect a thinking people." This is certainly a very frank, though humiliating, acknowledgment to make, in the face of a centennial celebration in recognition of Mr. Murray's fatherhood of the denomination. But the fact acknowledged is a patent one. Let us now see

THE FATHER OF UNIVERSALISM DISOWNING HIS CHILDREN.

Had Mr. Murray appeared among them at any time during the last thirty-five or forty years he could hardly have recognized them as his children either in doctrine or spirit. Even Mr. Demarest, referring to the Unitarian tendencies which had begun to appear in Murray's life-time, says:[†] "He was so earnest in his faith, and in each item of it, that he could not view with indifference the evident departure of the Church which he had organized from it. He especially viewed 'Socinianism' with abhorrence, and professed *more sympathy with Calvinistic Partialism than with Unitarian Universalism.*"

But Mr. Murray shall speak in his own words. As we began with Mr. Murray, it is fitting that we close with him. The following extract is very pertinent. It is from a pamphlet published by him in Boston in 1791, entitled "Hints Relative to the Forming of a Christian Church; and an answer to the question, What constitutes a Universalist?" Referring to those who advocate the salvation of men after a period of punishment after death, he says:

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[*] Page 13.

[†] Page 338.

They cannot, we conceive, with any degree of propriety, be called Universalists on apostolic principles; nor does it appear that they have any idea of being saved by or in the Lord with an everlasting, or with any salvation. It is difficult to find what they will have to thank God for at last, they having paid their own debt, and in their own persons satisfied Divine justice.

Such Universalists have nothing to do with the ministry of reconciliation; the doctrine of the atonement and the acceptance of the Beloved is out of their plan.

Such Universalists as these are as far from the doctrines of the Gospel as their opponents, (the Partialists.) These are Pharisaical Universalists, who are willing to justify themselves, and such Universalism as this will be more acceptable to an adulterous generation than the Universalism found in the ministry of reconciliation.—Pp. 40, 41.

ART. VIII.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES, AND OTHERS OF THE HIGHER PERIODICALS.

American Quarterly Reviews.

BIBLICAL REPERTORY AND PRINCETON REVIEW, April, 1871. (New York.)—1. The Miracles of Christ "Critically Examined." 2. Life and Times of David Zeisberger. 3. The Moabite Stone. 4. Newman's Grammar of Assent. 5. The Constitution of the Person of Christ. 6. The Writings of Solomon. 7. Professional Ethics and their Application to Legal Practice.

BIBLIOTHECA SACRA, April, 1871. (Andover.)—1. Free Public Libraries. 2. Justice—What is It? 3. The Church-membership of Baptized Children. 4. The Idea of Christ's Kingdom on Earth, in Itself and in its History, Proof that it is from God. 5. Our Lord's Sacerdotal Prayer—a New Critical Text, Digest, and Translation. 6. Methods of Perpetuating an Interest in Hearing the Gospel. 7. Memorial of Dr. Samuel Harvey Taylor. 8. Notes on Egyptology. 9. Biblical Intelligence—England.

EVANGELICAL QUARTERLY REVIEW, April, 1871. (Gettysburgh.)—1. The Theistic Argument from Final Causes. 2. Home Missionary Organization. 3. The Proposed Religious Amendment to our National Constitution. 4. Union in the Lutheran Church. 5. The Intermediate State. 6. The Assurance of Faith. 7. The Pastor of the Future.

MERCERSBURGH REVIEW, April, 1871. (Philadelphia.)—1. Schleiermacher, and the Theology of the Mercersburgh Review. 2. The American College on the Defensive. 3. The Vine and the Husbandman. 4. The Creed and Dogmatic Theology. 5. Rebekah. 6. Heaven Viewed under a Local Aspect. 7. The Pilot. 8. The Forty Days after the Resurrection. 9. The Pericopes, or Selections of Gospels and Epistles for the Church Year. 10. The Book of Jonah.

NEW ENGLANDER, April, 1871. (New Haven.)—1. Winthrop and Emerson on Forefathers' Day. 2. The Sign Language. 3. Professor Fitch as a Preacher. 4. The Christian and the Ante-Messianic Dispensations Compared. 5. A Long Range Shot: Blackwood's Magazine on the "Blue Laws." 6. Richard Grant White on Words and their Uses. 7. Yale College: Some Thoughts respecting its Future.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, April, 1871. (Boston.)—1. An Erie Raid. 2. On the Origin and Growth of Public Opinion in Prussia. 3. Mr. Bryant's Translation of the Iliad. 4. Modern Architecture. 5. Lawyer and Client.

THEOLOGICAL MEDIUM, A CUMBERLAND PRESBYTERIAN QUARTERLY, April, 1871. (Nashville, Tenn.)—1. Sources of Error in Theology. 2. Ministerial Character of Christ Practically Considered. 3. Cumberland Presbyterianism furnishes the Best Key of Interpretation. 4. The Adaptation of the Scriptures to Man's Entire Spiritual Nature. 5. Ministerial Support. 6. The Divinity of Christ. 7. The Christian Ministry of the Future. 8. "I Am that I Am." 9. The Foreknowledge and Decrees of God.

SOUTHERN REVIEW, April, 1871. A. T. BLEDSOE, LL.D., Editor, (Baltimore, Md.) —1. The Suffering and the Salvation of Infants. 2. Americanisms. 3. The Latin Races in America. 4. Whedon on The Will. 5. Volcanoes and Earthquakes. 6. Beware of the Tropics. 7. The Reviewers Reviewed. 8. Thoughts Suggested by Recent Events.

Under guise of a review of "Whedon on the Will," Dr. Bledsoe has thought it wise to furnish an extended and very bitter, but very weak, personal attack upon the writer of that work. Every syllable of the onslaught is swelling with malignity; nor from end to end is there one generous expression, or one commendatory phrase which is not an intended sneer. The author of the "Will" is "a dull man," "a pedant," "a pretender;" writes not English but "Whedonese," surrenders the whole question in his argument, and has furnished not one "new thought" or valuable idea which is not *stolen from Bledsoe's Theodicy!* Thrice he applies to the author or his work a cognate of the term *thief;* namely, *thieving*, *thievish*, and *theft.* The entire tirade of pseudo-criticism is unworthy to occupy an extended notice in our pages; but when Dr. B. thus abdicates all courtesy by applying terms of *moral* opprobrium which no Christian gentleman uses to another, he cannot expect that courtesy will for a moment stand in the way of a very explicit expression of truth in reply. The issue then made by him, is this: Either the author of the "Will" is guilty of theft, or Dr. Bledsoe is guilty of falsehood; and holding the last of these propositions to be true, we proceed to nail him, as a falsifier, to the wall.

Dr. Bledsoe makes the following statement: "When Dr. Whedon asked us, before the war, if he was not 'very much abused down South,' we were compelled to reply that 'we could not tell,' as we had 'never heard his name mentioned in the South.'" On this we note: 1. Dr. Bledsoe here transgresses one of the laws of civilized society in publishing language confessedly uttered in private conversation, intentionally to the utterer's disparagement, and thus entitles himself to have the door shut against him by all honorable persons as an *eavesdropper.*

2. His story is a sheer fabrication, for we never saw Dr. Bledsoe "before the war." 3. Though we can easily believe, upon his own statement, that he could be guilty of the discourtesy of such a reply, yet that he ever in fact made such a reply to us he very well knows to be a falsehood. We never held any such conversation with him nor with any one else. 4. The only time, or times, we ever saw Dr. B. was in our office, and once in another room of our Book Concern, *since* the war. We then supposed, and do not now know to the contrary, that he came direct from England, and had not lately been in the South. We were much more likely to ask him about the fallen fortunes of rebeldom in London than to inquire about our own reputation among our "rebel" brethren in Southrondom. 5. It may serve to explain what cause has set Dr. Bledsoe's mendacities in such rapid flow for us to narrate that *he came to our office to offer an article for our Quarterly.* He had a dilapidated and mendicant look, as if he had truly "been through the wars," and we felt sympathetically inclined to befriend him. We received his article, prepared to judge it favorably. It belonged to the department of Natural Theology; but we regretted to find that the writer ignored, or, perhaps, was ignorant of, the new phases that subject had received from the writings of Mill, Herbert Spencer, Darwin, and others, and that his essay was suited only to the year one of this present century. We were obliged, therefore, as courteously as possible, to tell him that his production was behind the age, and unsuited to the advanced position of our own readers. He took it, and, with a toss, departed. Now it has been our own lot to have our articles rejected without loss of friendship for the rejecter; but that, we apprehend, is a magnanimity of which Dr. Bledsoe has no conception.

Dr. Bledsoe says, "The book was handed to us by one of the publishers, and till then we had never received the least intimation of its existence." Now as the book was, within a year or two of its publication, reviewed in extensive articles, not only in the "Methodist Quarterly Review," but in the "Bibliotheca Sacra," the "New Englander," the "American Presbyterian Quarterly," the "Danville Quarterly," and the "Princeton Review;" as it has stood for years on the Course of Study of the Methodist Episcopal Church; as it has been a text-

book in several of our Methodist Theological Seminaries, and has been the subject of regular theological Lectures in several Calvinistic Seminaries, it is plain that Dr. Bledsoe's confession furnishes the measure not of the notoriety of the book but of his own profound ignorance.

Our *thefts*, as charged by Dr. Bledsoe, appear to be three.

1. The first "theft" Dr. Bledsoe makes out by three expedients—a mutilation of our words, an interpolation of his own words into ours, and a falsehood; namely, an assurance given to the reader that our idea and his are identical when it is perfectly plain that they are not identical. His idea is this: *Had not a Redeemer been given, the human race would probably not have been created.* Our idea is this: *Had not a Redeemer been given, Adam would probably not have been permitted to beget posterity.* Our idea, as our readers well know, is *one of the commonplaces of Methodist theology*, clearly and repeatedly expressed by Fletcher, Watson, and Wilbur Fisk, as well as in the second volume of our own commentary. Dr. Bledsoe's theory is the *non-creation* of man; the Methodist theory is the *non-continuity* of the race from Adam after the fall.

Dr. Bledsoe's passage, affirmed by him to have been stolen in the "Will," is as follows:

> "It is frequently said, we are aware, that if it had not been for the redemption of the world by a 'sovereign, gracious' dispensation, the whole race of man would have been justly exposed to the torments of hell forever. But where is the proof? Is it found in the word of God? No, the answer is emphatically intended to be, there is no proof; and in the Scripture no answer, explicit or otherwise. What would become of them, then, without a Saviour?" Now the reply to this question, as there given, is the same as the one given above by Dr. Whedon. If there had been no salvation through Christ, as a part of the actual constitution and system of the world, then there would have been no other part of that system whatever. . . . The work of Christ is the great sun and center of the system as *it is*; and if this had never been a part of the original grand design, we do not know that the planets would have been created to wander in eternal darkness. We do not know that even the justice of God would have created man, and permitted him to fall, wandering everlastingly amid the horrors of the second death, without hope and without remedy. We find nothing of the sort in the word of God; and in our own nature it meets no response, except a wail of unutterable horror."—P. 371.

The following comments are a small but fair specimen of Dr. Bledsoe's self-inflated and prolix jubilations of our thefts:

> Behold, then, the reply of Dr. Whedon as distinctly and emphatically expressed as possible! Behold, as he is pleased to call it, his "satisfactory and [illegible] solution!" "How two minds run together!" Both independent and [illegible], and yet both run together in "a sort of pre-established harmony!" We [illegible] ourselves some little credit for the solution, and deemed it original, (never having

seen it elsewhere,) until we found that Dr. Whedon had hit on precisely the same solution!—P. 371.

The following is the half paragraph as quoted by him from the "Will," with his misguiding interpolations in parenthesis:

> What would have been done with them (the whole fallen race of man) without a Saviour? is a question to which revelation furnishes no explicit answer. And yet there are grounds both from Scripture and reason for an obvious reply. The human race would never have been brought into existence under conditions of such misery. In other words, the redemption was the condition of the actual continuity (creation and continuance?) of the race. Redemption underlies probationary existence. Grace is the basis of nature. *And the reply is both a satisfactory and a beautiful theoretical solution of a theoretical difficulty.*—Pp. 370, 371.

The part cut off from our paragraph to prevent detection of the fraud contains the following words: "It" (the race) "can come from a potential and *seminal* existence only under the universal law of hereditary likeness to the lineal parent." Our full paragraph, therefore, questioned not the "creation and continuance," (as he interpolates,) but the "continuity" of the race from "the lineal parent."

But be it that the ideas are identical, and that we have stolen from Dr. Bledsoe; we are then in the company of a noble set of thieves.

The first of these thieves—Dr. Wilbur Fisk—stole the idea from Dr. Bledsoe before he ever published, as follows:

> We, on the contrary, believe that by Adam's unnecessitated sin he, and in him all his posterity, became obnoxious to the curse of the Divine law. As the first man sinned personally and actively, he was personally condemned; but as his posterity had no agency or personal existence, they could only have perished seminally in him. By the promise of a Saviour, however, our federal head was restored to the possibility of obtaining salvation through faith in the Redeemer. And in this restoration *all* the seminal generations of men were included. Their possible and prospective existence was restored, and their personal and active existence secured.—Pp. 52, 53.

Thief second—Richard Watson—stole it before Dr. Bledsoe ever wrote, as follows:

> The only actual beings to be charged with sin, "the transgression of the law," were Adam and Eve; for the rest of the human race, not being actually existent, were not capable of transgressing; or if they were, in a vague sense, capable of it by virtue of the federal character of Adam, yet then only as *potential* and not as *actual* beings—beings, as the logicians say, *in posse*, not *in esse*. Our first parents rendered themselves liable to eternal death. This is granted; and had they died "IN THE DAY" they sinned, which, but for the introduction of a system of mercy and long-suffering, and the appointment of a new kind of probation, for any thing that appears, they must have done, the human race would have perished with them, and the only conscious sinners would have been the only conscious sufferers.—P. 395.

Thief third—John Fletcher—stole it from Dr. Bledsoe repeatedly before Dr. Bledsoe was born; for instance, as follows:

> As we sinned only *seminally* in Adam, if God had not intended our redemption, his goodness would have engaged him to destroy us *seminally*, by crushing the capital offender who contained us all: so there would have been a just proportion between the sin and punishment; for as we sinned in Adam without the least consciousness of guilt, so in him we should have been punished without the least consciousness of pain. But the moment we allow that the blessing of the second Adam is as general as the curse of the first . . . he spares guilty Adam to propagate the fallen race, that they may share the blessings of a better covenant.—Pp. 146, 147.

The only escape which Dr. Bledsoe can here make from a conviction of multiplied dishonesties is by a plea of sheer *ignorance!* He was unaware of this well-known tenet of Methodism! And that would be coming down from a very lofty pedestal indeed. He, the tall Colossus, who assumes to stride and straddle over Southern Methodism; the great arbiter of Arminian theology, competent to blast at breath the reputations of years, is obliged to confess his ignorance of the very horn-books of our evangelical Arminian system, thinks he invented the Methodist doctrines, and charges the normal promulgators of those doctrines with stealing them from him!!! Let Albert T. Bledsoe beware how he ever again applies to another the epithet "*Pretender.*"

Our second theft is the appropriating the simile in the first two lines of the following passage: "*The free actions of men are clearly reflected back in the mirror of the divine omniscience;* they are not projected forward from the engine of the divine omnipotence." Dr. Bledsoe expatiates over the love we show for this stolen trinket in dallying with it over the whole of our page 291. He might have added that we show still farther love for it by using it twice on page 14, being the second page of our treatise; so that if we have stolen it once we have stolen it three times.* What is more flagrant still, we stole it, this last *twice*, more than ten years before his "Theodicy" was

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* "As when we place the object before a fixed mirror, the mirror forthwith presents the correspondent image, so when we place the object before the fixed intelligence, the intelligence forthwith presents the perception. . . . As when you place an externality before the mind the idea arises, as when you place an object before a mirror the image necessarily arises, so when you present before the Will the motive, the volition as necessarily springs forth."—P. 14.

"God's mind, according to the 'eternal now,' is like this mirror, before which I may stand. Every movement of my head, hand, body is reflected with perfect accuracy according as that movement is by me freely and alternatively made."—P. 291.

The fact that in two cases the object is placed before a finite, and in the third before an infinite, intelligence does not affect the sameness of the image.

published, and about fifteen years before we had read a page of that immortal book! Many of our readers may recollect the statement given by Professor Newhall, published soon after the appearance of our volume, narrating the commencement of the work as having taken place, at the earnest instance of the late Dr. Fisk, during our Professorship at the Wesleyan University. The work was prosecuted, at intervals, through a period of twenty years; and the first two pages, in which our double theft from Dr. Bledsoe occurs, were written earlier than 1840, while his book was published in 1853, and never opened by us until some time after our election, in 1856, to the editorship of this Quarterly. When, in the year 1863, the last finishing was given to our MS. for the press, these first pages were carefully copied from the first draft, and the author remarked to the copyist, (his own son,) "What you are now copying was written before you were born." It is but just to say, however, that Dr. Bledsoe could not have known those dates; and that the main blame in this matter lies upon the puerility of the fuss he makes over such a trifle, and the coarseness of the terms and baseness of the spirit in which he has expressed the charge.

Dr. Bledsoe's third charge of theft is characterized by manifold dishonesties. He does not give our words which he says we purloined from him; he gives only our heading to our argument; then gives his own words in full; then attempts by sophistical reasoning to hoodwink his readers into the belief that his words accord *with the heading.* We shall give both sides, and enable the reader to judge whether Dr. Bledsoe does not commit a conscious falsehood in his statement. His passage, as by himself given, is as follows, numbered by our own pen for easier reference:

1. "If God foreknows that our actions will come to pass in the way we call freely, . . . then, as foreknowledge infers necessity, our actions are necessarily free. And surely, if the necessity which is inferred from foreknowledge is predicable of freedom, it cannot be inconsistent with it."

2. "In conclusion, the necessitarian takes the wrong course in his inquiries, and lays his premises in the dark. To illustrate this point: I know that I act, and hence I conclude that God foreknew that I would act. And again, I know that my act is not necessitated, that it does not necessarily proceed from the action or influence of causes, and hence I conclude that God foreknew that I would thus act freely, in precisely this manner, and not otherwise. Thus I reason from what I do know to what I do not know, from my foreknowledge of the actual world as it is, up to God's foreknowledge respecting it.

3. "The necessitarian pursues the opposite course. He reasons from what he does not know, that is, from the particulars of the divine foreknowledge, about which he absolutely knows nothing *à priori*, down to the facts of the actual world. Thus, quitting the light which shines so brightly within us and around us, he seeks for light in the midst of impenetrable darkness. He endeavors to determine the phenomena of the world, not by looking at them and seeing what they are, but by deducing conclusions from God's infinite foreknowledge respecting them!

4. "In doing this a grand illusion is practiced, by his merely supposing that the volitions themselves are foreknown, without taking into the supposition the whole of the case, and recollecting that God not only foresees all our actions, *but also all about them.* For if this were done, if it were remembered that he not only foresees that our volitions will come to pass, *but also* HOW *they will come to pass*, the necessitarian would see that nothing could be proved in this way except what is first tacitly assumed. This grand illusion would vanish, and it would be clearly seen that if the argument from foreknowledge proves any thing, it just as well proves the *necessity of freedom* as any thing else.

5. "Indeed it does seem to me, that it is one of the most wonderful phenomena in the history of the human mind, that in reasoning about facts in relation to which the most direct and palpable sources of evidence are open before us, so many of its brightest ornaments should so long have endeavored to draw conclusions from 'the dark unknown' of God's foreknowledge, without perceiving that this is to reject the true method, to invert the true order of inquiry, and to involve the inquirer in all the darkness and confusion inseparable therefrom; without perceiving that no powers, however great, that no genius, however exalted, can possibly extort from such a method any thing but the dark, and confused, and perplexing exhibitions of an ingenious logomachy."—Pp. 374, 375.

Our argument is as follows:

We may first remark that *our view of free agency does not so much require in God a foreknowledge of a peculiar kind of event*, as a *knowledge in him of a* PECULIAR QUALITY *existent* IN THE FREE AGENT. This is a point apparently much, if not entirely, overlooked by thinkers upon this subject.

Power is a substantive quality intrinsic in the agent possessing it. It is a positive element in the constitution of the being. To a knowing eye it may be perfectly cognizable. If any power be planted in an agent God, who placed it there, must know it. And if that power be, as we shall assume to have proved, a power to do otherwise than the agent really does do, God may be conceived to know it, and to know it in every specific instance. That is, God knows in every case that the agent who wills a certain way possessed the elemental power of choosing another way, or several elemental powers of choosing several other ways. God may know the way in which the agent will act, and at the same time there may be seen by him in the same agent the substantive power of acting otherwise instead. The two facts, namely, that *he will act thus*, and that *there resides in him the power of other action*, may be seen at the same time by God and be mutually consistent with each other. God's foreknowledge, therefore, of the volition which will be put forth is perfectly consistent with his knowledge of the agent's power of willing otherwise. That is, prescience in God is perfectly consistent with freedom in the finite agent.

Surely if an agent can will either one of several ways, God may know each one of those several ways; and if of those several ways there is one which the agent will *will*, God may know which that way is. His knowing the way which, of the several, the agent will choose, does not negative his knowing that the agent possessed powers for either of the other ways. For all those powers are simply positive elements in the being of the agent, which God is certainly to be conceived as able to know.

This view reduces the whole question to discussion of man's nature, or the proper analysis of the nature of a free agent. It becomes a discussion not of the metaphysics of events in regard to their necessity or possibility, but of psychology or anthropology; or rather (what is of momentous consequence in the controversy) the psychological investigation and decision overrule and predetermine the meta-

physical. If there be, in the free agent, ascertainable by psychology, or required by intuition, or supposably seen by the divine eye, the power of putting forth the volition with full power of alteriety, then God knows that power. And then God knows, or knows not, the agent's future acts. If he knows them not, his foreknowledge does not extend to all free acts. If he does know them, then he knows the future act which will be, while there is full adequate power for it not to be.—*Whedon on the Will*, pp. 271–273.

Dr. Bledsoe's paragraph 1. simply argues that God's foreknowledge proves man's "necessary freedom;" an argument, certainly, which we have not thought worth the stealing. In paragraph 2. he tells us that the necessitarian ought to reason from our free acts to foreknowledge; and, paragraph 3. not from foreknowledge down to our actions; if he did the former, (paragraph 4.) he would see that God would foresee our actions as they come to pass—namely, *freely*—and foreknowledge would prove nothing but "necessary freedom." Paragraph 5. is simply a vague tirade against necessitarian reasoning. Now that the idea of freedom should control the notion of foreknowledge, and not *vice versa*, is indeed an old view, lying in fact as the basis of the denial, by a class of thinkers, of foreknowledge. They hold the two to be incompatible, and from the conscious reality of freedom they overrule and nullify foreknowledge. It is the inferring "necessary freedom" from foreknowledge, which, so far as we know, is alone original with Dr. Bledsoe, and of that he enjoys an untouched monopoly.

First, the premise of Dr. Bledsoe's argument is about God's *foreknowledge;* whereas, according to our very heading, the very purpose of ours is to *exclude God's foreknowledge*, and include God's *present perception* of a present object, namely, *a power* in men; and second, Dr. Bledsoe's argument stays within *events*, namely, *free actions;* whereas it is the very object of our argument, as our heading says, to shut out *events* and speak only of a *thing* or *quality*, namely, that same *power*. So fixedly do we concentrate the argument upon the thing *power*, that the word *power* occurs eight times in the first paragraph; and action is mentioned only to define the *power*. And the very terms of our heading aim to *shut out* the consideration of "foreknowledge" and include a present "knowledge."

The passage above quoted from our book, let it be noted, stands as a *prelude* to an argument of twenty pages on God's foreknowledge. The purpose of the *prelude* is to cut off our opponent *at start* by showing that, for our own part, *we* are not

bound to argue that question of foreknowledge at all, and that our doing so is purely *ex gratia.* Our reasoning in this prelude is this: That foreknowledge argument is all about "*events*," their certainty, their contingency, their necessity, their freedom, their susceptibility of foreknowledge, etc.; whereas the question is not about a future "*event*," but *a present existing* THING; nor is it about God's foreknowledge, but about God's *present perception* of that *thing*.

God, we argue, may look into man and see that *thing* the alternative *power*, just as a manufacturer may look into a machine and see a *peg* or a *double spring.* Upon that substantive *power* God, like a machinist, may put his finger. It is, therefore, a question of the constituents that make up the human fabric; not a question of the metaphysics of "events." And the logical result is, we are under no obligation to touch foreknowledge of "events" at all. If, however, our opponent insist on foreknowledge of a future "event," we reply: Nevertheless, *there is the peg.* If God foreknows the future action, he also sees, *with present perception*, the peg in the machine, the permanent counter power. Be it then, if our opponent will, that God foreknows a vast variety of man's volitions, he also perceives *that everlasting peg*, the attendant element in the make of the man. The event is an event with a peg to it; an act *from* the agent, with a tangible element *in* the agent. Now of this argument Dr. Bledsoe never had the slightest conception. He did not understand it when he read it; and he never will understand it, unless we shall have at last succeeded in galvanizing it into his brain.

Dr. Bledsoe's paragraphs, from beginning to end, are full of terms and phrases which the very terms of our head proposition excluded, and which would entirely disconcert our argument, such as "our actions," "all about them," that is, actions. "HOW they will come to pass," etc. He always concludes with a result which our argument knows nothing of, namely, our "necessary freedom;" and he utterly unknows the entire point at which we aimed, namely, our perfect exemption from all obligation even to touch the question of God's foreknowledge.

That Dr. Bledsoe is made to appear thus disgracefully before our readers is no fault of ours. With the conductors of the

Southern Methodist Quarterly Review, Drs. Doggett and Summers successively, we had some free passages of criticism, but never a discourteous word. The reason is—they appeared as Christian gentlemen, and uttered nothing unworthy of that character. To Dr. Bledsoe belongs a coarse, heavy, malignant, mendacious nature, that compels men to deal with him according to his nature. Our impression is that the Southern Church, so far as she accepts him, will find him a very heavy elephant on her hands. His silly burlesque of criticism upon our style and argument passes untouched, from its worthlessness. On those points, as upon his charges, it would be easy to send him, as we now send him, limping and howling from the encounter.

CHRISTIAN QUARTERLY, April, 1871. (Cincinnati.)—1. Origin of the Human Soul and Anthropology. 2. Ignatius Loyola and John Wesley. 3. Relation of Faith and Salvation. 4. The Gospel the Power of God; or, The Process of Regeneration. 5. Bible Doctrine of Divorce. 6. Mount Moriah.

The "Christian Quarterly" is the organ of the Campbellite denomination, which we are informed is considered in some parts of our country to be quite a respectable sect. Hereabouts it is not considered an essential part of a first-class theological education to know what they believe or teach. But their Quarterly in external appearance, and in the intellectual power and scholarship displayed, though markedly inferior in this last item to our own periodical, does honor to its constituency and its conductors. Considering this unquestionable inferiority to us in the range of its scholarly departments, we think their getting off the following utterance exhibits a very admirable degree of self-possession:

> Methodism has not furnished men of the highest order of scholarship, and its many Advocates, monthlies, and Quarterly occupy only a respectable rank among papers of the same kind. *Attempts were once made to raise the Quarterly in point of scholarship, but they had to be abandoned, because there were scarcely any readers for a Quarterly thus conducted.*

A comparison of the bound volumes of this Quarterly will show that immediately after the election of the present editor to succeed the late accomplished Dr. M'Clintock, the departments presupposing a high scholarship on the part of its readers were *not diminished*, but *enlarged and elevated.* Our subscription list will show that within two years thereafter our number of subscribers was about doubled. There never has been a time in its entire history when its range of scholarship was higher than now;

it shrinks from comparison, in some respects, with no denominational Quarterly in the country; and if any modification is to take place in this respect, it will be in the future, *as in our entire past*, in the direction of advancement and not of retrogression. The "Christian Quarterly" has now the opportunity of showing its love for truth by doing itself the honor of correcting its calumnious misstatement.

But when they have fairly begun to correct, they would do well to finish by canceling the whole article of "Ignatius Loyola and John Wesley." Yet let it stand, draped in black lines, as a memento how intensely sectarian an "unsectarian" sect can be.

English Reviews.

British and Foreign Evangelical Review, April, 1871. (London.)—1. The Reconstruction of the Irish Episcopal Church. 2. The Theory of Practice. 3. The Native Christians of India as a Community and a Church. 4. The Union of Churches. 5. The Late Controversy on the Fatherhood of God as Manifested in Scripture. 6. The Continental Missions of the Early Celtic Church. 7. Scottish Moderatism. *Reprinted Articles:* 1. Sinaitic Inscriptions. 2. Address of Professor Tholuck of Halle, on the Occasion of his Jubilee, December 2, 1870.

British Quarterly Review, April, 1871. (New York: Reprint. Leonard Scott. 140 Fulton-street.)—1. Burton's History of Scotland. 2. Early English Texts. 3. Parties in the Episcopal Church. 4. Ingoldsby. 5. The Downfall of Bonapartism. 6. Religious Tests and National Universities. 7. The War of 1870-1. 8. Bishop Berkeley. 9. The Future of Europe.

London Quarterly Review, April, 1871. (London.)—1. The Systematic Examination of the Holy Land. 2. Icelandic Sagas. 3. Rome and the Temporal Power. 4. Bulwer's Life of Palmerston. 5. Bunting's Memorials. 6. Modern Armies. 7. Biblical Theology. 8. Half a Year of Modern History.

London Quarterly Review, April, 1871. (New York: Reprint. Leonard Scott, 140 Fulton-street.)—1. Life of the First Earl of Shaftesbury. 2. Evidence from Handwriting—Junius. 3. The Third French Republic, and the Second German Empire. 4. New Sources of English History. 5. Civil List Pensions. 6 The Church and Nonconformity. 7. The Usages of War. 8. The Chronology of the Gospels. 9. The Satires of Horace: Professor Conington and Mr. Theodore Martin. 10. The Hundred Years of Christianity in Japan. 11. The Government Army Bill.

The Letters of Junius, vigorous English though they are, owe more of their permanent notoriety to the mystery of their authorship than to their surpassing ability. For many years it has been a well-established opinion that the writer was Sir Philip Francis. Lord Brougham asserted long since that the case made would convict him before the courts. The question may be considered as forever settled by a thorough investigation of comparative handwritings by a skillful expert, Mr. Chabot. Mr. Chabot's published

investigation is remarkable, and suggestive as an exercitation in a peculiar class of subtle Logic. It is clear that Junius is written in a systematically disguised hand, and Mr. Chabot, by comparison of the Junius letters with a large quantity of Sir Philip's genuine writings, first detects a large number of inadvertent resemblances in the disguise, regularly recurring, and classifies them; next he detects the entire system of rules which Sir Philip adopted in order to establish the disguise; and the whole comes out so intuitively certain as to form essentially a demonstration. There would be no dissent among any number of sound minds. The article on the subject is highly interesting.

As regards the world's, or at least Europe's, being ruled by a set of old gentlemen, the first article hits off the following paragraph:

> It is the remark of Gibbon that every man who rises above the common level has received two educations: the first from his teachers; the second, more personal and important, from himself. Shaftesbury may be cited in confirmation of this theory, and he is also a striking instance of the precocity which occurs, or at all events is made prominent, so much more frequently in preceding generations than in our own. This is pre-eminently the age of septuagenarian, almost octogenarian, statesmen and generals; but we can no longer boast of youthful orators, ministers, heroes, and conquerors, like Fox, Pitt, Condé, and Napoleon; nor of men of mark marrying, settling, and taking up a distinguished position, public or private, in their teens. Shaftesbury was under eighteen when he married, under nineteen when he took his seat in the House of Commons, and hardly thirteen when he intervened personally in the management of his property, sadly mismanaged by his guardians, and succeeded in wresting a large slice from the grasp of an uncle who had hoped to plunder him through the connivance of the Court of Wards.

WESTMINSTER REVIEW, April, 1871. (New York: Reprint. Leonard Scott, 140 Fulton-street.)—1. Aristophanes. 2. The American Republic—Its Strength and Weakness. 3. Thomas Hood. 4. Battles in the Church. 5. Public School Teaching. 6. France, the Jesuits, and the Tientsin Massacre. 7. Ste. Beuve. 8. Army Organization.

Tyerman's Life of Wesley is thus noticed from the skeptical *Westminster's* stand-point:

> John Wesley, the founder of the Methodists, was born the year after young Bonwicke was placed at Merchant Taylors' School. The incidents in his life down to the year 1748 have been recounted in the first volume of Mr. Tyerman's biography. The second volume opens with some account of Wesley's peregrinations in Somersetshire, Wales, and Ireland, and the persecutions undergone by himself and his adherents at the hands of the drunken and ruffianly persons composing the mobs that conducted the cowardly, and nearly murderous assaults to which the early Methodists were exposed. It abounds in unconscious pictures of life and manners, which reflect but too often little credit on "poor human nature." Mr. Tyerman has arranged his copious and minute information under separate years, the events of each year forming a distinct chapter. If the book thus put together is rather a miscellaneous compilation than the well-proportioned result of discriminating study and constructive skill. we have at least the advantage of the ready reference offered by the chronological sequence of the story, and of the abundance of curiously illustrative matter which Mr. Tyerman's inclusive process of composition insures. The growth of Methodism, the opposition it encountered, the singular mental phenomena which it excited, the multifarious activity of Wes-

ley, the enthusiasm of preachers and professors, the relations in which Wesley and Whitefield stood to each other, the connection with Count Zinzendorf and Moravianism, the strange experiences in public and private life, the variety of incident and adventure, and the traits of character which distinguished the collective and individual humanity of the last century, are all exemplified in the careless redundancy of Mr. Tyerman's narrative. The figures of remarkable men and women flit by as we turn over the pages. Horace Walpole, the Countess of Huntingdon, Mehetabel Wesley, Grace Murray, Dr. Conyers Middleton, Venn, Hervey, Foote, Dr. Dodd, are among the number. In a letter written by George Whitefield, dated 1751, we find scriptural warrant for slaveholding adduced. Not only is the example of Abraham quoted in support of the practice, but the perpetual slavery of the Gibeonites is cited as a precedent, and the implied sanction of the apostles for the usage asserted to support the writer's own view. Satisfied that hot countries cannot be cultivated without negroes, and reflecting that though "liberty is a sweet thing to such as are born free, yet to those who never knew the sweets of it, slavery, perhaps, may not be so irksome." Whitefield, we are told, acted upon the principle propounded, and at the time of his decease, twenty years afterward, was the possessor of seventy-five slaves, in connection with his Orphan House plantations on the Georgian settlements. We are happy to say that Wesley's opinion of the peculiar institution was very different from that of his Calvinistic colleague.

German Reviews.

STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN. (Essays and Reviews.) 1871. Third Number.—*Essays:* 1. RIEHM, The Cherubs in the Tabernacle and in the Temple. 2. HENRICHSEN, The Relation of the Jews to Alexander the Great. *Thoughts and Remarks:* 1. LEIMBACH, Tertullian's Idea of Sacrament. 2. ROHRICHT, The Johannean Logos Doctrine. 3. OPPERT, Concerning Chedorlaomer. *Reviews:* 1. Zumpt, Geburtsjahr Christi, (Birth-year of Christ;) Reviewed by ROSCH. 2. SCHULTZ, Alttestamentliche Theologie, (Old Testament;) Reviewed by DIESTEL. 3. KIENLEN, Commentaire Historique et Critique sur l'Apocalypse, (Historical and Critical Commentary on the Apocalypse;) Reviewed by Dusterdick.

The recent theological literature of Germany is rich in essays on the nature of Cherubs. The opinion that the Cherubs must be regarded as beings of real existence has recently been defended by a number of prominent Lutheran theologians, as Kliefoth, (*Theolog. Zeitschrift* III, 381,) Keil, (Commentary on Ezekiel,) and Kurtz, (art. Cherubim in the Cyclopedia of Herzog.) Most of the theologians, on the other hand, and among them even Hengstenberg, (art. Cherubim in *Evangel. Kirchenzeitung*, reprinted in the work, *Weissagungen des Propheten Ezechiel*,) regard the Cherubs as sacred symbols, creatures of imagination, to which reality can be ascribed only so far as the idea is concerned which they represent. While Hengstenberg insists that only that view of the Cherubs can be correct which is equally applicable to all passages of the Bible containing the word, Professor Riehm, now one of the editors of the *Studien*, asserts that "Biblical Theology has shown that in the course of historical development even fundamental

conceptions of revealed religion may undergo various modifications, and that with regard to symbolical representations it is still more probable that their shape and meaning have been subject in the course of time to changes and transformations." That the idea of Cherubim has undergone transformations in the course of time he regards as fully established, and only the degree and the significance of these changes remain, in his opinion, subjects of serious discussion. A few years ago Riehm published an elaborate essay on the subject, (*De natura et notione symbolica Cheruborum*,) and a number of prominent theological scholars, as Diestel, Kamphausen, Dillman, and H. Schultz, have more or less declared their agreement with his views, which he undertakes in the above article to set forth again, and to defend against his opponents. His article is, however, confined to "the most ancient original shape of the idea of Cherubs," according to which he finds they were viewed as beings by means of which God in his personal manifestations moved "from heaven to earth, from earth to heaven, as well as upon and over the surface of the earth."

ZEITSCHRIFT FUR WISSENSCHAFTLICHE THEOLOGIE. (Journal for Scientific Theology.) Edited by Professor Hilgenfeld. 1871. Third Number.—1. HILGENFELD, The Epistle to the Philippians, examined with regard to the Contents and Origin. 2. HOLTZMANN, Barnabas and John. 3. WERNER, Herder's View of the Old Testament. 4. HILGENFELD, the Psalms of Salomo, translated into German, and again examined. 5. CLEMENS, the Communities of the Essenes. 6. VAN VLOTEN, Lucas and Silas. 7. HOLTZMANN, The Birth-year of Luther. 8. SPIEGEL, Three Inedited Letters of Melanchthon.

Dr. Clemens, a young theologian who has already published several essays on the Essenes, endeavors to establish in the article on the Essene Communities several controverted points in the history of the celebrated Jewish order. He regards it as probable that the Essenes were not confined to Palestine, but that communities were also found in Syria, and among the Jews of other foreign countries. As regards Palestine, they were, even during the first century of the Christian era, to be found throughout the country, and not only in the rural districts, but also in the cities, and Jerusalem, without doubt, has also had its community. Though hermits, the Essenes appear to have taken a lively interest in national affairs. The number of members in Palestine was about four thousand. The larger portion of the order observed celibacy, but a small branch allowed its members to marry. As regards the Therapentæ of

Egypt, most of the recent writers on the subject, among others Tidemann, (*Het Essenisme*, Leiden, 1863;) Lipsius, (art. *Essener* in Schenkel's *Bibellexicon*, and Hilgenfeld, (*Die jud. Sibyllen und der Essenismus*,) (*Zeitschrift für Wissensch. Theol.* 1871, p. 56,) regard them as an Egyptian branch of the Essenes; but in opposition to them Dr. Clemens adheres to the opinion formerly advanced by him, that the Therapeutæ were an entirely independent order of Jewish ascetics, who are historically entirely unconnected with the Essenes.

ZEITSCHRIFT FUR DIE HISTORISCHE THEOLOGIE. (Journal for Historical Theology.) Third Number. 1871. 1. KRUMMEL, Utraquists and Taborites. A Contribution to the History of the Bohemian Reformation in the Fifteenth Century. 2. RONNEKE, Extracts from the Resolutions of the Diocesan Council of Pistoja, 1786. 3. LIMBACH, Tertullian as Source for Christian Archæology. 4. MICHAELIS, A Letter of Luther.

The larger portion of this number is filled by a continuation of Krummel's interesting article on the Taborites and Utraquists. (See "Methodist Quarterly Review," April, 1871, page 316.) The full account of the negotiations of the Bohemians with the Council of Basel is of special interest at this time, when the proceedings of the Vatican Council are still fresh in our memory. At no other Œcumenical Council of the Roman Catholic Church, neither before nor after, did the Bishops go so far in discussing dogmatical questions with the representatives of heretical bodies. And when, after a long civil war and many vicissitudes, the Bohemian Reformers were prevailed upon, in 1436, to declare their reunion with the Catholic Church, concessions were made which the infallible Popes of our days would not be willing to sanction. The representatives of the Bohemian people and the Margravate of Moravia declared in the Act of Submission that they were ready, *with the exception of the communion under both species*, to render obedience to the Church of Rome, the Council, the Pope, their Bishops and priests in every thing; but that this obedience does not include the external ecclesiastical customs and institutions, but only those articles of faith and ecclesiastical regulations which are *founded in the Holy Scriptures*, and in the rightly-construed doctrine of the Church; so that it must not be regarded as a hinderance of peace and unity if many in Bohemia and Moravia were unwilling to adopt the liturgical customs of the universal Church; nor was it to be regarded as

a breach of the peace if several should fail to act in accordance with this compact.

The second article gives extracts from the resolutions adopted by the famous Diocesan Council of Pistoja in Tuscany, held in 1786 by Bishop Ricci. This Synod, which was attended by two hundred and thirty-four priests, took strong ground against the infallibility of the Pope, and in favor of thorough-going reforms; but it was promptly anathematized by the Pope, and finally failed, as all similar reformatory movements in the Roman Church have been failures.

French Reviews.

Revue Chretienne. (Christian Review.) No. IX. September 5, 1870.—1. Pressense, Recent Excavations at Rome. The Palace of the Cæsars and the Catacombs. 2. Benjamin Couve, Moral Criticism. 3. Rey, Essay on the Death Penalty. 4. Ruffet, Lambert d'Avignon. 5. Chatonet, Refuge, (a Religious Poem.)

No. X. October 10.—Pressense, The National Defense.

No. XI. November.—1. Pressense, The Situation. 2. Roger Hollard, The 31st October. 3. Pressense, The Question of Municipal Schools in the Department of the Seine. 4. Bersier, The Good Side of the Siege of Paris.

No. XII. December.—1. Pressense, The Situation. 2. H. C. Monod, The Question of Communal Schools in the Department of the Seine.

No. XIII. December.—1. Pressense, The Situation. 2. G. Monod, Address at the General Prayer-Meeting held in the Temple of the Oratory on December 7. 3. Foltz, The Present Position of the Two Armies. 4. Pressense, A Letter to the *Journal des Debats* on the Regeneration of France.

Like all the papers of Paris, the *Revue Chretienne* has passed through a severe ordeal during the last nine months. The siege of Paris by the Germans, as the above table of contents shows, has reduced this able exponent of Protestant principles to a small size, and the rule of the Commune has probably interfered with it still more, for we have received no number since those of December, 1870. The French Protestants, as was to be expected, warmly sympathized during the late war with the fate of their country, in spite of all the efforts made by fanatical priests to arouse popular prejudice against them as the co-religionists of the heretical Prussians. The republican form of government has many warm friends among the leading Protestants of France, and the pages of the above numbers of the *Revue Chretienne* fully prove how earnestly they participated in all the efforts for a liberal and yet lawful regeneration of their country; but their number was too small to show their influence during the late terrible crisis.

Art. IX.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

ROMAN CATHOLICISM.

The Opposition Against the Vatican Council.—It is a remarkable proof of the marvelous strength of the Roman Catholic hierarchy that the opposition of the Bishops against the new doctrine of Papal Infallibility, which before the promulgation of the decree of the Vatican Council was so outspoken and unexpectedly determined, has now been entirely silenced. They know how to enforce obedience in Rome. Some of the members of the minority may have hoped to be able to escape an open submission by observing a total silence; but this would not satisfy the Pope. Every Bishop has been commanded to announce in an official circular to the whole clergy of his diocese the new doctrine of the Church, and, so far as we know, they now have all, with the only exception of three or four Orientals, obeyed. Great joy has in particular been produced by the submission of Bishop Dupanloup of Orleans, who, fervent in every thing he writes, is said to have delighted the Pope by the unexpectedly submissive tone of his letter of submission; but no Bishop of the whole world was watched with so great anxiety as the learned Bishop Hefele of Rottenburg, in Wurtemberg. Having been from the earliest years of his priesthood Professor of Theology at Tübingen, the best Catholic theological school of the world, he has by numerous writings, and in particular by a voluminous history of all the Councils, acquired the reputation of one of the greatest Catholic scholars, and he is in particular looked upon as the most learned of all the Bishops. On this account alone his defection would have been a terrible blow; but not for this reason alone, for the open opposition of any German Bishop would have at once organized the tens of thousands of lay Catholics, who already had refused their submission, into an "Old Catholic Church." The Bishop appears to have long hesitated to comply with the orders of Rome, for the ultramontane papers of Germany, and even the ultramontane clergy of his own diocese, began to murmur against the indications of his disobedient spirit, and to suspect him of a heretical leaning. At length the Bishop has been induced to yield, and to issue the commanded pastoral letter to his diocese. An attentive reader need not to know any thing of the past history of the author of this document in order to see at once that it has been extorted from an undecided mind. Its language is that of the dryest judicial notification. It teems with so much learning that many of the less educated priests may have had some difficulty in understanding it at first reading. The main point is dispatched in a few lines, and the real meaning of the doctrine is said to consist in this—that formerly appeals from the decision of the Pope to an Œcumenical Council were regarded as lawful, while by the infallibility decree these appeals are in future inadmissible. It shows the importance which Rome attaches to the submission of this one man that this reluctant and undecided pastoral letter brought to its author at once a highly

recommendatory letter from the Papal Nuncio. Rome is overjoyed that the great ecclesiastical *coup d'etat* has been accomplished without a single Bishop in the wholly Christian countries raising the standard of revolt.

The conduct of the episcopate has probably confirmed the Holy Father and his advisers in the hope that without the leadership of a Bishop a serious rebellion would be impossible in a Church which wholly rests on the apostolical succession of an episcopal hierarchy. This hope, however, has probably been considerably disturbed by the events of the last months. In one country at least there has been a formidable beginning of a crystalized opposition. If the thousands of German Catholics who have made up their minds never to submit to the infallible Pope have not found a leader among their Bishops, they have the great satisfaction to have found as leader Dr. Döllinger, whom Catholic Germany has for nearly half a century revered as one of her greatest literary heroes, who has been the instructor of nearly every living German Bishop, and whom the Bishops, as long back as 1848, when their Church, in consequence of the great revolution of that year, had to undergo an entire reconstruction of her relation to the State, invited to their first national assembly as their theological adviser. Döllinger is now more than seventy years old. He is in the archdiocese of Munich the highest dignitary next to the Archbishop, and at the same time a member of the first Chamber of the Bavarian Parliament. He has always remained unyielding in his opposition to the decree of the Council, and among those who know him, not the least doubt was felt as to the reply he would give to the summons of the Archbishop to submit. His reply, which is dated March 28, is, in point of firmness and learning, fully up to the general expectation. Döllinger offers to prove before the annual meeting of the Bishops at Fulda, or before a committee of learned theologians appointed by the Archbishops, five points, namely: 1. That none of the biblical passages quoted by the Council in support of the new doctrinal decrees were interpreted by any of the Church Fathers in the sense which is now forced upon them. Having twice sworn, as a professor of theology, to accept and to interpret the Holy Scriptures *no* otherwise than according to the unanimous agreement of the fathers, Döllinger says he would violate his oath if he would accept the new decrees against the testimony of the Fathers. 2. The German Bishops now maintain that the doctrine of Papal Infallibility has been universally, or almost universally, believed in all the centuries of the Church. Döllinger, on the contrary, offers to prove that during the first one thousand years it was entirely unknown, and that it is contradicted by the clearest facts and testimonies. 3. He offers to prove that the Bishops of the Latin countries, Spain, Italy, South America, and France, who formed the large majority of the Bishops in Rome, were misled even as students of theology by theological hand-books, in which the doctrine of Papal Infallibility is set forth after forged documents. He refers in particular to the works of Alfons Liguori and the Roman Jesuit, Perrone. 4. He offers to prove that two Œcumenical Councils and several Popes in the fifteenth century have decided the question of Papal Infallibility, and that their decisions directly

contradict the decree of the Vatican Council. 5. He finally offers to prove that the new decrees are thoroughly irreconcilable with the constitutions of the European States, and in support of this opinion he appeals to the judgment of any law faculty of the German universities. Döllinger next refers to several facts in the past ages of the Church to prove that his proposition is in accordance with the principles and the practice of the Church. He quotes in particular the Conference in 411 between two hundred and eighty-six Catholic and two hundred and seventy-nine Donatistic Bishops, and to the conferences between the Bohemians and the Councils of Constance and Basel. He recounts the efforts which were made by the German Bishops, including the Archbishop of Munich himself, during the Council to prevent the dogmatization of Papal Infallibility when they used to urge the same arguments with which now Döllinger supports his case. He concludes by saying that as a Christian, as a theologian, as a historian, and as a citizen, he cannot accept this doctrine.

The letter produced an extraordinary sensation throughout the Catholic world. The Archbishop at once (April 2) issued a pastoral letter, which was to be read from all the pulpits of the diocese, and soon followed this up by hurling against Döllinger the greater excommunication. As Döllinger in his letter had ventured to doubt whether any of the Catholic clergy really believed the new doctrine, numerous addresses were presented by the lower clergy to the Archbishop of Munich, assuring him of their sincere adhesion to the new doctrine. As the lower clergy are entirely in the hands of the Bishops, but few mustered courage to refuse the signing of the address which was presented to them; but outside of the parochial clergy the movement soon assumed large dimensions. Nearly a dozen professors of theology at the German universities openly sided with Döllinger, though they were, like him, suspended from priestly functions, and from the exercise of their professorial duties. The lay professors of the University of Munich almost unanimously (to the number of forty-four) signed a congratulatory address to Döllinger, thanking him for the bold stand taken, assuring him of their entire sympathy, and encouraging him to go forward. Similar addresses were sent to him by the Catholic lay professors of all the other universities. From the professors the movement extended to the students, who, throughout Germany, were unanimous in their demonstrations of sympathy. Many sympathetic addresses were also received from foreign countries, among which one signed by a large number of the professors of the University of Rome, naturally attracted special attention.

But only in Germany has a step been taken toward a practical organization. In all the large cities societies of "Old Catholics" have been formed, and several itinerant priests have been engaged to visit them and to preach to them. A general assembly of delegates from all parts of Germany is to be held in the course of the summer. The Town Council of Munich has removed from one of the city colleges a religious instructor for avowing his acceptance of the infallibility doctrine, and many Town Councils of Germany and Austria are determined to use all their power

in encouraging the Old Catholic movement against the papal hierarchy; but with all this the "Old Catholic" Church is still in a very embryonic state. It cannot assume definite shape until it has at least found Bishops to govern it, for only an Episcopal Catholic Church, like the Church of England and the Church of the Jansenists in Holland, can expect to rally considerable masses in its support.

A great deal will also depend on the attitude of the governments. If any of the governments—if, in particular, the government of the largest Catholic State, Bavaria—should comply with the wish of the Old Catholics, to regard them as the former Catholic State Church, to forbid the introduction of the doctrine of the Papal Infallibility into the pulpit and into the schools, to fill the episcopal sees and the theological chairs with men who repudiate the doctrine, it may yet be possible to sever the connection of a large portion of Catholic Germany with Rome. In all movements of this kind large masses are ready to follow the winning party, and no one in particular doubts that a large portion of the clergy, if they have to choose between the repudiation of papal infallibility or of their salary, would not hesitate to repudiate the former. In Bavaria a petition to the King to assume this position, and to protect the Old Catholic Church against the encroachments of Popery, received within a few days no less than twelve thousand signatures—a clear proof how important the movement would soon become if the government should be willing to take the desired course. The Committee which has circulated this petition embraces some of the highest officers of the kingdom, some representatives of the oldest nobility, and men who in literature and in politics have been thus far regarded as pillars of the Church. The petition calls the attention of the government to the fact that the Bavarian Bishops, although expressly forbidden by their government, have officially announced the infallibility doctrine, and that the clergy are now using the pulpit, the confessional, and all means within their power, to force this illegal doctrine upon a reluctant population. The petitioners represent that thousands and thousands of Catholic men are afraid of signing this petition, or are even making their submission, because they fear that the priests, by excommunicating them, will disturb their domestic peace, and ruin their business, and they therefore pray the King to put a stop to the lawless encroachments of the party which follows the dictates of Rome, and to head the combat against Italian arrogance and ignorance.

The government of Bavaria has never recognized the Vatican Council, and the King has repeatedly assured Döllinger of his personal sympathy with the course taken by him; but it is feared that he lacks the necessary firmness to play the part which the liberal Catholics of his kingdom, and of the whole world, hope he may play, and which, if successfully played, would secure to him an immortal fame in history. From the other Catholic princes nothing is to be expected. The Emperor of Austria is believed to have given a reluctant consent to the liberal legislation which has of late been introduced into the empire. The present ministry is suspected of ultramontane tendencies, and is very reserved in its official expressions.

It has declared, however, in the Reichsrath, that it adheres to the abolition of the Concordat; that it regards the doctrine of infallibility as a Church question which does not concern the State, but that the State government must and will guard its full rights as regards the practical consequences of the doctrine. The party which is at present in the ascendency in France is wholly under the influences of the Church, and even dreams of a forcible restoration of the temporal power. In Switzerland there is still in some Cantons a strong tendency to take efficient measures against the practical incorporation of the infallibility doctrine into the creed of the Catholic Church; but the Roman party has recently had the great triumph that in the largest Catholic Canton of the Confederation, Lucerne, the government has, by a general election, passed from the hands of the Liberal into those of the Ultramontane party.

Outside of Germany the most notable protests against papal infallibility are those from Father Hyacinthe and the Roman Jesuit Passaglia. The former, in a congratulatory letter, dated Rome, April 26, assures Döllinger that his reply to the Archbishop of Munich has produced an immense impression in Rome. "I hear people speak," he says, "of the approaching dangers of a schism; the schism is already present; it exists to a degree which was hitherto unknown, and, what is most appalling, it has its roots in the very institution which ought to give us unity. Whole libraries might be formed of the books which have been written against the arrogance of the Roman court, and yet this arrogance has constantly increased. Against such a system the demonstrations of science and the protests of conscience are of no avail. The men who represent the system do not understand the language of truth and of justice, or, in their infatuation, they believe themselves to have power over morality and history, and to be able to transform both according to the image of infallibility. To open their eyes it is necessary that they run their heads against events which are stronger than they, and this, if I am not mistaken, will be the terrible chastisement which God has in store for them, and at the same time the unhoped-for salvation which God prepares for his Church." The Jesuit Passaglia, who ten years ago was regarded as one of the chief court theologians of the Pope, has issued a manifesto, in which he designates the promulgation of the doctrine of infallibility as "a wanton encroachment upon the attributes of God."

Art. X.—FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

GERMANY.

The adherents of the late Council are still smarting under the weighty blows which the writings of men like Döllinger, Michelis, Schulte, and many others, have inflicted upon them. It is especially the work of Schulte, to which we referred in the last number of the "Methodist Quarterly Review," which places them in a very unpleasant position; for the

suppress the movement which has begun within the Roman Catholic Church of Germany they need very much the aid and sympathy of the secular governments. These, however, will be little disposed to side with them if they admit the validity of the many proofs brought forward by Schulte, that the Popes claimed by divine right an absolute power over all secular governments. A number of ultramontane writers have already tried to refute the book of Schulte, among them Bishop Fessler, of St. Pölten, the Secretary of the Vatican Council, (*Die wahre und falsche Unfehlbarkeit der Päpste.* Vienna, 1871,) and Dr. Scheeben, Professor in the ecclesiastical Seminary of Cologne, (in the first and second number of the periodical *Das Œcumenische Concil vom Vatican*, for 1871;) but neither of these two writers has a reputation as a ripe scholar, and it will require much abler writers to weaken the impression which has been produced by the work of Schulte.

The "Hand-book of Protestant Polemics against the Roman Catholic Church," (*Handbuch der Protestantischen Polemik*, 3d edition. Leipz. 1871,) by the Church historian, Karl Hase, is regarded in Germany by Protestants of all parties, and even by the Roman Catholics themselves, as one of the ablest Protestant works against the claims of the Roman Catholic Church. The author possesses a knowledge of every thing connected with Roman Catholicism which is rarely found to the same extent among Protestant writers, and which astonishes even the Catholics. The latter, moreover, are unanimous in recognizing a dignity of style, which they pretend generally to miss among their opponents, and of which they themselves most certainly are entirely destitute. The first edition of the "Hand-book" appeared in 1862. The present (third edition) contains a reply to a Catholic opponent, Dr. T. Speil, (*Die Lehren der Kathol. Kirche gegenüber der protest. Polemik.* Freiburg, 1865,) and fully discusses the Vatican Council, the doctrine of Infallibility, and the downfall of the temporal power. The polemics of the Hand-book not only refer to the doctrines of the Catholic Church, but also thoroughly ventilate its influence upon life.

Professor Zöckler, who has won by several writings the reputation of being one of the most learned theologians of the orthodox school, especially in the province of exegetics, has recently published a work on the Augsburg Confession, historically and exegetically examined as doctrinal basis of the Church of the German Reformation, (*Die Augsburgische Confession.* Frankfurt, 1870.) The chief object of the author is to defend the idea of a confederative union of the German Protestant Churches (Lutheran and Reformed) on the basis of the Augsburg Confession in its unaltered form of 1530. The work is generally regarded as one exhibiting great historical research, though its conclusions will be accepted only by Lutherans of the strictest school.

The second edition of Rothe's Theological Ethics (*Theologische Ethik*, Wittenberg. 5 vols.) has just been completed by the publication of the fifth volume. The value of this work, as one of the most prominent theo-

logical publications which Protestant Germany has ever produced, is fully known to every theological scholar.

The work of Professor Gess, of Basel, on the Person and Work of Christ according to Christ's own testimony, and to the testimonies of the apostles, (*Christi Person und Werk.* Basel, 1870,) is an enlargement of a work published by the same author in 1856 on the doctrine of the person of Christ. It will consist of three parts. The first, now published, contains the testimony of Christ himself concerning his person and work, the second will contain the testimony of the apostles, and the third will fully develop the doctrine of the person and work of Christ on the basis of the results obtained in the two former parts. The book is written from an orthodox point of view.

Professor Ewald of Göttingen has added another to his former commentaries on the New Testament by a work on the Seven Epistles, which thus far he had not yet treated, namely, Ephesians, First and Second Peter, Judas, and the three pastoral epistles, (*Sieben Sendschreiben des neuen Bundes.* Göttingen, 1870.) A commentary on the Acts, the only book which has not yet been fully explained by Ewald, will soon follow. After that the author intends to unite all his volumes on the books of the New Testament into one large connected work. The merits of Ewald as one of the greatest Oriental scholars now living are generally acknowledged, but the opinion of the literary world is equally unanimous on the unparalleled vanity of the man, which approaches insanity, and which causes him to attack in turn all theological parties, and to recognize no theological scholarship except his own. The first edition of Peter and that of Judas are regarded by Ewald as authentic; but the Second Epistle of Peter, the Epistles to the Ephesians, to Timothy, and Titus, are, in his opinion, of later origin. In the prefaces to his last volumes Ewald has a great deal to say about Bismarck, the policy of Prussia, and the union movement in Germany, all of which he regards as thoroughly antichristian. Besides the few socialists, Ewald is the only member of the German Parliament who condemns the re-establishment of a German Empire.

A new German translation of the Church Fathers, which was begun in 1869, (*Bibliothek der Kirchenväter.* Kempten, 1869–'71,) is steadily advancing. The collection is published under the direction of Professor Reithmayr, of Munich, who has secured the co-operation of a number of Catholic scholars as special editors of the several Fathers. Thus far eighteen volumes have been published, containing the writings of the apostolic Fathers, (complete,) and select writings of Cyprian, Chrysostom, Ephraem the Syrian, Tertullian, Eusebius, Vincentius Lerinensis, and Justinus. The collection will embrace all the prominent writings of the early Church Fathers, both Latin and Greek, and even of the Syrians and other Orientals. Biographical, literary, and other explanatory notes are added to each volume. One volume appears every month.

Darwinism has a large number of adherents among the young scholars of Germany, and it is admitted on all sides that the school is making very

valuable contributions to many branches of literature. A small pamphlet by Professor Preyer, of Jena, on the five senses of men, (*Die fünf Sinne des Menschen.* Leipzig, 1870,) is particularly valuable as a very clear summary of all the latest investigations in the province of physiology, which it explains in numerous notes. The author takes causality to be a function of the brain, and, as a strict Darwinian, believes that this faculty in times long past was acquired, and is now merely inherited. A work by Fr. Koerner on the personal and historical development of the human spirit, (*Der Menschengeist in seiner persönlichen und weltgeschichtlichen Entwicklung.* Leipzig, 1870,) advances views grossly materialistic. He reduces all psychic energies to movements of molecules of nerves and combinations of ganglions.

The Commentary of the late Professor Tuch, of Leipzig, on Genesis, was at its first appearance, thirty-two years ago, regarded as one of the most remarkable exegetical works of German theology. Tuch never published another work of large size, but the work of Genesis alone has secured to him forever an honorary place among prominent theologians. He was the first to distinguish between two writers whom, in his opinion, the author of Genesis had before him, and whom he designated as the "Elohist" and "Jahvist," a distinction which for all subsequent commentators became the chief point of investigation. The work of Tuch appeared to many so important that, notwithstanding the large number of commentaries on the same biblical book which have appeared since, a new edition was called for. It was prepared by Professor Arnold, who, however, died before its recent publication, (*Commentar über die Genesis.* Halle, 1871.) The new edition is replete with stores of learning, and the investigations of Weber, Roth, and Spiegel, on Sanskrit and Zend; of Champollion, Benfey, and Lepsius, on the hieroglyphics; of Lassen, Spiegel, Grotefend, Rich, Ainsworth, and Pictel, on the cuneiform inscriptions and the discovered cylinders, have been fully made use of.

One of the most important contributions to a future history of the Vatican Council is a work in the Latin language by Dr. Friedrich, Professor of Church History at the University of Munich, entitled *Documenta ad illustrandum Concilium Vaticanum, anni* 1870. (Munich, 1871.) The author is well known in the literary world by a number of learned works, in particular by a Church History of Germany. At the beginning of the Council he was called to Rome to serve as theological adviser of one of the German Cardinals, Prince Hohenlohe. He soon became disgusted with the proceedings of the Council. and the Ultramontane party suspected him of being one of the parties which furnished to the "Augsburger Zeitung" the famous Roman letters which has since appeared (in English as well as in German) under the pseudonym Quirinus. He has now been excommunicated, together with Dr. Döllinger, and in a long reply to the Archbishop of Munich reviews, with reference to the above-mentioned work, the conduct of the German Bishops at the Council. He makes many important revelations, which, coming as they do from an eye-witness whose veracity

up to the time of his excommunication has been in his own Church beyond suspicion, prove the recent Council to have been an even more despicable farce than has generally been believed. Often, says Dr. Friedrich, the Bishops of the minority, and in particular the Bishop of Augsburg, appealed to history: "It must at a future time sit in judgment over this Council, this inexpressible pressure, and the treatment which this minority had to experience." When Dr. Friedrich, disgusted with what he had seen in Rome, desired in May, 1870, to return home, a Prussian Bishop remarked to him: "You must stay here, for it is necessary that the historians sit in judgment over these perfidious proceedings. An Œcumenical Council is here entirely out of the question. I only wonder that the German Bishops have not yet jumped out of their skin." This same Bishop remarked to him that he had assured an Italian Bishop that in Germany "a meeting of shoemakers was more decent than this Council." Dr. Friedrich says he can prove that, of all the German Bishops, with the exception of one, none had thoroughly studied the question of infallibility before his journey to Rome, and none could or did study it while at Rome. The theologians whom the Bishops had taken along as their advisers were in an equal state of ignorance; the theologian of the Archbishop of Munich, for instance, was unable to find the passage of Irenæus on which so great stress was laid by the Infallibilists, and Dr. Friedrich had to show it to him in a German work where it is quoted. The majority of the Council regarded as one of the best works in favor of infallibility a work by the Italian Bishop Ghilardi, of Mondovi, who was considered one of the most learned Bishops of Italy. One of the German Bishops called this book a real theological humbug. Besides Ghilardi's book, those by Archbishop Cardoni, Archbishop Manning, of Westminster, and Archbishop Deschamps, of Malines, are considered standard works by the Infallibilists. They are as worthless as the book of Ghilardi, and Deschamps in particular is charged by Friedrich with having knowingly falsified quotations in favor of Infallibility. An interesting proof of the dishonesty of the majority of the Council is the fact that between the general congregation of July 13, in which the decree of Infallibility was adopted, and its promulgation on July 18, an important addition ("*non autem ex consensu ecclesiæ*") was inserted without the knowledge of the minority. The Archbishop of Munich arrived at home without knowing any thing of the change, and asked for advice in the matter one of the very men whom he has now excommunicated, Dr. Döllinger. The cowardice of the members of the minority is proved by the interesting fact that they were generally afraid of saying "Non placet" in the presence of the Pope, and that therefore the Archbishop of Munich requested Dr. Friedrich to induce Cardinal Prince Hohenlohe to vote "Non placet," as he hoped the other Bishops would not hesitate to follow if a Cardinal residing in Rome should lead. It is a really amusing incident in the history of this infallibility question, that now the Archbishop has excommunicated for refusing to submit to the doctrine of infallibility the very man whom he wished to employ as agent for preventing the promulgation of the doctrine.

ART. XI.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.

Ten Great Religions: an Essay in Comparative Theology. By JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE. 12mo., pp. 526. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co.

In our notice of Hardwick's "Christ and the Other Masters" we called attention to the probability that the new and yet incomplete department of Comparative Theology is yet to occupy an important place in our course of sacred study. Skeptics like Dr. Draper have, indeed, predicted that the approaching contact of the various religions of the world would enable them to cancel each other; but the present volume clearly indicates that such a contact would afford new force to the Christian argument, and, doubtless, result in the final predominance of that religion which exhibits the conditions of universality in its system.

Mr. Clarke makes too unqualifiedly the statement that until lately it has been the orthodox method to pass a relentless sentence of damnation upon all without the pale of Christianity. Such was the course of Eusebius, Augustine, Calvin, and the followers, of Calvin, uniformly, until a very late day. On the other hand, Justin Martyr, Clemens Alexandrinus, the great Arminian leaders in Holland, the Cambridge divines in England, as Cudworth, Whichcote, John Smith, and. others, the Arminian side of the Methodistic movement, as Wesley and Fletcher, have firmly maintained the probable salvation of many a so-called heathen. In our chapter upon "Probational Advantages" we have advocated the same view; and Dr. Cocker, in a volume respectfully noticed and quoted by Mr. Clarke, does but illustrate the Arminian view in reference to the Greek philosophy.

Mr. Clarke's volume is a very valuable contribution to the growing science of Comparative Theology. It is in many respects a step in advance of any thing heretofore published in that department. It is clearly a labor of love, and he has laid under contribution a large mass of reading to furnish the result. His catalogue of books consulted is a valuable guide to the student. The Ten Religions are, besides the Christian, the Chinese, the Egyptian, the Brahman, the Buddhist, the Zoroastrian, the Grecian, the Scandinavian, the Jewish, and the Mohammedan. With the exception of Christianity all these are ethnic, that is, national or race religions; they possess each its excellence and its defect; whereas Christianity possesses in its fullness the excellence of each without the defects, and is, therefore, entitled to absorb and can-

cel them all, as the future universal religion. Besides the value of the work as a historical survey it claims to be both an argument for the truth and a prediction of the final universality of Christianity.

Mr. Clarke nearly ignores, if we have read him correctly, any proper direct supernaturalism in any religion. The whole ten are the proper outgrowth of the mind of man as a constitutionally religious being. Inspiration is but vivid intuition of genuine religious truth. Abraham and Moses and David, and, far above all, Jesus the Christ, possessed the purest and clearest intuition, and have attained for men the most truly absolute religion. The prophets were eminent both in their religious intuitions and their presentiments, so that beyond doubt they did foresee and predict Christianity. Hence, though criticism may freely reject much of the Old Testament as unauthentic or untrue, and even though there be myth and legend in the New, still Christianity does present the fullness of religious truth adequate for human wants and for human good.

All this is a survey of the field from the stand-point of what Dr. M'Cosh calls, perhaps not happily, the "Boston Theology." Of Mr. Clarke's illustrative circular diagram of the ten religions, forming the elegant frontispiece of his book, "the Hub" should have been put in the center, and the cross, as it is, nowhere. We should suppose St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans struck from his canon. Mr. Clarke's work, therefore, finally assumes the aspect of an ingenious argument for the Hub theology. It says to the nine religions, You see how from our center we are able to flow forth and drown you out; it says to Christianity, You see how easily you can conquer if you accept the Hub. The whole religious world then becomes one great pyramid, crowned with the Hub upon its apex!

Seven Homilies on Ethic Inspiration: or, on the Evidence supplied by the Pagan Religions of both Primeval and Later Guidance, and Inspiration from Heaven. By the Rev. JOSEPH TAYLOR GOODSIR, F.R.S.E. Part First of an Apologetic Series, and a Sketch of an Evangelic Preparation. 12mo., pp. 320. London: Williams & Norgate. 1870.

Mr. Goodsir's book would, at first sight, seem to be an intended complement of Mr. Clarke's "Ten Religions." It maintains from an earnest, evangelical stand-point the salvability of many a righteous man without the pale of Christendom. It does not so much contemplate other religions as a preparatory to Christianity, though that view is maintained, as seek to trace historically the supernatural elements, the divine revelations vouchsafed by God,

over and above the biblical, and to other than the chosen people. Of these revelations, primitive and traditional, or scattered through the ages, Mr. Clarke says nothing. Yet what rationalist or scientist has solved for us the undeniable and specific traditions of the Deluge, with their minute traits plainly identical with the Genesis history?

Mr. Goodsir begins with Egypt; and, holding the Septuagint chronology to be the true measure of historic time, he finds in the Great Pyramid clear references to the history of the flood, a plain identification of the time of the event, and manifold traces of a primitive degree of science to which modern ages have but lately attained; a science either communicated by revelation or received from the antediluvian civilization. Mr. Goodsir does not hold the first chapter of Genesis to be intended as a scientific anticipation of modern geology and astronomy; but he maintains that it is written for a religious purpose, yet in a consistency with science such as no other ancient cosmogony presents, such as no purely unscientific and uncivilized fancy could devise. Nay, the whole Old Testament, while using the language of popular optical truth, is nevertheless preserved from statements truly at war with science, (such as laying the earth on a tortoise,) and that this preservation arises from that primitive scientific truth of which the Great Pyramid is a monument. To the peculiarities of the Great Pyramid there are passages in the Old Testament which can be clearly interpreted no otherwise than unequivocal allusions; so that, in his view, the Pyramid is the sacred antithesis to the idolatrous tower of Babel. In the bosom of primitive Egypt, in connection with the Pyramid, there was a body of revealed truth, traditionally brought from the ancient seats at Shinar, parts of which, being retained among the arcana of the priesthood, were learned from them by Pythagoras, Plato, Herodotus, and others. Other parts were selected by Moses as truths to be taught in his system, or rites to be embodied in the institutes of Abraham's race.

From this, the Egyptian starting-point, we may range over other nations. Nearer to the primitive abodes, the Shemite portion of Persia retained a grand unidolatrous Theism, the Edenic revelation of a future Redeemer, a distinctive if a more varying angelology, and even a clearer anticipation of a future judgment than Moses unfolded in the letter of the law. Passing to Greece and Rome, we have abundant traces of primitive truth. First, in the mythology of both countries, besides the detailed fragments of the

diluvian tradition, there are numerous myths which it is useless to deny to be relics of primitive truth brought from the ancestral seats in Asia. It is wonderful how writers like Mr. Clarke skip over the true significance of the ancient oracles, scattered as they were at memorable points in Egypt, Greece, and Italy, revered by the wisest statesmen and philosophers, and recorded by the best historians of antiquity, Herodotus, Thucydides, Livy, and Tacitus, as furnishing predictions beyond all question verified. Then in Greece the mysteries of Eleusis were the depositories of supernatural truths, and the sibylline books are well attested to have been derived from the earliest ages, deposited in the capitol, and revered by the highest minds of Rome as possessing supernatural predictions of the future, and a higher, holier order of truth than belonged to the vulgar mythology.

Historically and theoretically we believe Mr. Goodsir's to be the true view. We believe with Mr. Clarke in the intuitional nature of man; but we do not believe in the chilly and twilight space never to be overpassed, which he interposes between God and man. Mr. O. B. Frothingham pronounces miracles as being a violation of nature's laws—"a monstrosity." But we believe that a God fettered and bandaged by nature's laws, laws of his own imposing, is *the* "monstrosity." Material nature is not the god of God. If it be, then to matter itself is our worship due, if to any thing, and idolatry, fetichism, is the true religion. Worse, if worse can be, is Pantheism. Dr. Hedge is reported as saying in Boston: "The popular Theism supposes a God existing outside of the universe which he has made—a Creator who once in time called a universe into being, and has been ever since a spectator and director of its on goings, having no substantial connection with it, but only a providential and governmental one. The God of Pantheism is immanent, interfused, all-penetrating; the ground of all dependence, the life of all life."

Now Theism, "the popular theism," the theism of the Bible and of the great body of Christian thought, teaches the omnipresence and the perfect immanence of God—God "all in all." It does believe that God is also "outside" of matter; for as matter is finite and God infinite, God does stretch infinitely beyond the limits of matter as the ocean stretches immensely beyond the little islet it embosoms. What truth or propriety is there in Dr. Hedge's thus denying that our Theism teaches the all-pervading, indwelling presence of God in nature? Pantheism teaches, as Theism does, not only God's immanence in matter, but it teaches,

as Theism does not, God's *identity with matter.* Largely *the God of Pantheism is made of oxygen gas.* The difference between Theism and Pantheism is this: Theism teaches the immanence of God in matter and the immanence of matter in God, yet the infinite distinctness in essence between matter and God, and the infinite omnipresence of God "without" and beyond the limits of matter. Pantheism teaches the identity of substance, both bodily and spiritual, of God with that of every finite object, whether inanimate, as a rock, or animate, as a cat. Both Mr. Clarke and Mr. Goodsir agree with Max Müller that the primitive creed was Theism. Hence men first apostatized, as in Egypt, to Pantheism, and thence, by strict logical sequence, to fetichism. Rigidly and rightly inferring from her premises that every animal was a manifestation and a part of God, Egypt believed that the animal is to be worshiped. Certainly it is absolutely impossible for a Pantheist to worship his entire god without *including* in that worship swamps, rocks, cats, dogs, crocodiles, murderers, and prostitutes. Corporeally and spiritually the prostitute is the Pantheist's god. And it is by this route that the great share of licentious idolatry in Egypt, Babylon, and various parts of the world, was attained. Against all these logical and historical results Christianity protests; and by her pure theism she is able to maintain that sublime ideal of absolute holiness which every other religion obscuring lets the human race down into sin and death. Maintaining the infinite distinctness of God from matter, she separates God from all community with the sins of the flesh; maintaining the distinctness of God from the finite free-agent, she separates Him from all the sins of the spirit and the will. She enthrones him as the omnipresent God, the absolutely holy God, before whom can be no allowance for sin.

American Religion. By JOHN WEISS. 12mo., pp. 326. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1871.

Mr. Weiss is, we believe, the biographer of Theodore Parker, whom he entombed in two huge octavoes, covered with multitudinous flowers of a very forced and tawdry rhetoric. He is a prominent member also of the Boston Radical Club, a coterie that periodically gushes forth in streams of thin and watery twaddle, overflowing into the columns of certain sympathizing newspapers. Mr. Weiss is a weak and scattered thinker, who attains notoriety only by attacking settled opinions. A log floating down a stream is a very quiet wooden thing; but let it stick fast, become a snag

and oppose the current, and it "makes a noise in the world;" a "noise" quite as valuable as any Mr. Weiss can make.

Mr. Weiss talks of getting up an "American Religion," as if that kind of article were capable of being manufactured. But he may be assured that his whole attainment will be, if any thing, not construction but destruction. He may communicate to others his own chaotic mental state. He may under pretense of religion vacate some men's minds of all the religion they have; but it will be as easy for him to breathe vitality into the marble image of death, as to create his new religion, in a positive vitalizing form, in their vacant souls. Men may be glad to be disburdened of the ancient checks upon the conscience; but, so vacated, their artificial substitute will be but the brief prelude to an eternal emptiness.

The pocket is often the test of the heart. A man's value of his religion may be measurably estimated by the money he will pay in its behalf. And how the professors of this new religion value their article may thus be estimated. A writer in the "National Standard," signing himself NORTH, not long since, after noticing the disbanding of two deistical churches, who were able but unwilling to support their eloquent and faithful preachers, gives us the following account of the great souls of Theodore Parker's former Church:

> The class of religious ideas here referred to was first preached in Boston by Theodore Parker. That many people were willing to give a fair hearing to these ideas, and, having heard, that they found them better worth hearing than the diverse doctrines of many kinds elsewhere preached, was shown by the throngs which crowded the Melodeon, and, after the Music Hall was built, filled that largest hall in Boston as long as Mr. Parker lived to preach there. The "Twenty-eighth Congregational Society of Boston," which he founded, still exists, though in greatly diminished numbers, continues its meetings, and maintains its minister; but through the twenty-five years of existence of that Society, the expense of maintaining it has been supplied by a comparatively small portion of the mass of hearers. During the first ten years of Mr. Parker's ministry these expenses were probably more equally distributed, and the resources gained from a larger number of persons than they have ever been since, owing to the zeal, the eminent financial abilities, the social qualities, and the magnetic influence of the late John R. Manley, who during those years held the post of treasurer. Ever since his time the managers of the financial affairs of this Society have found constant difficulty in raising the needful funds, the bulk of which still comes from the disproportionately large contributions of a few persons.
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> It is noticeable, also, that this Society have done very little missionary or propagandist work, a fact the more remarkable, since their heathen, the people who need the truths they can teach, are at their very doors, abounding in Massachusetts, even in Boston, instead of being far distant in Asia and Africa. If we judge these religious radicals "by their fruits," (and no better way of judging has yet appeared,) they must be thought not to set a great value on the ideas of which Mr. Parker taught them. Certainly they are not willing to pay for the diffusion of these ideas among other people. The devotees of the popular faith may mix much superstition with their devotion, but they give this unquestionable proof of prizing their religious system, that they not only pay what is needful for its own

cient maintenance at home, but give largely every year to diffuse that system among their unbelieving neighbors, and to send missionaries all over the world to carry it to Jews, Mussulmans, and heathen. Perhaps their notions are not well founded; but they believe those notions, find them worth paying for, feel sure that their acceptance will help their fellow-men every-where, and prove all this by their works.

A few years ago, by the enterprise of one man, a publication was started in Boston intended for the advocacy of such ideas as Mr. Parker taught, and bearing on its title-page, "The Radical; a Monthly Magazine, devoted to Religion." Its founder was rich only in faith, but he was not of the class I have been criticising, for he put all his small worldly possessions, as well as his assiduous labors, into this monthly magazine. It was established in 1865, and was discontinued after the June number of the present year. True, Mr. Morse, being rich in faith, hopes to resume it in January next, but its resumption and continuance can come only by the friends of its idea doing what they have not done for these five years, and what they did not do in the special time of need in June last, when the discontinuance for want of funds was announced, namely, sending money enough to enable the editor to *live* as well as to publish. It is believed that many hold the ideas taught by "The Radical," but the great majority of them do not give either money or labor for its support.

Again, an Association was formed three years ago, in the interest of these same ideas, called "The Free Religious Association." It has just published its third Annual Report, a highly instructive and valuable document, and would willingly do much more had it the means. But the means are not furnished to the able Executive Committee of this body, any more than they were to the editor of "The Radical." It seems true, discreditable as it is to the people who hold these ideas, that they are not willing to *give* to diffuse them. Mr. Parker's influence was great and good beyond the power of moderate speech to express, but that influence seems not to have reached the point of inspiring the majority of his converts to give such things as they have—the poor, labor; the prosperous, labor and money also—for the enlightenment of their fellow-men.

And these are the founders of a new religion! And these truly "*liberal* Christians" are to reform and save the country and the age! No, Mr. Weiss, we Methodists, with our outpouring hundreds of thousands, building churches and schools, sending the blessed old Gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ through the land and through the earth, laugh you and all your tribe to scorn. For we are a reality and you are a sham.

Culture and Religion in some of their Relations. By J. C. SHAIRP, Principal of the United College of St. Salvator and St. Leonard, St. Andrews. 12mo., pp. 197. New York: Hurd & Houghton. 1871.

Culture has for some time been a watch-word and battle-word in England. Three theories are placed by the leaders of thought before the public mind—the scientific, the esthetic, and the religious. Mr. Huxley propounds the scientific theory. It says: Life is a chess-game; learn the laws and win. From science get a strong body, obedient to the will, and all obedient to conscience. Culture, from the pen of Matthew Arnold, says: Be a finished literary gentleman, with religion of a quantity sufficiently small

to escape spoiling your graceful tastes and manners. And now Professor Shairp says: First realize your true relations to God, and culture, both scientific and esthetic, will come in subordinately to this.

Professor Shairp's book is written in a style of very graceful amenity, deriving its power not from terse sentences or strong words, but from the transparency in which the truth is made to stand out before the mind, and the momentous value of the truth itself. There is a tranquilizing and purifying power in his words, well intended to reach the conscience and awaken the mind of the age to reflection. Especially powerful it is in its wonderfully clear exposure of the sordid style of the Huxleyan culture.

We were struck with the closing paragraph of a very truthful analysis of the discussion in the "Nation." Before quoting the paragraph we will present a preparatory thought or two. All sin may be divided into sins of the spirit and sins of the flesh. The latter are the indulgences of the lower elements of our nature, the appetites, and tend to brutalism. The former are the misuse of our higher faculties, our intellect and taste, and tend to diabolism. The sins of the spirit are often the worse of the two, consisting often in those fabrications of falsehood by which thousands of souls are deceived into sin and death. The *Nation's* paragraph portrays vividly, though excusingly, the sin of the spirit; and we place beside it a parallel portraiture of the sin of the flesh.

SIN OF THE SPIRIT.

"There is an enormous class of minds for which Mr. Shairp's system really makes no provision—minds which are prevented by their very constitution from wandering on the dimly-lighted border-land which men of a saintlier or more mystic turn so dearly love, who must see clearly or not at all, and must apprehend through the intellect or remain totally ignorant. It is useless to tell them that they can if they will. They have been hearing this for two thousand years, and are no nearer spiritual culture, as Mr. Shairp describes it, than ever. Nay, they are daily going off in larger and larger numbers, and framing theories of culture and duty adapted to their special needs, but which, whatever their scientific claims to attention may be, there is no denying have as yet done little to supply any solid rule of conduct, or give as yet but little sign of shedding on the latter stages of the way appointed for all living the tender radiance of the older beliefs."—*Nation.*

SIN OF THE FLESH.

There is an enormous class of appetites for which John B. Gough's lecturing really makes no provision—gullets which are prevented by their very greediness from staggering on to the dizzily seen sober-land where men of a more aqueous or more temperate stomach so safely stay, who must drink brandy or nothing at all, and must find cold water agreeable to the appetite or remain total drunkards. It is useless to tell them that they can stop drunkenness if they will. They have been hearing this for . . . years, and are no farther from spirituous liquors, as Gough describes them, than ever. Nay, they are daily going off in larger and larger numbers, framing new drinks adapted to their special thirsts, but which, whatever the ingenuity of the mixture may be, have done little but deepen their drunkenness and insure their death and damnation.

However true Professor Shairp's or Mr. Gough's lectures may be, they of course are of "no use" to those who "will" repudiate them, and who are "going off in larger numbers" to their own ruin. For such "numbers," it is true, their "system really makes no provision." But it is of some "use" to present truth to men who "can if they will," so long as any of them "will." But truth never claims to nullify the "will" of free-agents who choose to reject it. Nor will the plea of "special needs" any more avail the intellect of the willful infidel than it will the gullet of the willful drunkard. For neither class will the laws of God or the laws of nature be reversed. "He that is wise is wise for himself; but he that scorneth, he alone shall bear it."

Christianity and Positivism: A Series of Lectures to the Times on Natural Theology and Apologetics. Delivered in New York January 16 to March 20, 1871, on the Ely Foundation of the Union Theological Seminary. By JAMES M'COSH, D. D., LL.D., President of the College of New Jersey, Princeton. 12mo., pp. 369. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1871.

Dr. M'Cosh has evidently intended to produce not a standard work for students who have already mastered his topic, but a popular book for those who know very little about it. To the attentive and continuous reader of our Quarterly his volume would have the value only of a reminder; for all of value it contains (except the biblical part) has been said in our Quarterly, and, as we in our profound humility think, a great deal better said. The doctor's style shows somewhat ponderously; and yet it possesses no little power to interest and draw the reader in his wake. As a book for the times, for the ordinary reader, it has not a little value, and we wish it a broad circulation. It will serve as a timely check upon the multitude that imagines that scientific skepticism is carrying all before it.

We could have wished that he had covered less field and plowed more deeply. We should have gladly studied something as profound as we give Dr. M'Cosh credit for ability to produce. The first of the three parts his book embraces was ample territory enough for him to occupy. The second might well be embraced, but the third has but distant relation to Positivism, and might have better been postponed to a separate course of Lectures. A train of Lectures suited to the present day, as Cardinal Wiseman's course on Science and Religion suited the day of their delivery, would be a God's-boon. The comparison suggests that Dr. M'Cosh has not devoted sufficient time and labor upon the work to supply the want of the hour.

The book, as already intimated, is divided into three parts, the physical, the metaphysical, and the biblical. In the physical he runs over the doctrine of design, of correlation of forces, and of Huxleyan protoplasm, all of which are discussed much more deeply in our pages than in his. One valuable thread of thought, however, runs through this part, which is to be found, so far as we know, only in his pages. Dr. M'Cosh clearly lays down and illustrates the principle that to discover an immediate efficient cause for a phenomenon does not remove the still recurring demand for a final cause. It only pushes the inquiry farther back. The answer to the *How* never is the answer to the *Why*. In part second Dr. M'Cosh wheels up his intuitional philosophy, the philosophy of *knowing*, to meet and vanquish Hamilton, Mansel, and Spencer's philosophy of *nescience*. Here Dr. M'Cosh is great in his own great stronghold. Neither Spencer nor Mill are here able to stand before him. We tolerate his putting on the port of a giant, for he has displayed the giant's strength. A large share of the philosophical value of the book lies in the Appendix, wherein the doctor, with a sharp stick, picks numerous holes and gaps and cracks in the Theory of Development, in Darwin's Descent of Man, and in Spencer's Philosophy. His pick-ax finds out certain very shaky spots with a very damaging effect. The biblical part in which, against Renan, he maintains the historical validity of the gospel and apostolic narratives, is excellent in its way. The entire volume, for all interested in the subject, contrives to be decidedly readable.

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The Problem of Evil. Translated from the French of M. Ernest Naville, author of "La Vie Eternelle," "Le Père Céleste." By JOHN P. LACROIX, Professor of the Ohio Wesleyan University, and Translator of Pressensé's "Reign of Terror." (The only authorized translation.) 12mo., pp. 330. New York: Carlton & Lanahan. 1871.

Of this beautiful work a translation was issued by the Clarkes of Edinburgh, which is repudiated by the author Naville himself. Professor Lacroix's translation *alone is authorized by him*, both by private letter and by a preface furnished to this volume from his own pen.

We regret to say that two notes have accidentally appeared in the published volume signed D. D. W. These were simply the editor's hasty pencilings, without signature, in the rapid examination of the manuscript, and were not intended for the types. We had supposed they were removed in the proof, and were surprised to find them finally in print. They will be expunged from future editions.

Delivered as lectures to large and delighted audiences, these pages are popular as well as profound. "The problem" is unfolded in the most transparent language. Never, probably, has "theodicy" appeared in more clear and attractive array. On nearly every point the doctrines are those that our Church maintains, and the heart of our people rejoices to accept. There are few of our thoughtful laymen who would not find these pages easy, instructive, and attractive reading. Nothing better or truer of the book can be said than the following words of the *Southern Christian Advocate:* "M. Naville is a professor of an institution in Geneva, and we have here a series of lectures delivered by him on a theme which has engaged the thought of the religious and philosophic world for ages. We think this treatise the most rational we have ever read on this subject. His stand-point is that of human freedom, and from it he argues the inevitability of temptation, and consequent peccability of the free agent, and, in the case of mankind, the general involvement in the evil result, growing out of the solidarity of the race. Each man has his special responsibility; but, nevertheless, as one of a race which itself is one, however composed of individuals, the consequences of his act pass even to others, yet not so as to necessarily involve them in compulsory transgression. The work ought to be in every thinker's library."

Fifty Catholic Tracts on Various Subjects. First Series. 12mo. New York: The Catholic Publication Society.

When we receive a Romanist book proposing to convert us to the peculiarities of its faith, we feel very much as we did when a slaveholder proposed to convince us of the rightful supremacy of slavery; that is, we seem to be *argued* with because our opponent has not the power to martyr us. The slaveholder sought to convince us just when he could not lynch us; the priest offers to reason with us just because he cannot burn us. The fact that force is ready to be applied in behalf of a dogma does not indeed disprove the dogma. Persecution *may be* exercised in behalf of the truth; and yet when a man, like the American Romanist, puts a tract into my hands without being able to deny that it is only the want of power that prevents his Church from treating my unbelief with a fagot, I am not readily put into a state of prepossession in his favor. I ask *very strong proofs* before I admit that he, or his Church, or his Pope, has authority to declare my faith for me, to be accepted under alternative of bodily penalty here and eternal damnation hereafter. It will not be two or three metaphorical

expressions, capable of two or three interpretations, of Christ to St. Peter, or some pre-eminence of Peter among the apostles, or some slight expressions of the early Fathers about the pre-eminence of the Roman See, that will arm the present Italian Prelate with such authority over my faith. Those expressions of Christ are strained by Popery beyond all decency of interpretation. Peter was the most eminent *among* the twelve, but he possessed no authority *over* the twelve. The episcopate of Rome was eminent, indeed, as being the episcopate of the imperial city; but there is no valid proof that Peter was ever their Bishop, and so no proof that the Popes derive any authority from him. Every chain is weak as its weakest link, but here every link is weak and worthless.

These tracts are plausibly and ably written. None of them treat specifically upon Christian morality or pure piety upon the broad basis of Christianity. They all invite Romeward; and whoever desires to see how the papal cause is now favorably presented, or feels predisposed to listen to the Romeward invitation, will find a still small insinuating voice in the Fifty Tracts.

Perseverance and Apostasy: Being an Argument in Proof of the Arminian Doctrine on that Subject. By Rev. ALBERT NASH, author of "Prize Essay on Unconditional Perseverance." 12mo., pp. 388. New York: N. Tibbals & Son. 1871.

Mr. Nash has once for all elaborated one of the five points of difference between Calvinism and Arminianism, that is, between fatalism and freedom, with a thoroughness and a finish as no one ever has before him and no one will ever need after him. With a *perseverance* and a penetrativeness fully adequate to the subject, he has furnished a *standard* which will permanently *stand*. He is no rhetorician. No fancy flashes illumine his pages. No melody enlivens his periods. But he thoroughly ransacks and riddles and demolishes all that Edwards, and Dwight, and Williston can say for their dogma, and then builds a counter affirmative argument that none of their successors will ever be able to disturb. He may be consulted with confidence by all who are interested upon the subject. His volume is not a mere ephemeron; it should take its permanent place in the Arminian theological library.

Visions of the Vale; or, Divine Government Among Men. By Rev. B. F. P of Wilmington Conference. 18mo., pp. 304. New York: Published for the Author by Carlton & Lanahan.

This little volume furnishes twenty-two brief essays, somewhat in an order of systematic thought, upon a series of interesting theological topics. God, Man, Ethics of the Cross, The Law of Providence, Casuistry of Providence, Divine Visitations, Premonitions,

Divine Sovereignty, The Law of Affinities, The Higher Law, The Church, The Millennium, are among the titles of his chapters.

Mr. Price is an evangelical Arminian theologian, an independent and individualistic, but not erratic, thinker; a lucid, consecutive, and suggestive writer. His volume makes no proud pretensions, but thoughtful Christian readers will scarce fail to find sources of interest and profit in his pages.

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A Commentary on the Holy Scriptures: Critical, Doctrinal, and Homiletical. With Special Reference to Ministers and Students. By JOHN PETER LANGE, D.D., in connection with a number of eminent European Divines. Translated from the German. Revised, Enlarged, and Edited by PHILIP SCHAFF, D.D., assisted by American Scholars of various Evangelical Denominations. Vol. XIII of the Old Testament, containing Jeremiah and Lamentations. 8vo., pp 446. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1871.

The Book of the Prophet Jeremiah. Theologically and Homiletically Expounded. By Dr. C. W. EDWARD NAEGELSBACH, Pastor in Bayreuth, Bavaria. Translated, Enlarged, and Edited by SAMUEL RALPH ASBURY, Rector of Trinity Church, Moorestown, N. J. 8vo., pp. 196. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1871.

We duly chronicle the appearance of this volume as part of Lange's great work. As progress is made in the Old Testament over ground of late very much untrodden, the interest and the value of the work increase. Jeremiah is one of those books for which we need a great commentator. The interest of the volume will not be diminished by the fact that Dr. Naegelsbach rejects Jeremiah's authorship of Lamentations, and furnishes us an elaborate dissertation in disproof. This dissertation is very properly followed by a counter essay in affirmative proof, which strikes us as a very admirable specimen in its class, by Dr. Hornblower.

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Congregationalism: What it is; Whence it is; How it works; Why it is Better than any other Form of Church Government; and its Consequent Demands. By HENRY M. DEXTER. Third Edition, Revised and Enlarged. 12mo., pp. 394. Boston: Noyes, Holmes, & Co. 1871.

We suppose this work, being from an eminent master of the subject, is to be accepted as a standard. It claims to ground Congregationalism in the New Testament, to explain how the Churches are formed and managed under its system, to furnish proofs of its superiority over all other forms, and to incite Congregationalists to give it a zealous support. It is learned and able, exhibiting the earnestness of a sincere advocate with none of the fierceness of a bigot. We have no war with that system. We cheerfully acknowledge the deep piety and great active benevolence of the brethren who worship God under its forms. Yet while a Henry Ward Beecher can say, "The Methodists build three churches to our one," we are not yet inclined to adopt it.

Orthodox Congregationalism and the Sects. By Rev. DORUS CLARKE, D.D. 12mo., pp. 169. Boston: Lee & Shepard. New York: Lee, Shepard, & Dillingham. 1871.

Dr. Clarke is a sharp thinker and a piquant writer; but we cannot say that he has furnished a deeply Christian book. Among "the sects" he passes Methodism in review, and the style is remarkable for its semi-political tone. You would imagine that Methodism was gotten up by an arch-Jesuit, with "more skill as an ecclesiastical organizer than Hildebrand himself." The system is constructed "adroitly," "enthroned in the chair of the Bishops," abounds in "contrivance," works "dexterously," etc., etc. The entire tone is that Methodism is a clever trick, and Congregationalism ought to be a trick worth two of it.

The Service of Song. A Treatise on Singing in Private Devotion, in the Family and in the School, and in the Worshiping Congregation. By Rev. A. G. STACEY, A.M. 12mo., pp. 340. St. Louis: South-western Book and Publishing Company. 1871.

The special aim of Mr. Stacey's volume is to recall the Church to her ancient melody, to revive the day when Methodism was truly a singing bird. To this end he has furnished a book written in graceful style, full of entertaining anecdote, and well calculated to awaken attention to the subject. We indorse his doctrine very earnestly. The choir should be but the leader, the congregation should be the real choir. The ministry should take the lead in the restoration of the ancient order, and Mr. Stacey's book is for them an admirable stimulant to duty.

The Times of Daniel. An Argument. By HENRY W. TAYLOR, LL.D., late a Justice of the Supreme Court, and Judge of the Court of Appeals of New York. 18mo., pp. 208. New York: Anson D. F. Randolph & Co. 1871.

Mr. Taylor's argument maintains that the coming of Christ to close the present dispensation will take place in the year 1942, to be succeeded by the millennial corporeal reign of Christ on earth. He assumes the year-day theory, and fixes his dates by a connected synchronism of Daniel and John.

Treatise on Regeneration. By WILLIAM ANDERSON, LL.D., Glasgow. Second Edition. 12mo., pp. 311. Philadelphia: Smith, English, & Co. 1871.

The Atonement: In its Relations to the Covenant, the Priesthood, the Intercession of Our Lord. By Rev. HUGH MARTIN, M.A., Member of the Mathematical Society of London. 12mo., pp. 288. Philadelphia: Smith, English, & Co. 1871.

These two volumes come to us in uniform neat black coat, and look like a twin pair of Presbyterian ministers. They teach the stern old Calvinism of Scotland, partial Atonement, and unconditional Regeneration. Their style is glowing, ultra-evangelical

and, in a way, eloquent. They evince that in this afternoon of the nineteenth century men of refined culture and eminent talent can persist in maintaining the relentless ancient dogmas of Scotia.

The Religion of the Present and of the Future. Sermons preached chiefly at Yale College. By THEODORE WOLSEY. Pp. 402. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1871.

Dr. Wolsey is a thinker for thinkers. He has a position, not popular, but higher than popularity. His mind moves so noiselessly, so patiently, and so deeply, that it is the fit audience, though few, that waits and listens to its utterances, and gathers the wisdom they freight.

Among the topics discussed are the Early Years of Christ, the Temptation of Christ, the Self-propagating Power of Sin, Sin Unnatural, the Religion of the Future.

Foreign Theological Publications.

Welche Wege führen nach Rom? Geschichtliche Beleuchtung der römischen Illusionen über die Erfolge der Propaganda. (Which Ways lead to Rome? Historical Elucidation of the Romish Illusions on the Successes of Propagandism.) Von FRIEDRICH NIPPOLD. 8vo., pp. xviii, 456. Heidelberg: F. Bassermann. 1869.

Dr. Nippold dedicates his work to our embassador to the Court of Berlin, Mr. Bancroft, and in doing so pays some very high compliments to our countryman. He says that Mr. Bancroft is a master of historical science, and, while Germany has some sons who approach him, she has none who surpass him; he is the worthy representative of American historiography, while Irving, Prescott, and Motley, whose writings are appreciated in all civilized countries, are pre-eminently valued in Germany.

The author of the present work is a well-known member of the free thinking German Protestant Association, and has already made some of the most important contributions to its young but rapidly increasing literature. In the present case he attempts to kill two birds with one stone; namely, Evangelical Protestantism and Roman Catholicism. Going back into the last century, he traces the whole chain of personal perversions to Romanism, down to the present Vatican Council; and, while showing that Romanism could in no case afford what the neophytes wished, Protestantism was so illiberal and untrue to its previous history as to make them uncomfortable within its fold, and hence made their going elsewhere an absolute necessity. The main point is: Protestantism must throw off its confessional shackles if it would retain its independent thinkers. But the very history of these perverts, as

given by this author, proves that they misconceived Protestantism; that their own statements in self-justification abound in misapprehensions; and that their becoming Catholics was the direct result of their attributing to the Protestant Church and Protestant theology a narrowness which was purely adventitious, and had characterized some of its less prominent representatives. Protestantism itself is not to be charged with the errors of those who belie it; moreover, granted that Protestantism is illiberal, that it restrains where it ought not, what is gained by going over to Romanism, whose whole history is colored by its bigotry?

If from Dr. Nippold's work we eliminate the point he attempts to make, he has done excellent service in the present volume. His work considered alone as a history is really valuable, and as such it is a most important contribution to the later history of the Church.

The Introduction is a reply to the Pope's appeal, when convoking the Vatican Council, to the Protestants to return for peace and salvation to the good mother Rome. We then have, in the body of the book, the perverts to Romanism grouped into classes. Part I. The General Principles of the Conversions. Part II. The Single Ways to Rome. (1.) The aristocratic perverts: Stolberg, Dukes Frederick of Gotha and Ferdinand of Cothen; other German princes, Swiss patricians, and Dutch and Danish noblemen and scholars. Female perverts: Countess Hahn-Hahn; many other noble ladies, such as Baroness Radowitz, Scheel, and Wetterkopp. (2.) The Romantic School: Schlegel, Tieck, Werner, and later poets and poetesses. (3.) The Romanizing schools of art: Overbeck, Schadon, Vogel, etc. (4.) Restorative Jurisprudence: Adam Müller, Haller, Jarcke, etc. (5.) Returning tendencies among teachers, officials, and publicists: Gfrörer, Eisenbach, Zander, Stub, and others. (6.) Modern orthodoxy: (*a*) Perverts before 1848; (*b*) Perverts after 1848. Part III. Conclusions.

Many of the most zealous Roman Catholics now living were once Protestants, and some of them occupied posts of high honor in the Church they have abandoned. Dr. Nippold thinks that the most violent of the extreme Catholics are perverts, and that the most delicate and severe work of propagandism is committed to these very men. As they have traveled the road and been misled, they are, of course, the most fitted to mislead others. Since 1814 European Catholicism has become tenfold more violent and bitter in its hostility to Protestantism than before. The peaceful elements have entirely disappeared, and largely because of the great admixture of perverts. This we know to be the

case of England, and are not surprised to learn that Germany is no exception. The cathedral chapters of Mayence and Freiburg number among their most unrelenting foes to Protestantism men who have but lately left it. The founder and editor of the Munich "People's Messenger" is the pervert Zander. A number of the editors of the "Zion" were but lately Protestants. Von Horencourt has even controlled, as editor, a number of ultramontane journals. Among the presidents and speakers of the popular Catholic gatherings many faces are seen which were equally prominent in Protestantism. The name of Achenbach stood first among the organizers of the Dusseldorf Catholic Assembly. Kehler figured very prominently as a defender of the Moabite Cloister intrigue. Baumstark, immediately after his somersault, appeared as one of the Baden leaders of the Anti-Prussian party. Such men's houses become the strongholds of Jesuitical proselytism. The influences emanating from the homes of Schlosser, Pilat, Tieck, and Veit are confined to no land or language. Many of these converts are wealthy men, and their wealth is at once turned into a propagandist agency.

Die Heilige Schrift Neuen Testaments zusammenhangend untersucht. (The New Testament Scriptures connectedly investigated. Commentaries on Romans, Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Thessalonians.) Von Dr. J. Chr. K. von Hofmann. 6 vols. 8vo., pp. 368, 633, 242, 431, 365, 291. C. H. Beck, Nördlingen. 1863–1870.

A great undertaking, almost comparable to that of Lange or Meyer, and yet totally different in plan from theirs. The author's method is historical, his object being, in and with his exposition, to show the historical basis underlying the whole New Testament. This requires that he should treat the Epistles, not as they stand in every case, but in strictly chronological order. The real meaning of the Scriptures can only be attained by knowing their exact historical substratum; this ascertained, the doctrinal meaning and force can be acquired with comparative ease. History serves a higher purpose in the study of God's word than mere grammar. The Scriptures are not isolations, mere fragments, but one vast organism; and they can only be investigated aright when the individual books are contemplated in their relation to the entire Bible. The history of the origin of the New Testament canon must be compared with its peculiar and collective contents in order to see how it has come to pass, historically, that the several books have been brought into unity, such as we find the New Testament to be. It is only when the connection of the books becomes clear, as well from their internal relation as from the

history of their combination into a canon, that the collective character of the Bible can be known, and what has been the nature of the operation of the Holy Spirit by which the great revelation has been made. Having reached this stage, the relation of the New Testament to the Old becomes apparent, as well as the grounds by which the Church has been justified in combining them and calling them the "Holy Scriptures."

How orthodox Dr. Hofmann's general treatment is, and how inflexible he is particularly on the doctrine of inspiration, may be seen from his own statement of the points he hopes to gain at the conclusion of his work; namely, a proof of the inspiration of the New Testament as a whole. This is not a general inspiration, but a positive and definite one, conforming to the purpose of the Divine mind in imparting it. Neither the inspiration nor the canonicity of any part of this scriptural whole is dependent on the official position or apostolicity of the author, but on the known relation of the scriptural part to the whole. And lastly, the authenticity of any scriptural book is not dependent upon external grounds alone, but also upon the place which it occupies in relation to the organic body of which it is a part. Every thing we find in the New Testament Scriptures concerning Christ rests on the fact of his miraculous departure from God into the world, and has for its object the fact of his miraculous departure from the world to God. All that the New Testament teaches the Church of the present day proceeds from the certainty of Christ's supernatural presence with God, on the one hand, and the certainty of his second revelation into the world on the other—at which second coming he will deliver his people.

The large place which Dr. Hofmann allots to historical treatment gives him ample opportunity, as will be seen at a glance, to take cognizance of all the later schools of doubt. The Tübingen school, for example, has to be dealt with at almost every step of the way. Our leading English commentators are not altogether left out in the cold, which is the treatment generally meted them by German authors. The work, taken as a whole, is the most elaborate attempt yet made to found and apply a philosophy of exegesis. What will be the result we cannot tell before the conclusion; at any rate, the installments thus far issued justify our sanguine expectations, and add another to the goodly catalogue of marvels of the literary daring of these German writers. They are always startling us by their mammoth undertakings, and they are too often successful to make us look with much misgiving on their greatest enterprises.

Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.

The Genesis of Species. By St. George Mivart, F.R.S. With numerous Illustrations. 12mo., pp. 296. London: Macmillan & Co. 1871.

Though natural selection might account for the separation of animal forms into distinct and widely different species, it could not properly claim to account for the existence or origination of the animals themselves which compose the species. It assumed that animals would, if the world were a perfectly genial world, grow up in an infinite variety of shapes, forming one great indiscriminate species. But the world is a hard master, killing off the immense majority, so that none but those sorts that genetically possess special vigor or peculiar advantages for life survive. Animal life, therefore, grows up in surviving scattered streaks, with vast areas of devastated interval between, and those streaks are *species.* This theory could, therefore, only account negatively for there being nothing but these species-streaks; it offered no positive solution for the problem of the origination of existence.

But even as a solution of the variance of species, it has now received from Mivart a concentrated and fatal blow. It is placed beyond all reasonable question that there exists a positive originative power, prescribing a definite limit to the variation of animal natures, forming a specific outline configuration which cannot be overpassed. Variation is *within* species, not *of* or *from* species. Some species, as the pigeon, diverge into a great number of varieties; but others, as the goose, are rigidly limited. The horse rapidly improves in speed, but in a few well-trained generations he attains the maximum of speed, and no breeding, no training, can carry him farther.

Mivart denies, with Darwin, that species are produced by special creation; he admits that they arise by variation of forms, and so come by *derivation.* But he denies that they come by minute and accidental variations in any fortuitous direction; he affirms that the variations are sudden and extended, and within the limits of a specific law. Nature does progress by jumps. For this view he furnishes a mass of effective argument.

There are many extended variations and developments in animal organizations which would be disadvantageous or unmeaning unless completed at once. Such are the most important organs of sense, as the eye and the ear. The fleshly movements by which either of these organs are formed are opposite, complex, and in the order of special design; at the same time they have no value until complete. It is, then, impossible to conceive them as form-

ing by infinitesimal accidental variations. So reasons conclusively Mivart against Darwin; and just as conclusively may we not infer against Mivart that a whole animal might spring into existence by special creation as easily as an *ear* by special derivation?

Darwinism suffered a fatal disaster when Professor Thomson announced (as stated in a former Quarterly) that the earth can have been inhabited by animal life no longer than a hundred million of years. Mivart shows that minute variation would require at least twenty-five hundred millions of years. And thus Geology is a great book written by God in refutation of Darwin. On its rocky pages is a succession of tableaux for different periods. And on every tableau abundant species exist in all the independent distinctness of the present age. That tells a conclusive story.

Animals genetically independent of each other are plentifully found, more or less constructed on a similar pattern. The eye and the ear have arisen independently in animals constructed on different plans. The common mouse can scarce be distinguished by the eye from one of the minute Australian marsupials. The bird-of-paradise has many widely diversified varieties, yet all the variations are in different styles of beauty; the esthetic reigns through the whole. This identity of structure in independent species is a very important chapter of evidence both against Atheism and against Darwinism. What right has any reasoner to conclude the genetic identity of man and ape, without historical identification or power of propagation, from resemblances not greater than appear between clearly independent species?

Mr. Mivart re-inforces Wallace's argument derived from the magnitude of savage and fossil human crania. Darwinism assumes that all advantages are necessary for survival; but the savage has a much larger brain than savageism needs or uses. There is prophetic room left for the needs of future civilization. This argument presupposes for man a *designed* inauguration equivalent to the demands of the Genesis history. Hence Mivart's view is that man's body is derived by a jump of evolution from some lower order, but that *the soul is created.* Like a good Catholic, as he appears to be, he quotes Augustine and other fathers to prove the orthodoxy of the doctrine of evolution. His patristic passages, as we read them, however, prove not the derivation of one species from another, but the primitive evolution of all species (but man) from nature by special energy imparted by God to nature. And such, indeed, appears to be the meaning of the sacred text in such words as *God said, Let the earth bring forth*, etc., *and the earth*

brought forth; Let the waters bring forth, etc. Such language clearly implies that nature was empowered by God to evolve species from herself, without deciding the rapidity of the evolution. Nor do we see any reason why by this same imparted energy the evolution or creative production of new species in successive æons may not take place. It is an impossibility to Pantheism, an absurdity to Atheism, but a rationality to rational Theism.

We have little sympathy with thinkers who *cannot conceive*, forsooth, a special creation; for we can conceive a special creation just as easily as we can conceive the process of conception and embryonic formation. Of the interior action of what Owen calls *formifaction* we have no conception. The difficulty of conceiving special creation means simply that, historically, *we have never seen it.*

On this entire subject of the antiquity of man and its reconcilability with scripture, so far as the question now appears to stand, we note the following points: 1. Darwinism, the derivation of the race from primitive forms by infinitesimal fortuitous variations, may be dismissed from the account as dead. Variation by large, sudden, and law-guided differentiations, as taught by Mivart, is as easily reconcilable with Scripture as the geologic development of our earth. Man's creation through a process of ages is just as concordant with the text as the earth's creation through a process of ages. We are ready to leave that question for science to decide. But so far we see nothing from science, physical or metaphysical, conclusively to prevent our holding firmly to divine immediate creation. 2. But the antiquity of completed man is a different question from the æonic process of completing man. Here linguistics, archæology, and geology must have their say. Professor Hyde's article on The Problem of Babel, in a former Quarterly, clearly shows that language requires no æonic extent of development. Egyptian archæology, as read by La Noye, (see our book-notice of his Ramses II.,) requires no extension of even the Hebrew text. Rawlinson teaches that all history is reconcilable with the Septuagint chronology. Murphy in his Commentary of Genesis computes that even according to the Hebrew text the population of the earth in Abraham's time could have been thirty millions, and one half the number would be perhaps sufficient to account for all the well-authenticated historical phenomena. 3. Professor Jewell's late abolishment of the æonic man as derived from geology stands not only unrefuted, but confirmed by the lapse

of time. There is a considerable protracted talk among scientists over the dubious proofs, as if they had settled the question affirmatively, but we see no new proofs adduced. The fossils that vouched man's geologic antiquity seem themselves coming nearer the surface. New fossils are constantly being disclosed, but no human fossils. Our verdict is, as yet, that the Mosaic age of man is *not disproved.* 4. If the perfect æonic man becomes demonstrated, we say decisively that the theory advocated by the Duke of Argyl and by Dr. J. P. Thomson, which throws the Adamic creation back by geologic ages, we hold to be utterly irreconcilable with the sacred text. Turn to the genealogies of Genesis and you will find them a double and twisted cord, which can be untwisted by no allowable exegesis, nor cut by any but the sharpest and most unscrupulous knife. *We* should fall back upon the theory, advocated with great learning and eloquence by Dr. M'Causland, (see our notice of his book,) of the plurality of the human species, and of the late creation of the Adamic or Edenic or Caucasian variety.

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Force and Matter: Empirico-Philosophical Studies. Intelligibly Rendered. With an Additional Introduction expressly written for the English Edition. By Dr. LOUIS BUCHNER, President of the Medical Association of Hessen-Darmstadt, etc., etc. Edited. from the last edition of "Kraft und Stoff," by J. FREDERICK COLLINGWOOD, F.R.S.L., F.G.S. 12mo., pp. 271. London: Trübner & Co. 1870.

Though, separated from its prefaces, this work is but a tract of 271 small pages, yet it is the great manifesto of godlessness, and Büchner is *The* Atheist of Europe. It is heralded with one hundred and three pages of preface, or rather prefaces, to ten successive editions, written in high defiant style, boasting of translations into all the languages of Europe, and treating his opponents with triumphant sneer and ostensible refutation. Since the *Système de la Nature* of d'Holbach, nothing so bold has appeared. It possesses none of the semi-poetic grace of that work; but Büchner exhibits, in behalf of a still more radical creed, the strong, coarse, and almost blatant, vigor of deistical Thomas Paine.

We promptly reject the doctrine, of which, for a brief period, the North American Review was made the organ, that Atheism is not a demoralization and a just ground of personal disapprobation of its advocate. Doubtless an Atheist may have his natural excellences, and yet in the center there is a moral desert. Of this the pitiable Büchner is an illustration. What but a moral perversion at the center —a sad reversal of the deepest and best sensibilities of our nature—can send forth such an utterance as the following in regard to our own personal immortality? "The thought of an *eternal life* is more terrifying than the idea of eternal annihilation. The latter is by

no means repugnant to a philosophical thinker. Annihilation, non-existence, is perfect rest, painlessness, freedom from all tormenting impressions, and therefore not to be feared. There can be no pain in annihilation, as little as in profound sleep, but merely in the conception of annihilation. . . . The idea of an eternal life—of not being able to die—is, on the contrary, the most horrid that human fancy can invent, and its horrors have long been expressed in the legend of the never-dying Ahasuerus."—Pp. 204, 205.

And as in his view matter is the sole real existence, and mind, thought, is, like combustion, but one of its incidents, so thought may utterly cease, and the universe hereafter become one mass of irrecoverable unintelligence. "Physics show that, as there was a time when no organic life existed on earth, so will the time arrive—no doubt an infinite and incommensurable period—when the physical forces now existing will be exhausted, and all animated beings plunged into night and death. What are, in the presence of such facts, the pompous phrases of a philosophy about the designs which became accomplished in the creation of man; the incarnation of God in history; the history of humanity as the subjective unvailing of the absolute; the eternity of conscience, liberty, and will, etc.? What are the life and the efforts of man, and all humanity, compared with the eternal, inexorable, irresistible, half-accidental, half-necessary march of nature? The momentary play of an ephemeron, hovering over the sea of eternity and infinity."—P. 105.

In the hearty eagerness with which Büchner riots in hideousnesses like these, it is, that we recognize the truly hateful moral perversion in which Atheism originates and into which it reacts. A poor relief of the blackness here displayed appears in the *courage* with which the moral sentiments of the best of our race are braved; especially when that courage is contrasted with the paltering cowardice of men like Maudesley, who manifest the wish to produce the conclusions of Büchner covered by shams and ambiguities.

If the perusal of Büchner does not increase our moral respect for the Atheist, if it reveals very clearly to the naked eye that he is centrally and intensely a morally detestable man, its argument does not increase our respect for his intuitive or logical intellect. They are a poor, base, brutal set—the very "hogs of Epicurus' sty"—who are convinced by *such* arguments. From the deep corruption of the heart the effluvium ascends to stultify and madden the brain. Such moral rottenness may and does prove contagious; it seizes on, and rages among, moral constitutions congenial to it; it may, from the stench and racket it makes, seem

for a while victorious over the age; but it cannot truly conquer. Not only is there a God in heaven, but there is an assertion of God in the human spirit that will ever reign triumphant in an ever-increasing Church on earth. We must say that we rise from the perusal of Büchner with an intense moral abhorrence of the man, with a deep revulsion against his whole system, and with a profounder, firmer, more exulting conviction that God lives and reigns, than we felt in closing the study of Buchanan's able advocacy of Theism.

Büchner's book consists of twenty-one brief chapters. Of these, seven discuss what may be called the cosmical metaphysics of the question; as, 1, on Force and Matter in their nature; 2, the Immortality of Matter, and, 3, that of Force; 4, the Infinity, and, 5, the Dignity of Matter; 6, the Immutability, and, 7, the Universality of the Laws of Nature. Three chapters discuss empirical views of external nature; as 8, the Heavens in which no-God is inferred from Astronomy; 9, the Earth-Periods in which no-God is inferred from Geology, or, 10, from Primeval Creation or the Origination of Life. One chapter, 11, attempts to refute the argument from Design by showing what absurdities, misarrangements, and cruelties exist in nature. The remaining ten chapters discuss the psycho-physiological questions, showing that soul is mere brain; that there are no innate ideas, and so none of God; that immortality, or, as he calls it, "personal continuance," is imaginary and undesirable; that "vital force" is simply the combination of chemical and mechanical forces; that brutes have intellect the same in nature and less in degree than man; and, finally, that true morals, based upon mutual "give and take" among men, are amply provided for in Atheism. On the whole we suggest:

1. Matter and force alone in universal space could never give us a systematized world. Without directive mind, including perception and volition, matter could never be lifted by mere unintelligent force out of chaos. Every divergence, however slight, from pure unmeaning chaos into plan is demonstrative of mind. The clearer the plan, the clearer the design. But we cannot open our eyes without seeing that the world is not chaos. When we contemplate the wide, wide world, we every-where recognize, just as plainly as we recognize visible things, that those visible things have meaning and plan in them.

2. Defects, mal-adjustments, supernumerary limbs, disprove not the *design*, but only impeach the perfect wisdom of the designer. That man has no wings for flying does not disprove that his feet were

made for walking. "Contrivances," says Büchner, "apparently purposeless, are numerous in the structure of animals and plants." True, but without design there would be no "contrivance," no "structure," no "animals," no "plants," nothing but chaos. All these disorders are indeed *difficulties* in the way of maintaining the absolute wisdom and goodness of the designing mind; and, as being mere difficulties and not refutations, are justly and fairly obviated by rational hypotheses so as to form a theodicy.

3. Touching the existence of defects in creation let us note the following points: (1.) Creation, unless the absolutely perfect should create another absolutely perfect—that is, unless God should create solely another God—must be limited and dependent, and therefore imperfect. A universe of archangels would suffer under the evil of limitation, mutual collision, and dependence. (2.) In a complete universe our minds seem to demand an infinite variety of existences and natures, ranks and orders. But in order to such variety there must be those that are lower, who suffer under their inferiority. (3.) In a complete universe there ought to be free beings, able, in a limited area, to act with a little independence and responsibility of their own. The whole should not be a mere machinery. There should be the dignity of liberty and government working out their development and results. But free-agency thus implies the possibility of evil doing, transgression of the perfect law of eternal right. Thus there must be the created capability for sin, the broad area spread for possible sin, the permanent systematic non-prevention of actual sin. The greater the magnitude of this governmental and judicial system, and the higher its worth and dignity, the greater must be the power and possibility of sin on the one hand and of rectitude on the other; the more perfect should be the law under which it exists, and the more wonderful the blending of intense justice with condescending mercy, and the rich results of ultimate glory. (4.) For the development of the activity of living beings, and especially of free moral agents, surrounding evils to be escaped and goods to be attained are necessary. There must be the possible prize of good to bring out the eager putting forth of strength for the attainment. There must be the menacing evil and the shock of danger to arouse the vigorous spring of escape. And, especially in the moral world, for all high unfolding of virtue there must be temptation to vice. Seductions to soft indulgences are necessary for the development of heroic constancy; the fires of persecution are necessary to the most glorious of all spectacles to us known in the universe—*the martyr's crown.*

Temptations to the intellect, even to believe a damnable lie, are necessary for the display of a high moral faith. There must be contingences in the political world to afford possibility for a Jefferson Davis, in the commercial world to afford area for a James Fisk, Jun., in the scientific and moral world to allow plausibility to a Louis Büchner. We do not say that the wicked deeds of these men must by them be performed, but that there must be power and room for their performance. And from their performance God will, with none the less damnation to them, reap his harvest of good results. (5.) What wonder, then, that the physical world should respond in due degree to this quality of the intelligent moral world? There must be in such a world uniformities so that men may calculate and infer, and contingences by which they must be left in doubt. There must be pleasures and pains, more or less consequent upon conduct. There must be laws and natural processes, which exceptionally cross and defeat each other. Earthquakes, pestilences, malformed limbs, and monstrous births are, in such a system, no inexplicable problems. Yet, amid all this mingling of order and disorder, what a cheering point will be the development of *progress!* But no man can disprove that defects are necessary both in and *to* the best possible universe.

Psychology; or, The Science of Mind. By Rev. OLIVER MUNSELL, D.D., President of Illinois University. 12mo., pp. 318. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

This volume is the product of a zealous amateur, a persevering student, and an eminent instructor in the department to which it belongs. It claims to be "a hand-book for the student, not a guide for the expert." As such it may be pronounced a marked success.

The structure of the work is remarkably symmetrical. It embraces an outline of the entire subject, expressed in a style which equally avoids diffuseness and over-conciseness, and arranged with admirable system, assigning the right place for every thing, and every thing in its place. Though there are some subordinate points of doctrine in which we should dissent from the author, and some methods of treatment that we should avoid, yet, as a whole, Dr. Munsell's system we hold to be consistent, [illegible] Christian, and true. He adopts the views of the latest great thinkers in mental science, but with an independent discrimination. He rejects, of course, with earnest decision the merging of psychology in physiology, as in effect merging mind in matter. He owes much to Sir William Hamilton, without accepting his extreme doctrine of Nescience. He accords, with M'Cosh, that

knowledge to the mind of man, and finds not a distinct "God-consciousness" in the soul, but a necessary process of truly-developed mind by which it arrives at an infinite Personal Cause of the existing universe. His analysis of our moral nature is accurate and complete. He maintains with perfect explicitness the distinctness of the faculty of the Will and its freedom as opposed to necessity.

Some rigid skeptics may object to Dr. Munsell's extended treatment, as well as to some of his unshrinking statements (founded in some instances upon his own experiences) of Dreams, Cataleptic Sleep, Visions, Clairvoyance, and Natural Presentiment. The facts of experience on these subjects ought not to be suppressed. Neither the fear of logical consequences, nor the difficulty of eliminating the false from the true, justifies us in being untrue to the true. It strongly confirms us in this view to note that there is no point at which Louis Büchner howls more sonorously than at the application of this very class of facts to the refutation of materialism.

Both from the brevity of his work and from his rigid view of the proper purity and completeness of psychology as a science, Dr. Munsell excludes the mixture of physiology with his statements of mental facts and principles in which Alexander Bain and the materialistic school so much delight. Psychology is *the analysis and classification of our mental operations*, just as botany is the analysis and classification of plants. Except as a mere aid, without confounding two sciences, the botanist does not introduce vegetable physiology or organic chemistry into his treatise. Even if thoughts were nothing but the motions of the brain, one would think that the systematizing thoughts into a science might be quite as desirable as the systematizing vegetables. Such a science cannot but be of highest importance, and the depreciation of its value can arise from no elevated motive. And that depreciation arrives at its violent extreme in even questioning the authority of consciousness. Dr. Munsell firmly and rightly asserts Psychology to be "the basal science in the hierarchy of sciences, underlying and vitalizing all the rest." It is the ground in which all sciences are rooted.

We take two exceptions to Dr. Munsell's book. His terms and phrases from the very commencement are in the highest and most uncompromising style of science, presupposing that his pupil has beforehand swallowed his vocabulary. Thus, at the very beginning, the three laws of method are stated, without explanation,

in Hamilton's own highly technical words; and the author's own modes of expression are not less merciless for the pupil commencing without a teacher. We dissent, also, from his omitting all history of science, nearly all reference to the great thinkers, and all guidance for the pupil in prosecuting farther studies. An additional chapter, furnishing a course of psychological and metaphysical reading, would be a matter both of interest and advantage to his young readers.

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Annual of Scientific Discovery; or, Year-Book of Facts in Science and Art, for 1871, Exhibiting the Most Important Discoveries and Improvements in Mechanics, Useful Arts, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Astronomy, Geology, Biology, Botany, Mineralogy, Meteorology, Geography, Antiquities, etc., together with Notes on the Progress of Science during the Year 1870; a List of Recent Scientific Publications; Obituaries of Eminent Scientific Men, etc. Edited by JOHN TROWBRIDGE, S.B., Assistant Professor of Physics in Harvard College: Aided by W. R. NICHOLS, Assistant Professor of Chemistry in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and C. R. CROSS, Graduate of the Institute. 12mo., pp. 349. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. New York: Sheldon & Company. 1871.

The Editor's introductory notes summarizing the Progress of Science during 1870, filling twenty-two pages, indicate that the scientific world has been alive and active, but no epochal discovery has occurred.

Darwinism does not seem to rule in this quite so ascendantly as in former volumes. There is still much confident talk over the great antiquity of the human race, but it is all based upon the scanty evidences heretofore discussed. Geological researches are every-where extending, but no fresh disclosures of unquestionable human fossils console the *savans* who have crowed so sonorously over a few dubious cases in the past.

The "American Journal of Science and Arts" thus discusses *The Brain of Man and the Man-Apes:*

> The collections of Dr. J. B. Davis and Dr. Morton give the following as the average internal capacity of the cranium in the chief races: Teutonic family, 94 cubic inches; Esquimaux, 91 cubic inches; Negroes, 85 cubic inches; Australians and Tasmanians, 82 cubic inches; Bushmen, 77 cubic inches. These last numbers, however, are deduced from comparatively few specimens, and may be below the average, just as a small number of Finns and Cossacks give 98 cubic inches, or considerably more than that of the German races. It is evident, therefore, that the absolute bulk of the brain is not necessarily much less in savage than in civilized man, for Esquimaux skulls are known with a capacity of 113 inches, or hardly less than the largest among Europeans. While the largest Teutonic skull in Dr. Davis's collection is 112.4 cubic inches, there is an Araucanian of 115.5, an Esquimaux of 113.1, a Marquesan of 110.6, a Negro of 105.8, and even an Australian of 104.5 cubic inches. But what is still more extraordinary, the *few remains [illegible] known of pre-historic man do not indicate any material diminution in the size of the brain-case.* A Swiss skull of the stone age, found in the lake dwelling of [illegible] corresponded exactly to that of a Swiss youth of the present day. The celebrated Neanderthal skull had a larger circumference than the average, and its capacity, indicating actual mass of brain, is estimated to have been not less than 75 cubic inches, or nearly the average of existing Australian crania. The Engis skull, [illegible]

haps the oldest known, and which, according to Sir John Lubbock, "there seems no doubt was really contemporary with the mammoth and the cave bear," is yet, according to Professor Huxley, "a fair average skull, which might have belonged to a philosopher, or might have contained the thoughtless brains of a savage." Of the cave men of Les Eyzies, who were undoubtedly contemporary with the reindeer in the south of France, Professor Paul Broca says, (in a paper read before the Congress of Pre-historic Archæology, in 1868:) "The great capacity of the brain, the development of the frontal region, the fine elliptical form of the anterior part of the profile of the skull, are incontestable characteristics of superiority, such as we are accustomed to meet with in civilized races." We cannot fail to be struck with the apparent anomaly that many of the lowest savages should have as much brains as average Europeans. The idea is suggested of a surplusage of power: of an instrument beyond the need of its possessor. In order to discover if there is any foundation for this notion, let us compare the brain of man with that of animals. The adult male orang-outang is quite as bulky as a small-sized man, while the gorilla is considerably above the average size of man as estimated by bulk and weight; yet the former has a brain of only 28 cubic inches, the latter one of 30, or, in the largest specimen yet known, of 34½ cubic inches. We see, then, that whether we compare the savage with the higher developments of man, or with the brutes around him, we are alike driven to the conclusion that in his large and well-developed brain he possesses an organ quite disproportionate to his actual requirements; an organ that seems prepared in advance, only to be fully utilized as he progresses in civilization. A brain slightly larger than that of the gorilla would, according to the evidence before us, fully have sufficed for the limited mental development of the savage: and we must therefore admit, that the large brain he actually possesses could never have been solely developed by any of those laws of evolution, whose essence is that they lead to a degree of organization exactly proportionate to the wants of each species, never beyond those wants; that no preparation can be made for the future development of the race; that one part of the body can never increase in size or complexity, except in strict co-ordination to the pressing wants of the whole. The brain of pre-historic and of savage man seems to me to prove the existence of some power distinct from that which has guided the development of the lower animals through their ever-varying forms of being.—Pp. 297, 298.

Professor Winchell thus reports the peat beds of Michigan:

They inclose numerous remains of the mastodon and mammoth. They are sometimes found so near the surface that one could believe they have been buried within 500 or 1,000 years. For the first time, too, the remains of the gigantic extinct beaver of North America have been recently found in Michigan. What is perhaps most interesting of all is the discovery of a flint arrow-head in a similar situation. This arrow-head was found seven feet beneath the surface, in a ditch excavated in the southern part of Washtenaw County. The mastodon remains found near Tecumseh, but a few miles distant, lay but two and one half feet beneath the surface. The Adrian mastodon was buried but three feet deep.—P. 239.

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History, Biography, and Topography.

Works of Rev. Leonidas L. Hamline, D.D., late one of the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Edited by Rev. F. G. Hibbard, D.D. Vol. II. Miscellaneous Writings. 12mo., pp. 495. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. New York Carlton & Lanahan. 1871.

The "Church Review" (Episcopalian) pronounces Bishop Hamline to be "the most extraordinary man for exquisite culture, manly grace, impressive eloquence and saintly piety, whom Methodism has produced on this continent, and who, in grasp and brilliance

of genius, has had scarcely a superior in America." Dr. Summers, of the "Nashville Advocate," whose skill in furnishing for his readers a good literary table is first-class, gives a vivid description, which we have mislaid, of the unsurpassed impressiveness, in the delivery, of one of the sermons in this volume. Few speeches ever pronounced in our General Conference were more decisive in their effect than that on the case of Bishop Andrew. While it is most modest in spirit, it is brilliant in style and demonstrative in its argument.

The present volume embraces Sermon Sketches, Addresses, and Theological Essays. We shall hope to give a full article when the entire work is complete.

The discussion lately moved in regard to quadrennializing the Episcopal office seems to have sprung less from the spontaneous feeling of the Church than from individual agencies. Its only good, we apprehend, will be to bring clearer views of the Episcopacy before the minds of the Church. To our mind the following points are clear:

1. However much the Bishops are the creatures of the General Conference, a creature has his rights, and a creator is under obligations to exercise his powers under the laws of right and duty. The General Conference has the *power* to omit the election of Bishops and so let the "creature" become extinct, just as it has the *power* to omit assembling together and becoming itself extinct, and just as the Bishops have the *power* to omit appointing Annual Conferences and allowing them to become extinct. But, however these *powers* may exist, the *right* does not exist. The General Conference is bound conscientiously to elect the due number of Bishops, to ordain them, and to do what it can within constitutional limits to give efficiency and success to the office, so as to produce the best good to the Church, and the highest glory of God through the office.

2. The Bishops elect have as perfect a right to ordination as the Elders elect or the Deacons elect to ordination from the Bishop. The orders of the Bishop were obtained from the ordination by Mr. Wesley. He was the founder, the spiritual Archbishop, the epochal man at the epochal period, by whom the ordination was conferred. That ordination he held to confer the right of ordaining men empowered thereby to administer the sacrament. The office conferred on Coke had all the attributes we can ascribe to an order; namely, ordination, exclusive right to ordain, life tenure, and successional permanence in the future. To the day of

his death Mr. Wesley preached to his preachers in England that they were not presbyters, but only evangelists; that for them to assume the priestly office and administer the sacraments without ordination was to commit the sin of Korah. Yet he did believe that his was the providential endowment to ordain a Bishop for America according to the practice of the primitive Church. And when the proper ordination of Bishop was performed, Coke was as true a Bishop as if he had been ordained by the Archbishop of Canterbury. And it was just that same Episcopate constituted by Wesley, with the same nature and tenure, whether of office or order, that our General Conference incorporated into our system. And our fundamental enactment that that Episcopate cannot be diocesanized without the vote of the Annual Conferences assumes an equal permanence of the same, in essence and tenure, in our constitution.

3. It seems to us a very peculiar opinion which holds that ordination is an insignificant matter—an opinion at variance not only with the opinion of the universal Church, and with the universal opinion hitherto of the Methodist Episcopal Church, but even at variance with the New Testament. How earnestly did Paul enjoin Timothy to lay hands suddenly on no man! We do not say that a Church or ministry cannot exist without ordination, but we do say that such a Church or ministry is formally defective, and that its neglect or repudiation of a divinely sanctioned though not divinely enjoined institute must be condemned by the Christian conscience. Whenever under the approbation of the great head of the Church the foundations of a new Church are laid, and its structure reared, *ordination is the divinely sanctioned mode of authorization for the ministry of the word and the sacraments.* And though a Church may shape itself into such form as is providentially best adapted to effect its true purposes, and though other forms of Church government are doubtless permissible, yet we believe Episcopacy to be apostolically sanctioned, though not enjoined, and primarily the best form of government for the most efficient evangelical action. And when a Church with the three ranks is established, it is the presumptive fact, sanctioned by the New Testament and by all history, that the three ordinations alike confer a life tenure.

4. It is held by many in our Church that the Eldership and deaconship are orders, while the Bishopric is only an office. Dr. Bangs defended our Church government on that hypothesis, (in which Hamline concurred,) and so, as we once said in our Quarterly, "made Presbyterians of us all." And we have not long since

seen it stated, even in some of our official papers, that we are in fact Presbyterians. The ablest of American Methodist theologians, however, Dr. Wilbur Fisk, entirely repudiated that view.* Such a position involves us in the most inextricable contradictions. Are not our Bishops consecrated by the most solemn of the three ordinations? How can there be an *ordination* if not to an *order?* In the form of bestowing the three trusts professedly under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, is any intimation that one is less an order than the other? Surely we are not after all the Methodist Presbyterian Church, or the Methodist Congregational Church, but, if we mistake not, we are truly the Methodist EPISCOPAL Church.

The writer of these lines claims that the Church bestowed upon him a life-long Eldership, unless forfeited by his own act. The Church professed to confer that permanent right upon him by the authority of God and under the guidance of the Holy Ghost. What moral right has she to either falsify her profession, or to break her compact and degrade her dutiful Elder? But she has in the same way, and with still more solemn act, conferred what all understood to be a life-long Bishopric upon our present living Bishops. What right has she to revoke it? We deeply doubt whether there is the rightful power in the Church to quadrennialize the tenure of the present existing incumbents.

5. It was entirely in the power of the American Church, without denying the validity of his ordination, to accept or reject Bishop Coke. Or they could take him for a year, or for a term of years, without affecting his ordinate rank. But after they have incorporated the ordained rank or office into the system of the Church, and have resolved themselves into the Methodist EPISCOPAL Church, that ordained rank has the same tenure as the two other ordained ranks—the Eldership and the Deaconship. The ordination is equally claimable by the elect, is equally indelible, and requires an equal authority to abolish. The individual Bishop, Elder, or Deacon may, indeed, be judicially dealt with, suspended, degraded, or expelled. He may, like Coke, be allowed leave of

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* And so in effect did Wesley. He said in 1756: "I still believe the Episcopal form of Church government to agree with the practice and writings of the Apostles; but that it is prescribed in Scripture I do not believe. This, which I once zealously espoused, I have been heartily ashamed of ever since I read Bishop Stillingfleet's 'Irenicon.' I think he has unanswerably proved that *neither Christ nor his Apostles prescribe any particular form of Church government.*" Of course, then they no more prescribed *two* orders than *three*. For Presbyterianism Wesley had a strong aversion, and Dr. Bangs's Presbyterian theory was neither Wesleyanism nor Methodism. The three grades are alike office or order.

absence, or, like Hamline, to resign; but if either return to duty no re-ordination would be required. He may, like Andrew, suffer suspension of function for unacceptability. The *form*, not the *essence*, of the ordination may be modified. But none of these things can the General Conference do *for the* PURPOSE of impairing the constitutional Episcopate itself, or subtracting any of the elements of an *order* above enumerated as included by Wesley. And any sweeping act by which these three co-ordinate grades (or either of them) can be at once organically quadrennialized so as periodically to ungown us all, requires a power behind the General Conference greater than the General Conference itself.

6. We have thus far argued as to the *powers* of the General Conference to quadrennialize the Episcopate. We do not think that the office or order is so purely at the mercy of any one jaunty majority that may happen to happen. It will require at least the rounds of the annual conferences. But the *desirableness* of the change either from Scripture sanction or sacred expediency is the reverse of probable. We believe our Episcopal officers to be as genuine Scriptural Bishops, and as true an order, as Christendom can present. We believe that our present Church organization, just as it is, vindicates its superior claims for *success* above any thing in Protestantism. We believe that in imparting to our Church conservation, unity, elasticity of action, and structural impressiveness upon the public mind, our untouched Episcopacy secures a large share of that success. The full power of these points is largely attained by the prestige, and even the irresponsibility, secured by the life tenure. The need of all these points is enhanced by the introduction of Lay Representation. The unifying power of a genuine Episcopacy over the two forces, lay and clerical, securing a proper balance in the Church for the ministry, is of prime importance.

7. The quadrennializing the Episcopate at once degrades it from being an order, and enfeebles it in all those points which give it value. For then, of course, the Episcopal ordination should be abolished. And then we should re-christen ourselves the Methodist Presbyterian Church. And if then the full torrent of radicalism sets strong and sweeping, we shall within a quadrennium or two further have to re-re-christen ourselves the Methodist Congregational Church. But as the Congregationalists maintain a reverent observance of ordination, we may ultimately re-re-re-christen ourselves the Methodist Quaker Church. Now perhaps we are personally growing fogy and fossil; for we have a

pretty extended range of deep and hallowed recollections binding us in heart to the Church of our morning, our meridian, and our ripening afternoon. It was the Methodist Episcopal Church that rocked our cradle; and we trust it may be the Methodist Episcopal Church that will consecrate our hearse.

The Life and Times of Henry, Lord Brougham. Written by Himself. In Three Volumes. Vol. I. 12mo., pp. 380. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1871.

Brougham is a striking proof that precocity of intellect is not always premature and prophetic of early decay. He was a marvelous boy and a marvelous octogenarian. He was made on a large scale, a natural great man, yet not so symmetrically great as to be free from depreciating eccentricities. As a very young writer on the profoundest topics of science, as one of the brilliant set of young madcaps who founded the Edinburgh Review, as a Parliamentary orator, as the great counsel of Queen Caroline in her State trial, as an illustrious leader in the cause of freedom in an age of High Toryism, he filled a large space in the public notice. He was endowed with magnetic power over the public mind; and, especially to those whose memories embrace a large share of his career, his memoirs written by himself will possess a fascinating interest.

Want of space precludes our ranging over the scenes of history of which his pages give a fresh glimpse, or even to trace his individual career. But we will simply note the fact that in his young days he once made an appointment to see a ghost, and the ghost kept the appointment! He made an agreement with a young friend, signed with the blood of each, that whichever first died should, if possible, revisit the other, in order to assure him of the immortality of the soul. His friend departed for India. Years after, on a nineteenth of December, Brougham is in his bath, and beholds his friend sitting in the chair where his own clothes are deposited. He subsequently learned that his friend died in India on that self-same nineteenth of December. This was a regular *wraith.* His Lordship goes through the usual routine of so-called reasoning on the subject; being that very valid sort of logic where the conclusion is voluntarily fixed beforehand, and such premises as can afterward be patched up are duly placed as antecedent to it.

Fifty Years a Presiding Elder. By PETER CARTWRIGHT, D.D., of the Illinois Conference.

Whatever differences of view a large share of the Church has entertained, all are at the present hour unanimous in kindly recollec-

tions of the great services rendered by Peter Cartwright to Methodism and to our country. His history and character, typical yet unique, have impressed the public mind, without as well as within our pale, in Europe as well as in America. Even the most eminent Review of Paris some years since gave a full article upon his history, as a phenomenon worth the study of the present day. The present volume is not a biography, but a series of characteristic sketches, followed with a full report of the Cartwright Jubilee. The speech of Bishop Thomson upon that occasion, so worthy of the pure genius of that son of genius, is alone worth the price of the book. A hundred thousand copies ought to be bought, both as a memorial of Cartwright, and as a means of enabling him easily to walk down the evening vale closing his already near ninety years of pilgrimage.

The Life and Letters of Hugh Miller. By PETER BAYNE, M.A., author of "The Christian Life," etc. In two volumes. Vols. I and II. 12mo., pp. 431, 497. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1871.

Romance and science are wonderfully blended in the history and character of Hugh Miller. Yet fascinating as was his character, and brilliant as his achievements, he died before his work was done. His personal friend, Dr. M'Cosh, says that if he had lived he would certainly have grappled with the Positive Philosophy as he did with the Vestiges of Creation. His life is written by Mr. Bayne with freshness and reality, and few biographies are so full of romantic interest upon every page.

History of the State of New York. By JOHN ROMEYN BRODHEAD. Second Volume. First Edition. 8vo., pp. 680. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1871.

A portraiture of the State of New York promising to be nearly as large as life. Yet so able and interesting is the work, that no New Yorker, born, as we, to the manor, would quite like to wish it smaller. We suppose neither the Harpers nor the true-born Dutch-Yankee author will find it "pay," but the Empire State should have an empire history.

Consecrated Talents; or, The Life of Mrs. Mary W. Mason. With an Introduction by BISHOP JANES. 12mo., pp. 285. New York: Carlton & Lanahan. 1870.

Mrs. Mason's name and face were familiar to a goodly circle of friends in New York Methodism, who are gratified to welcome this memorial of her virtues, abilities, and well doings. It was her opportunity, well-improved, to be in a measure a foundress, and the mementoes of her life are permanently around us.

Literature and Fiction.

Chips from a German Workshop. By F. MAX MULLER, M. A., Foreign Member of the French Institute, etc. Volume III. Essays on Literature, Biography, and Antiquities. 12mo., pp. 492. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1871.

This basket of Max's Chips is a gathering of his "fugitive pieces," heretofore appearing in various periodicals and other ephemeral vehicles. They range mostly over old German history and literature, and more modern German characters, as Schiller, Wilhelm Müller, and Bunsen. A full article on the last, followed by an extensive series of letters from Bunsen to Max, form a large and very interesting part of the volume. The blending in Bunsen of the unfaith of a rationalist with the religious fervor of a Methodist is rare in human character. It is mixture without affinity, which can seldom be repeated.

My Study Windows. By JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, A.M. 12mo., pp. 433. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co. 1871.

Mr. Lowell discourses in fluent style, and with something of the insight of genius, on the surface affairs of secular human life. He is a literary essayist. To those whose life is leisurely, and who have no very deep moral consciousness, his ruminations will be found attractive and refining. But with men of another style, who feel that "life is earnest," and that eternal responsibilities rest upon its passing hours, such aliment may be but "wheatless straws."

Periodicals.

Home and Health. A Monthly Magazine devoted to Health and the Home Circle. New York: W. R. De Puy & Brother. 8vo., pp. 96.

The principles and maxims of health were in former times, like the maxims of common law, circulated orally and transmitted traditionally. The era of types has enabled a more thorough science to circulate them more effectively and broadly in books and periodicals. These periodicals are very cheap, since they communicate knowledge that saves us many a medical bill. Among the best of the class we rank the neat publication before us, issued from our Book-Room building, though unconnected with the "Concern." The managers are the sons of the able assistant editor of our Advocate, and will thence be aided by the most efficient counsel. It has a fine corps of contributors, is cordially indorsed by the press, and is destined, we trust, to run a beneficent and successful career.

Miscellaneous.

The Model Pastor. A Memoir of the Life and Correspondence of Rev. Baron Stow, D.D., late Pastor of the Rowe-street Baptist Church, Boston. By JOHN C. STOCKBRIDGE, D.D. 12mo., pp. 376. Boston: Lee & Shepard. New York: Lee, Shepard, & Dillingham. 1871.

Dr. Stow possessed a national reputation, and this memoir will be acceptable to a wide circle of revering friends.

Science for the Young—Heat. By JACOB ABBOTT, author of "The Franconia Stories." "Abbott's Illustrated Histories," etc. With numerous engravings. 18mo., pp. 306. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1871.

An effort to give in popular style of narrative and dialogue the attractive mysteries of latest science.

Notes, Explanatory and Practical, on the Epistle to the Romans. Designed for Bible Classes and Sunday-Schools. By ALBERT BARNES, Author of "Notes on the Psalms," etc., etc. Tenth Edition. Revised and Corrected. 12mo., pp. 367. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1871.

The Knightly Soldier. A Biography of Major Henry Ward Camp, Tenth Connecticut Volunteers. By Chaplain H. CLAY TRUMBULL. Sixth Edition Revised. 12mo., pp. 335. Boston: Noyes, Holmes, & Co. 1871.

The Wonders of the Heavens. By CAMILLE FLAMMARION. From the French. By Mrs. NORMAN LOCKYER. With forty eight illustrations. 18mo., pp. 289. New York: Charles Scribner & Co.

The Conversion of St. Paul. Three Discourses. By GEORGE JARVIS GEER, D.D., Rector of St. Timothy's Church. 12mo., pp. 80. New York: S. R. Wells.

Ad Fidem; or, Parish Evidences of the Bible. By Rev. E. F. BURR, D. D., Author of "Ecce Cœlum" and "Pater Mundi." 12mo., pp. 353. Boston: Noyes, Holmes, & Co.

The Lord's Prayer. By HENRY J. VAN DYKE, D.D., Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, Brooklyn, N. Y. 12mo., pp. 194. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1871.

One With Christ in Glory. Thoughts on John XVII. With a Revised Version from the Critical Greek Text and the Authorized Version. Illuminated. By JAMES INGLIS, Editor of "The Witness" and "Waymarks in the Wilderness." 24mo., pp. 127. New York: J. Inglis & Co. 1871.

The Holy Sabbath Instituted in Paradise, and Perfected through Christ. A Historical Demonstration. By WILLIAM HARRIS RULE, D.D. 18mo., pp. 160. London: S. W. Partridge & Co.

Shakspeare's Comedy of the Merchant of Venice. Edited, with Notes, by WILLIAM J. ROLFE, A. M. With Engravings. 12mo., pp. 168. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1871.

Public Ledger Almanac, 1871. 12mo., pp. 56. Philadelphia: George W. Childs.

The History of Rome. By TITUS LIVIUS. Two volumes, Books 1–30. Literally Translated, with Notes. By D. SPILLANS, A.M., M.D. 12mo., pp. 717, 725. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1871.

Sophocles ex novissima recensione. GUILIELMI DINDORFII. 24mo. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1871.

Neat pocket edition, without notes, flexible cover, handsomely printed.

Points of Controversy. By Rev. C. W. MILLER, A.M., of Kentucky Conference, M. E. Church, South. 24mo., pp. 159. St. Louis: Northwestern Book and Publishing Company. 1871.

A fresh contribution to the baptismal debate.

Sober Thoughts on Staple Themes. By RICHARD RANDOLPH, Author of "Windfalls," etc. 18mo., pp. 159. Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen, & Haffelfinger. 1871.

Diary of the Besieged Resident in Paris. Reprinted from the London "Daily News." With Several New Letters and Preface. 8vo., pp. 131. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1871.

The Two Brothers, and Other Poems. By EDWARD HENRY BICKERSTETH, M.A., Author of "Yesterday, To-Day, and Forever." 12mo., pp. 324. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1871.

Windfalls. By the Author of "Aspects of Humanity." 12mo., pp. 107. Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen, & Haffelfinger. 1871.

Fresh Leaves from the Book and Its Story. By L. N. R., Author of "The Book and Its Story," "Missing Link," etc. With more than Fifty Illustrations. 12mo., pp. 500. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1871.

Desk and Debit; or, The Catastrophes of a Clerk. By OLIVER OPTIC. With Fourteen Illustrations, Red and gilt, 16mo., pp. 334. Boston: Lee & Shepard. New York: Lee, Shepard, & Dillingham. 1871.

Memoir of the Life and Character of Rev. Lewis Warner Green, D.D. With a Selection from His Sermons. By LE ROY J. HALSEY, D.D., Professor in the Theological Seminary of the North-West. 12mo., pp. 491. New York: Charles Scribner & Co.

Memories of Patmos; or, Some of the Great Words and Visions of the Apocalypse. By J. R. MACDUFF, D.D. 12mo., pp. 352. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1871.

The Woman and Her Accusers. A Plea for the Midnight Mission. Delivered in Several of the Churches of New York and Brooklyn. By W. A. MUHLENBERG, D.D., Pastor and Superintendent of St. Luke's Hospital. Sold for the Benefit of The Midnight Mission. 12mo., pp. 72. New York: Pliny F. Smith. 1871.

A Hand-Book of English Literature. Intended for the Use of High Schools, as well as a Companion and Guide for Private Students and for General Readers. By FRANCIS H. UNDERWOOD. Vol. I. British Authors. 12mo., pp. 592. Boston: Lee & Shepard. New York: Lee, Shepard, & Dillingham. 1871.

The Model Prayer. A Course of Lectures on the Lord's Prayer. By GEORGE C. BALDWIN, D.D. Green and gilt, tinted paper, 16mo., pp. 298. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1871.

God's Rescues; or, the Lost Sheep, The Lost Coin, and The Lost Son. Three Discourses on Luke XV. By WILLIAM R. WILLIAMS. 18mo., pp. 95. New York: A. D. F. Randolph & Co. 1871.

John Wesley: His Life and His Work. By the Rev. MATTHEW LELIEVRE. Translated by the Rev. A. J. French, B.A. 18mo., pp. 274. London: Wesleyan Conference Office. 1871.

Fiction.

Olive. A Novel. By the Author of "John Halifax, Gentleman." 12mo., pp. [illegible] New York: Harper & Brothers. 1871.

One of a series of Miss Mulock's works.

Opportunities: A Sequel to "What She Could." By the Author of "The Wide Wide World." 18mo., pp. 382. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1871.

Motherless; or, A Parisian Family. From the French of MADAME GUIZOT DE WITT. By the Author of "John Halifax, Gentleman." For Girls in their Teens. With Illustrations. 18mo., pp. 253. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1871.

The Head of the Family. A Novel. By the Author of "John Halifax, Gentleman," "Olive," etc. 12mo., pp. 528. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1871.

The American Cardinal. A Novel. 12mo., pp. 315. New York: Hurd & H[illegible]

Suzanne De L'Orme. A Story of Huguenot Times. 12mo., pp. 299. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1871.

The Ogilvies. A Novel. By the Author of "John Halifax, Gentleman." 12mo., pp. 421. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1871.

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Received too late for notice in this number:

War Powers under the Constitution. By WILLIAM WHITING. Lee & Shepard.

Science and the Bible. By Prof. MORRIS. Ziegler & McCurdy.

METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

OCTOBER, 1871.

ART. I.—CURTIUS'S HISTORY OF GREECE.

The History of Greece. By Professor Dr. ERNST CURTIUS. Translated by ADOLPHUS WILLIAM WARD, M.A., Fellow of St. Peter's College, Cambridge, Professor of History in Owens College, Manchester. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1871.

WE have here the first volume of the American reprint of a historical work which has already attained an established reputation in Europe. The English edition, which also lies before us, consists so far of three volumes, and is to be completed in two more. The three published volumes go down to the close of the Peloponnesian War, (B. C. 404,) and it is to the consideration of these that we shall confine ourselves in the present article. The foreign edition is almost an *édition de luxe*, with its wide margin, clear, large type, and jet-black ink. The American edition, if it is inferior in these respects, can boast of being more compact and portable, of displaying an equally neat page, and of being furnished at, we believe, only about half the price of Bentley's. Large numbers of readers to whom the masterly histories of Froude, Mommsen, and Curtius would otherwise have been almost or totally inaccessible, will feel themselves under great obligations to the American publishers who have provided so convenient a series, uniform in size and in general appearance.

Professor Curtius, now for the first time introduced to our Western literary world, is one of two brothers who have become eminent in Greek scholarship. Georg, the younger, is the

author of a compendious and accurate Grammar of the Greek Language, (*Griechische Schulgrammatik*,) which Professor James Hadley, of Yale College, has made the basis of his larger and elementary grammars, adopted in so many of our colleges and schools and taught with marked success. Ernst, the author of the history, is some five or six years his senior. Besides occupying chairs in Berlin and Göttingen Universities, he was a few years ago tutor of the youth who is the present Crown-Prince of Prussia. His mental constitution is, however, characterized by a boldness of conjecture and a freshness of imagination which this selection on the part of the conservative head of the German Empire would perhaps scarcely have led us to expect. His *Ionier vor der Ionischen Wanderung* is a work of great originality, and in his later productions the same traits are visible. A few years hence he visited Athens, in conjunction with other German *savants*, on an antiquarian mission, and made important excavations upon the ancient sites. If he was not so fortunate in these as was Strack, who was able to verify his suspicion that the great Theater of Bacchus might still be discovered under the present soil, and became instrumental in restoring to the world one of the most interesting relics of antiquity, Professor Curtius was, at least, successful in somewhat shaking the confidence which scholars had entertained in the genuineness of another of the celebrated localities of Minerva's ancient city. Having opened trenches within and without the large semicircular platform lying to the south-west of Mars' Hill, commonly believed to be the Pnyx, or place for the public assembly, he discovered steps at intervals leading directly up to the *Bema*, which led him to the conclusion that this cubical block of stone was not in reality the stand for the orators, but perhaps one of those "common altars" of the city (*κοινοὶ βωμοί*) of which Xenophon speaks in the "Memorabilia." Since, however, the heavy retaining wall in Cyclopean masonry of the present platform, although posterior to the steps, is undoubtedly of a remote antiquity, and as Professor Curtius was unsuccessful in finding any traces of a Pnyx elsewhere, the majority of topographers will not agree with him in disturbing the nomenclature of this part of the ancient site. Nevertheless, Professor Curtius's *Sieben Karten zur Topographie von Athen* (Seven Maps on the Topography of Athens) is of the greatest

interest, not only for the accuracy of the maps themselves, (for example, that of the Areopagus,) but for the acuteness of the scholarly investigation.

It is interesting to note that, in his view of the materials we possess for constructing a positive history of the early ages of Greece, Professor Curtius differs widely from some of his recent predecessors, and particularly from that prince of writers on this subject, the late Mr. Grote. The latter, it will be remembered, regarding the traditions of the Hellenic peninsula in much the same light as Niebuhr sees those of the city of Rome, settles down upon the utter impossibility of discriminating between what is truth and what is simple invention, and contents himself with merely reproducing the stories of the ancients, rather as the faith of the nation than as possessing any intrinsic authority. He observes:

> I describe the earlier times by themselves, as conceived by the faith and feelings of the first Greeks, and known only through their legends—without presuming to measure how much or how little of historical matter these legends may contain. If the reader blame me for not assisting him to determine this—if he ask me why I do not undraw the curtain and disclose the picture—I reply in the words of the painter Zeuxis when the same question was addressed to him on exhibiting his masterpiece of imitative art: "The curtain *is* the picture." What we now read as poetry and legend was once accredited history, and the only genuine history which the first Greeks could conceive or relish of their past time: the curtain conceals nothing behind, and cannot, by any ingenuity, be withdrawn. I undertake only to show it as it stands, not to efface, still less to repaint it.*

Ernst Curtius is far from accepting this representation of the impossibility of further critical investigation, and therefore considers it to be the duty of the historian to do more than simply to repeat the ancient myths. For these, according to him, are not a curtain which obscures, but the drapery which reveals, even more than it conceals, the form it covers. We may not be able to remove it altogether, but we can through its folds descry with tolerable distinctness the contours of the object beneath. The founders of the Greek States are "figures like those of living men, but greater, grander, and nearer to the Immortals. They are no empty creations of the fancy, but in

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* Preface to Grote's History of Greece, (Amer. edit., vol. i, p. 8.)

them *the actual deeds of the early ages are personified and endowed with life.* The stories of the Heroes contain a certain documentary truth; nor is there any thing arbitrary in them, except what the collectors of myths added for the sake of introducing a systematic and chronological connection."* Thus, if we could succeed in reaching the pure and unadulterated myths which date from the remote ages of Hellenic life, we should possess the means of recovering in great measure, if not entirely, the pages of the national history which at first sight seem hopelessly lost. Unfortunately, this is not possible. Original accounts, clothed in symbolic dress, are rendered all but unintelligible in many instances by subsequent additions. This confusion dates from the time when the Greeks with the progress of their culture began to cast their eyes about them, and became ambitious of linking themselves with those countries which for long ages had been the centers of power and intelligence. Egypt in particular awakened their enthusiasm, and the *real* connection between Phœnicia and Greece was thrown into the shade by a *fictitious* intercourse which it was now asserted had subsisted between the Egyptians and Greece. And it was not the Greeks alone who were ambitious to establish the reality of such an intercourse. It must not be forgotten that the Egyptians, now in their decadence, were at least equally anxious to claim credit for all that distinguished the Greeks from the rest of the northern nations. And so the clear source of history, found in the traditions of the Greeks, was troubled.

It was when by personal inspection they grew to be better acquainted with the kingdoms of the East, when they measured the age of the walls of their towns by the Pyramids, and came to know something about the chronology of the priests, that they were so strongly impressed by the overpowering aspect of the antiquity they found there, and of the written traditions ascending through thousands of years, explained to them by boastful priests, that now they would not hear of any thing Greek which could not be derived from these sources. The Phœnicians and the Greek mediators between East and West were forgotten: and now Cecrops, the serpent-footed national king of Attica, as well as the priestesses of Dodona, were converted into settlers exiled from Egypt, from the barbarians of which land even the gods and their festivals were declared to be derived. Under the influence of these impressions and sentiments, which swayed the more edu-

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* Curtius, vol. i, p. 70.

cated men of the nation from the seventh century B. C., the majority of the older historians, Herodotus among the rest, composed their notes.[*]

The credit of discovering Greece, as well as of introducing the arts into the peninsula, is ascribed by Professor Curtius, as by the majority of his predecessors, to the Phœnicians. Not that there were absolutely no inhabitants before their advent, but these aborigines were rude savages, occupying, in relation to the new-comers, about the same position as the American Indians sustained to the Europeans who visited these shores three or four centuries ago. The merchants of Sidon came to Greece in ships laden with rare and tempting wares, the products of that East which was so immeasurably in advance of Europe. Wherever they touched the inhabitants flocked to the shore, and there for a whole week their merchandise was exposed for sale and a primitive fair was held. It was well if it did not close with the sudden departure of the strangers, carrying off with them some of the lads or maidens, who paid dearly for the curiosity that had induced them to venture on board the Punic vessels to see the wonders they were said to contain. A life-long bondage in Asia was likely to be their recompense. Thus, Herodotus expressly tells us, Io was spirited away from Argos; and Eumæus, the famous swine-herd that figures so conspicuously in the Odyssey, in recounting the history of his life, gives a graphic narrative of the mode in which he was kidnapped from his father's affluent home by the same enterprising but not too scrupulous sailors, and sold into slavery in Ithaca.

> Ἔνθα δὲ Φοίνικες ναυσίκλυτοι ἤλυθον ἄνδρες
> Τρῶκται, μυρί' ἄγοντες ἀθύρματα νηῒ μελαίνη.[†]

The instrument of the abduction in this case was a Phœnician female slave who had herself been snatched away from her native Sidon by the Greek pirates, and who avenged herself and recovered her own freedom by stealing off upon a ship belonging to her countrymen, which had long been accumulating a cargo, and by taking with her her master's young son.

The chief incentive to commerce in Greek waters was the

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[*] Curtius, vol. i, p. 73.

[†] Homer's Odyssey, 15, 414–5. Elsewhere (14, 288) the poet makes allusion to the tricky character of the Phœnicians. Φοίνιξ . . . ἀνήρ, ἀπατήλια εἰδώς.

demand for that shell which furnished the most highly-prized of ancient dyes. Indeed, so closely did the color come to be associated in the minds of the natives with that sea-faring people who first visited them in quest of it, that down to the latest day it was known by the name of "the Phœnician"—*Φοίνιξ*.

> In the entire East the great ones of the earth were clad in garments of a purple hue; and for these the coloring matter was furnished by the purple-fish, which is only to be found in certain parts of the Mediterranean, and nowhere in great quantities. This remunerative branch of industry required considerable imports, their own seas being insufficient. All the coasts of the Ægean were examined by means of divers and pointer dogs; and probably nothing produced so immediate a contact between the old and new world of antiquity as the insignificant muscle in question, which is now left entirely unheeded; for the discovery was made that, next to the sea of Tyre, no coasts more largely abounded in purple than those of the Morea, the deep bays of Laconia and Argolis, and, after these, the Bœotian shores with the Eubœan channel. Since the vessels were small, and since it is only a small drop of fluid which each of these animals gives forth in death, it was impracticable to transport the shells themselves to the manufacturing towns at home. Accordingly the fisheries were so arranged as to make it possible to obtain the precious fluid on the spot where the shell was found. The searching expeditions remained longer away from home, and other vessels were sent to relieve the first. Changing landing-places and temporary coast-markets became fixed stations, for which purpose the sagacious mariners selected islands jutting out into the sea, and, in conjunction with the coast close at hand, offering a convenient station for their vessels. . . . The Phœnicians were aware of the importance of mercantile association. The discoveries made by individuals on a lucky voyage were used by mercantile societies in possession of means sufficient to organize settlements, and to secure to the business thus commenced a lasting importance.*

While accepting the fact as indisputable that the first impulse of civilization came from Phœnicia, and indeed that the very gods whom the Greeks worshiped were imported from abroad—to such a degree that in the whole Pantheon only Zeus, and those attributes of Zeus which by a very natural process came to be regarded in time as separate divinities, could boast a domestic origin—Professor Curtius rejects as untenable the notion of any colonization in Greece by either Phœnicians or Egyptians. Those who in after days were designated as such

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* Curtius, vol. i, pp. 49, 50.

were, according to his view, as truly Hellenes as those among whom they settled. They were known as Phœnicians or Egyptians only from the fact that it was under the auspices of these nations that they formed their new homes. We may perhaps find an analogy in the colonies which issued many centuries later from Greece, and settled upon the coasts of the Black Sea and of Italy and Sicily. How was it possible for Miletus, Megara, or Chalcis to become the parent city of seventy-five or eighty flourishing States? Clearly the mass of the population could not have been drawn from any one of these cities. Had the entire body of the inhabitants of Chalcis emigrated, and the ancient site been deserted, they would have sufficed at most to constitute but two or three new States. But after the first successful enterprise under the auspices of the Eubœan capital, it was never difficult to secure a multitude that were ready to repeat the experiment of emigration with the guidance of the same shrewd leaders. The colonists came from far and near, and may have been of very different tastes, manners, and dialects; but the joint expedition sailed from Chalcis, its regulations and common character were derived from thence, and it was unhesitatingly recognized by all as belonging to that city. In point of fact, however, the nationality was no more the same in the case of all the colonists than is that of the immense number of emigrants that yearly come to our shores from the single city of Liverpool.

At an early age there were large bodies of Greeks under Phœnician and Egyptian influence in the East. In particular a considerable community of Greeks was settled in Lower Egypt. The Ionian sailors early followed their Phœnician rivals to that rich field of commerce at the mouth of the Nile. Following Lepsius, and combating the views of Bunsen, Dr. Curtius believes that they are designated as "*Uinim*" (Javan, Iones) upon monuments of the eighteenth dynasty, and that it may be affirmed from the records "that already in the sixteenth and fifteenth centuries before our era great bodies of maritime Greeks were settled under Egyptian sovereignty in the land of the Nile." *

It is not strange that, referring so far back the origin of the intercourse of Greece with the two countries where the art of

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* Curtius, vol. i, p. 55.

writing is known to have been cultivated in the remotest antiquity which we can trace out, Professor Curtius seems to have no sympathy with those Germans who, like the celebrated Wolf, believed that art to have been either unknown, or in comparatively little use among the Greeks of the period when Homer is supposed to have flourished. Indeed, our author indorses the old interpretation put upon one of the two passages in the Iliad which have been construed as alluding to the art of writing, and supposes the letter sent by Prœtus to Jobates by Bellerophon (Book VI, 168, etc.) to have been not a pictorial representation but a genuine epistle. "The first communication by writing mentioned by Homer points from Argos to Lycia." * Whether the immortal productions of the reputed bard of Smyrna contain those marks of a single hand which may be deemed necessary to prove that they were neither clumsy compilations of Pisistratus and his coadjutors, nor overgrown poems of which a small "kernel" only is genuine, can be considered an open question by some, perhaps, even after the masterly discussions of Mure and others. But that writing was so recent an improvement as the literary skeptics of the beginning of this century would have us believe, is a notion whose absurdity is too transparent to be seriously maintained by any one who has kept pace with the brilliant antiquarian and linguistic discoveries of our times.

The legislation of Lycurgus and of Solon occupy an important place in the volumes before us, and their remarkable contrasts are well brought out. Adapted respectively with equal care to the wants of the two very different races for which they were intended, the Spartan and the Athenian codes are at the same time the exponents of the divergences that already manifested themselves, and the causes of the still greater contrasts of the future. With the Lacedæmonian, passive obedience to the authority of the State was an innate disposition. Lycurgus by his legislation confirmed the habit of subordination, and made of the individual simply a block fitted to occupy its appropriate place in the structure he strove to erect. Solon's aim, on the contrary, was not to bind, but to free the powers of men: "to educate the citizen so that he might develop in himself every human virtue, and pay the homage of free obedience

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* Curtius, vol. i, p. 95.

to the justice from which the State derives its coherence." Both lawgivers were astonishingly successful in attaining the objects for which they labored; but how unequal the intrinsic value of those results!

In his view of the division of the best part of the Lacedæmonian territory among the Spartans, our author takes no notice of the objections which have been raised, and apparently with sufficient reason, against the view that the nine thousand portions of land were equal, and that this equality was permanently maintained by rendering the lots inalienable. The arrangement, if it ever existed, must soon have met with insuperable difficulties in its execution; and there is little authority in its favor. Indeed it is Plutarch, writing some eight hundred or one thousand years after Lycurgus, who first makes mention of it.*

The age of the tyrants was a critical epoch in Greek history. Hereditary monarchy had been overthrown, but its place was assumed by a rule in many respects more objectionable, as it was less national in its tendencies. It is true that several of the tyrants were men of culture. Some governed with moderation. Pisistratus was an eminent patron of art and literature. One or two others were generally reckoned among the "wise men" of Greece. But, nevertheless, their rule was, on the whole, characterized by severity and cruelty, and, what was in the end even more important, it led directly to the assimilation of Greece with the neighboring nations of the East, and to the complete destruction of that peculiar type of Greek development without which even the Europe of to-day would not be what it is. It may seem a slight thing that in Corinth the family of Periander aped the manners of the barbarians from whom his countrymen were accustomed only to obtain their slaves, or that a brother of his received the Lydian name of Gordius, or that he called his son after the Egyptian King Psammetichus. But when we find the same tyrant so unpatriotic as to sell Greek youths to serve as eunuchs at the court of Lydia, we realize what a disaster it would have been to the cause of civilization had the institution of tyranny become fixed permanently upon the young communities of Hellas.

Professor Curtius well remarks:

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* Compare Grote, vol. ii, p. 401, and Rawlinson's Herodotus, vol. iii, p. 288, etc.

Had this tendency proved victorious, the Persians, when they claimed the supreme sovereignty of Greece, would have met with no national resistance, but with an effeminate and demoralized people headed by princes who, in order to obtain the recognition of their royal power, would have been equally ready to do formal homage to the great king as their supreme lord and protector. This we ought clearly to perceive if we wish to recognize the debt Greece owed to the Spartans.*

For, in truth, it was from this unexpected source that the deliverance came. Well may the struggle with the tyrants be styled the most glorious episode of Spartan history. For if the Spartans were not altogether disinterested, if they were moved by a desire to overthrow a system which, left unchecked, would soon annihilate that political structure of which Sparta was the corner-stone, it is certain that the result of their interference was to secure for Greece that independent development in the arts, in literature, in philosophy, and in government, which made it, in spite of its insignificant extent, the teacher of antiquity.

To the interesting description of Athens as it first began to grow into an elegant capital under Pisistratus and his sons, and to the lucid exposition of the modifications in the system of Solon's constitution made by Clisthenes after the expulsion of the tyrant Hippias, we have only space to allude. One feature of the reforms of Clisthenes is redeemed by Curtius from the contempt with which it has been generally regarded. We refer to the choice by lot of certain Athenian officers of State previously elective. The reasons which led to this change are well known. The legislation of Solon had mitigated, but had not altogether removed, the violence of party rivalry. The tenure of office was indeed short, and the incumbent had the certain prospect of a careful scrutiny of all his official acts; yet factions showed themselves equally active in wrangling for places of influence. Even the redistribution of the Demi, or cantons, into tribes, so as to break up all geographical parties and cliques, had not proved entirely successful. Clisthenes cut the Gordian knot by making the selection by lot. But was not the remedy as bad as the evil it was meant to cure? Probably is was, in later times; but not at first, and according to the evident intention of Clisthenes; for that intelligent statesman

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* Curtius, vol. i, p. 311.

had certainly no idea of throwing open the highest offices of Athens to any and every one of the citizens, however unqualified he might be for the discharge of its duties. The lot only decided between the candidates who offered themselves, or were put forward by others. None but those who were well known to possess the requisite experience were inscribed. Public opinion was so strong that for an obscure or incompetent person to demand the right which was technically his would have been unsafe, or, at least, would have met with derision and insult. We have the strongest circumstantial evidence of this. Among the earlier archons we find the names of the most eminent public men of the day; a circumstance which would be contrary to all the laws of probability had the first executive officer of State, and his colleagues in the succession of royalty, been drawn at hap-hazard from the urns containing twenty or thirty other names. We shall be still more convinced of the truth of this theory if we take into consideration the special improbability that attaches to a strictly fortuitous selection of some of the officers. The third archon, or the Polemarch, as he was called, succeeding the king in his functions as commander-in-chief of the army, held an office, than which there was no other that more vitally concerned the preservation of the State. Is it conceivable that any framer of a constitution in his senses would allow this all-important post to be thrown open without restriction to the people, and to be held in the gravest crises of Athens by a man, against whose being suitable for the trust there would be an overwhelming preponderance of chances? Even when the Polemarch had relinquished his exclusive military powers, and where he was assisted by the ten generals elected respectively from each of the ten tribes, he yet continued to preside over them, and to give a casting vote when they were divided in opinion. At Marathon we are told by Herodotus not only that it was the Polemarch Callimachus who, at the earnest solicitation of Themistocles, by his single vote brought on the engagement, but that he actually commanded the right wing of the army in the decisive battle.* To intrust such a responsibility to a person not chosen for military merit, but elevated by a freak of fortune, would have been too dangerous a farce for the most extreme demagogue to enact.

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* Book VI, chaps. 109, 111.

At the same time, it must be conceded that Clisthenes must have been singularly imprudent in not attempting to throw any safeguards around the new method of choice. Practically it was before long impossible to prevent the intrusion of improper persons into the body of candidates, and to forestall their election. The evil was not remedied as we might have expected it to be. There was no return to an election by ballot; but the equally effective plan was adopted in the case of the most responsible offices of stripping them of every thing but the shadow of their former importance. So the Polemarch, who had once been the generalissimo, dwindled away in importance until, when Herodotus composed his history—say forty or fifty years later—he was little more than a judge or guardian of aliens sojourning in or visiting Athens.

Any one who will attentively read the chapter on "The Hellenes beyond the Archipelago," with the maps of Kiepert's Hellas before him, will not fail to conceive a vivid impression of the importance of the western part of the Greek world, which, from its contrast with the limited extent of the peninsula proper, came naturally to be regarded in fact, as well as in name, entitled to rank as "Magna Græcia." The old country, as our author shows, was comparatively poor; the new settlements became rich. The sites of cities in the bounds of Greece proper were often inconvenient, the lands in the majority of cases not very productive. The new cities on the Pontus, or in the Italian peninsula and in Sicily, were chosen for their peculiar advantages when the entire coast lay before the colonists to select from. The inhabitants wasted no time in cultivating barren tracts of ground or in pursuing unremunerative trades. Each colony had its staples, and these were the best of their kind. Rarely could the mother country vie with the vigorous daughters she had borne.

The colonies had many of the characteristics which are strikingly displayed by those of our own day. One was a constant tendency to throw off new colonies, standing to the parent colony in the same relation as that parent colony did to the original "metropolis." This was a natural consequence of the fact that the emigrant's ties to his new home were comparatively of recent formation and weak, so that a very small induce-

ment sufficed to lead him to make a second removal of his home. Another noteworthy characteristic is found in the dialect spoken in the colonies. It has been proved by lexicographers that many of the peculiarities which our cousins across the water are pleased to denominate Americanisms are in reality nothing else than genuine English expressions, for which the best of authority can be found in writers of the seventeenth century, but which have become obsolete in Great Britain. So it was in ancient times, not only as regards forms of speech, but in matters of greater moment. Professor Curtius observes:

> Nor is it possible to conceive a relation more salutary in either direction than the union between mother city and colony. The former appropriated all the fresh vital forces of the younger city, while the latter again compensated herself for her lack of local tradition and history by faithfully attaching herself to the mother city. In all matters of sacred law and religious statutes the colonies loyally adhered to the ancient traditions. Occasionally it was in them that antique customs were preserved with especial vigor; so, for example, in Cyzicus the original form of the Ionian festive calendar and the names of the Ionian tribes.*

In the colonies, too, the history of the mother city seemed to repeat itself. Sometimes slowly, so that in passing from the latter to the former the traveler must have felt that he was also passing into an earlier age. But more frequently, as life was more active, so the various phases of society succeeded each other more promptly. "As a rule, the colonies speedily overtook the mother cities, and passed through a far more rapid development than the latter. Miletus had gone through the whole course of constitutional phases while Athens was still struggling on through a slow progress." †

In no other point was the contrast between the Egyptian and the Greek systems more prominent than the light in which the priestly office was regarded. Whereas in Egypt the priesthood was a caste, every member of which was invested with a peculiar sanctity, in Greece the sacerdotal class was not sharply defined or separated from the rest of the population. While in theory every worshiper was permitted to make his offerings to the deity, there were certain families with whom was supposed to dwell a special knowledge of the manner in which the

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* Curtius, vol. i, p. 496.

† Ibid., vol. i, p. 498.

god must be approached in order to be propitious, and who consequently enjoyed the title and dignity of his priests. In some cases we have the express record that these families were the descendants of the person who originally introduced the worship of the deity into the State. Thus there arose by the side of the nobility of hereditary power a second kind of nobility, based upon sacerdotal privilege, which often proved itself superior to the former, and was generally much more permanent.

Nowhere did the priestly families so successfully assert their influence as at Delphi, where, in connection with the oracular shrine of Apollo, they formed a close alliance with the originally distinct class of the soothsayers. Indeed, that part of the Greek history which includes the centuries immediately preceding the Persian wars can scarcely be understood if the power of the Pythia, or those who dictated her answers, be ignored. Even in a material point of view this was important. In a matter at first sight so unimportant as the settlement of the gauge of the roads of the Greeks the priests of Delphi had a controlling voice. The roads themselves were at first merely constructed to facilitate intercourse with the temple. From Delphi they radiated in various directions. Professor Curtius says:

> The art of road-making, and of building bridges which deprived the wild mountain streams of their dangers, took its first origin from the national sanctuaries, especially from those of Apollo. And as on the rocky soil of Greece a style of carriage-roads became usual consisting of ruts hollowed out in the rocks, on which the carriage-wheels could conveniently and easily roll along, it was necessary to establish the same gauge for all the temple roads in the whole of Greece, since otherwise the festive as well as the racing chariots would have been prevented from visiting the various sanctuaries. And since, as a matter of fact, as far as the influence of Delphi extended, the same gauge of five feet four inches demonstrably prevailed, not merely the extension, but also the equalization, of the net-work of Greek roads took its origin from Delphi.*

A more interesting exertion of priestly power was in settling the mode of writing. It is well known that while adopting the

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* Curtius, vol. ii, (Eng. edition.) It is well known that ancient Greece was almost as destitute of good roads as is the same country at present. We have ourselves seen traces of old Greek roads such as Curtius describes, as, for instance, in the neighborhood of Aulis. Besides cutting a channel for the wheels nothing more was done but to remove any great inequalities that might cause the horses to trip. This road led from Delphi to Chalcis.

Phœnician characters, with their shapes, order, force, and names but little modified, the Hellenes reversed their direction upon the page. This we have been accustomed to regard as purely accidental. The Egyptians, we know, cared little in what direction they wrote, whether from right to left or from left to right, or upward or downward; only they observed the rule that the animals, plants, etc., should face the point from which the reader must commence. In like manner it is notorious that in very early times in Greece the practice of alternately writing in opposite directions in successive lines prevailed, expressed by the adverb *βουστροφηδόν*, because of its fancied resemblance to the customary course taken by oxen in plowing, the same precaution of reversing the letters being taken in this case. That the Greeks finally settled down upon the system which gave the law to Europe Professor Curtius does not regard as fortuitous, but as having its rise in a religious motive:

> The Greek who observed the heavens in expectation of a divine sign turned his face toward the north; the right side accordingly was the fortunate side for him, because it was that of the morning and of light. Thither the hopeful glance of the seer turned; thither all movements had to be directed whence good results were anticipated. As, then, in prayer men turned to the right, so also the cup at the sacrificial banquet, the helmet containing the lots, the cither (lyre) destined to praise the gods, were passed round to the right. . . . And since this whole conception of the Hellenes had originated from a religious point of view, it is also probable that the priests caused Hellenic writing, after some hesitation, decisively to adopt the direction from left to right, a direction which was probably first established when sacred *formulæ* were written down.*

The decline of the influence of Delphi dates from the time when Athens became the rival of Sparta, and the oracle, powerless in itself, came to depend upon the good favor of the two great States of Greece. As the material strength waned, an attempt was made to compensate for it by cunning and deceit.

> Where Delphi could no longer command and rule it entered upon the course of a crafty policy, and the same priesthood with which the purest principles of morality had originated now endeavored, while inclining at one time to this and at another to that side, to maintain itself by intrigue and all kinds of dishonorable means †

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* Curtius, vol. ii, p. 45. † Ibid., vol. ii, p. 93.

We confess that the catalogue of the indebtedness of Greece to the "beneficent discipline of the Pythian Apollo," as Curtius is pleased with almost pagan enthusiasm to style it, seems somewhat extravagant:

> But the development to which European Greece had at that period attained, and her national character, as definitely established in all departments of intellectual activity, in religion and ethical views of life, in political constitution, in architecture and sculpture, music and poetry, a character forming a decided and conscious contrast to the barbarians, of which we cannot discover even a trace in the Homeric world—all this was essentially a result of the influence of Delphi.*

Nor can we acquiesce in the view that the absence of a Delphi in the Greek colonies accounts, at least in part, for their rapid decline:

> This offers an additional explanation of the fact that, notwithstanding the brilliant advance of Greek culture in the Eastern and Western colonies, and notwithstanding the arrogance with which the colonies looked upon the mother country, (*not unlike the colonies on the other side of the Atlantic and their views of "old Europe,"*) yet the central land came to be Hellas proper, the real theater of Hellenic history, and the most lasting home of Hellenic culture. The rupture with the ancient institutions, the contempt of old-world tradition, and a reckless movement ahead, might hasten the development of the cities, but could offer no pledge of enduring culture and liberty. The rapid advance was followed by a precipitate decay, even as a too luxuriant youth is generally succeeded by a premature old age.†

The familiar story of the Persian wars is told with a freshness and a vivacity that prevent the recital from becoming wearisome even to those who come to it expecting to hear nothing which they have not often heard before. In fact, the historian is able to throw new light upon more than one difficult question. For instance, every student who has attentively read the graphic account of the battle of Marathon by Herodotus has probably been struck by two singularities in the narrative. In the first place, we are told that one of the reasons that led the exiled tyrant Hippias, acting as guide to the Persian forces, to land them upon the plain of Marathon, was that this was the best place in Attica for cavalry evolutions;‡ and, indeed, not

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* Curtius, *ubi supra.*

† Ibid., vol. ii, p. 94.

‡ Καὶ ἦν γὰρ ὁ Μαραθὼν ἐπιτηδεώτατον χωρίον τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐνιππεῦσαι . . . κ τοῦτό σφι κατηγέετο Ἱππίης ὁ Πεισιστράτεω.—Herodotus, Book VI, c. 102.

another presenting equal advantages could have been found, excepting the plain of Athens itself. And yet when we come to the description of the battle itself, there is not only no important part assigned to the cavalry, (from which the Persians expected so much, and of which the Greeks stood so much in dread,) but there is not even the slightest allusion to the employment of any cavalry at all. Again, how did it happen that the Persians, after so signal a repulse, were able to put to sea so expeditiously, and, circumnavigating the southern peninsula of Attica, to make a hostile demonstration against Athens itself, which might have been crowned with success had it not been for the marvelous expedition of the victorious Athenians marching in a single day* back from the battle-field to the capital of their little country? Professor Curtius suggests the following explanation :

> It is incomprehensible how this operation (of embarking so speedily) could be commenced before the fighting was over, and how, after the termination of the battle, it could be carried out with such ease and success, unless we assume the ships of war, as well as the transports, to have been made ready for sailing before the beginning of the battle. These considerations incline me to think it probable that before the expiration of the nine days the Persians had relinquished the plan of forcing the coast-pass, occupied and intrenched by Miltiades, and that on the tenth day the fleet was already manned, and the cavalry in particular already on board. Miltiades accordingly ordered an attack when the Persian forces were divided, and their most dangerous arm removed from the field, and the troops which he charged were drawn up by the shore to cover the embarkation. This view will also explain why Miltiades carried out his attack at this precise point of time instead of an earlier or later, for why should he have waited for the tenth as the original day of *his* supreme command, after the rest of the generals *had* once resigned their rights in his favor? †

The idea of a pure democracy was one that was but slowly realized even in Athens. When the kingly power had for centuries been overthrown, when the constitution of Solon had been so far modified that the poorer citizens were equally admitted to offices of state with the rich, there yet remained a powerful check upon the will of the people in the celebrated court, or council, as it was called, of Areopagus. There was

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* Curtius agrees with Grote in making them reach Athens on the evening of the day of the battle.

† Curtius, vol. ii. pp. 221, 222.

but one road to admission into the tribunal, and that lay through the archonship. All archons who had properly discharged their duties were entitled upon leaving office to take a seat, and retain it for life, in the court that met on Mars' Hill. Theoretically, therefore, the court should have been a fair exponent of the progressive, as well as of the conservative, elements in the Athenian commonwealth, for the archons, as we have seen, were taken by lot from the entire citizen population. That this was not the case was owing to several causes. Besides the circumstance that public opinion, at least at first, would scarcely tolerate an obscure or inexperienced person to offer himself as a candidate, the office, being laborious and unsalaried, deterred many of the poorer class from coming forward to seek it. Even if successful, the plebeian archon, as Professor Curtius clearly shows, was by no means sure of admission to Areopagus. A strict examination was to be undergone, in which there is little doubt that together with uprightness in the discharge of official duty, and purity of moral character, the political views of the aspirant were carefully scrutinized. A radical reformer stood little chance of acceptance when the quiet votes of the conservative majority could so easily dispose of his claims. Still another cause, which always tended to secure to the advocates of the old *regime* a preponderating influence, may be found, we think, in the wonderful effect which the very fact of being intrusted with an office at the same time highly responsible and held for life has in all ages exercised. The most reckless and inconsiderate lawyer becomes circumspect almost from the moment he takes his place upon the bench: the sentiments which the advocate was known to express being often a very poor guide for ascertaining those upon which the judge will act. Now the Areopagus, as the established tribunal for passing upon all matters which in the highest degree affected the moral and religious purity of the State, very naturally disdained to confine its functions to such flagrant cases of impiety as were brought before it for adjudication, and for a long time made itself felt as a political power in the State by interposing a veto upon the decisions of the council and public assembly.* And as this veto was uniformly given in

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* "The Areopagus was not an upper chamber to which was constitutionally reserved a final confirmation of legislative acts; it rather followed the course of a

the interest of one party, and probably often when no clear proof could be given that it was from other than partisan motives, it naturally followed that the destruction of the privileges of the Areopagus came to be an achievement as much sought by some as deprecated by others. It was in 460 B. C., or just about a score of years after the Persian wars, that the blow was struck. By the law of Ephialtes the court was shorn of its political, but was allowed to retain unimpaired its religious, prerogatives. We can readily see the reason why the proposer of the law has by many ancient and modern writers been contemptuously denominated a vile and worthless demagogue, whereas "an attentive examination of the accounts of the ancients will enable us to pronounce him an upright statesman and citizen."* The learned Professor Wachsmuth agrees perfectly with our author in respect to the propriety and the necessity of the innovation. He observes:

> This resolution did not proceed from any desire to detract from the dignity which characterized that noblest ornament of Athens as such, but from a conviction that as long as the archonship continued to be filled by the upper orders, the Areopagus, which was supplied from it, must, by means of its moral dignity, its reputation for justice, and the spotless purity of its proceedings, necessarily keep up aristocratic feeling, and generate a spirit in the mass of the citizens at variance with the projects of Pericles.†

Of that great statesman who had lent his name to the most flourishing period of the Attic commonwealth, we find an enthusiastic admirer in the author of this history. The age of Pericles occupies a good part of the second volume, and is set forth with all its affluence of material prosperity, of intellectual and literary culture, of painting, sculpture, and architecture, and every-where the impress of that singularly fertile and creative mind is distinguished. Not that the vices of the system which Pericles took part in originating are altogether kept out of view, but they are at least deprived of much of their

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transactions in the council and the civic body, in whose assemblies it was probably represented by individual members of the college, in order to interfere in the case of all innovations which the latter considered dangerous. This interference amounted to a veto; for in the first instance no possible chance existed of passing a measure thus protested against."—Curtius, vol. ii, p. 379.

* W. Wachsmuth, "Historical Antiquities of the Greeks," (Oxford, 1837,) vol. ii, pp. 75, 76.

† "Historical Antiquities of the Greeks," vol. ii, p. 76.

depth of coloring by the care with which they are traced to their unavoidable causes. Thus the demoralizing practice of distributing the public revenues, or that portion of them which remained unexpended, among the people, with no reference to services rendered to the State, is shown to have been almost a necessity. In no other way could the influence of those wealthy citizens, who for selfish designs extended their hospitality to all comers, be effectually neutralized, than by the city itself undertaking to furnish its burghers with the funds necessary for gaining admission to the festive celebrations in the Dionysiac theater and elsewhere.*

While a popular history of Greece scarcely affords room for presenting at any great length the peculiar views of Curtius respecting the topography and antiquities of Athens, there is considerable interest and some novelty in his remarks on the famous structures on the Acropolis. This is particularly true of those that refer to the Parthenon. This building, according to his view, cannot properly be styled a temple, unless we concede that name to all edifices connected with the worship of the gods. It was in reality both a treasury and a hall for the great festival of the Panathenæa. The shrine for worship was the neighboring temple of Minerva Polias, in the Erechtheum, where she had from the first been worshiped under the form of a rude image of olive-wood. In this alone was the goddess supposed to dwell, and this representation alone was a legitimate object of adoration, and an authorized recipient of vows, prayers, sacrifices, or votive offerings.

> The gods object to an alteration of the forms under which they are worshiped by the people, nor could Phidias think of substituting new statues for the ancient wooden figure of Athene. But images might be created which were to be neither objects of adoration, nor superstitiously venerated pledges of divine grace, like the ancient hideous figures of wood, but were yet religious images in so far as they represented the nature and being of the divinity, and inclined the minds of men to feelings of piety.

The magnificent gold and ivory statue of Minerva in the Parthenon was, accordingly, a great votive offering intended to enhance the glory of the shapeless olive-wood "that fell down from heaven." Only on occasion of the quadrennial Pan-

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* Curtius, vol. ii, p. 444.

athenæa did the crowds fill its courts, and the judges of contests seated at its feet dispense the rewards of victory.

> After the conclusion of the great festival the gates were again shut and sealed, and the Parthenon was once more simply the treasury; the shell of the statue of Athene was removed,[*] and the statue itself covered up; the figure of Victory was taken down, and the treasurers alone were busy in the temple paying out of the Opisthodomos the moneys for the current expenses, and receiving and putting away all contributions in money and dedicatory gifts.[†]

It was the architecturally humbler temple of Minerva Polias which, after all, formed the center of all the religious worship. It was thither that gifts were first brought, and especially the *peplus*, or garment that screened the rude image from the eyes of the vulgar.

The Peloponnesian war, although an unavoidable result of the greatness to which Athens attained by following out the sagacious policy of Pericles, was far from being desired or sought after by that shrewd statesman. A career of conquest could not lie in prospect for the city whose very urban territory was exposed to the forays of its neighbors, and whose navy was always stronger than its land forces. Yet war was inevitable with those States which had reaped little glory from the Persian conflict. Some had the stigma of having actually sided with the barbarian, and could hope to efface it, or to obliterate the recollection of it, only by a new war. Corinth could not forgive the city whose bravery and enterprise had placed it at the head of all Greece, and had built a fleet outnumbering that of the city of the isthmus. Sparta, less important in the councils of Greece than a century before, found her last hope of regaining an ascendency she deemed an ancestral privilege and right, in a war that should humble her aspiring rival. It was the misfortune of Athens that both in the general enterprise itself, and in that great undertaking whose failure threw such a deep gloom upon all the latter part of the war—the Sicilian expedition—she early lost the only men to whose transcendent abilities the conduct of affairs might safely have been intrusted. Two years and a half of the war had scarcely passed before Pericles was

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[*] There were not less than forty talents' weight of gold in the movable clothing of the statue, worth, according to Boeckh, some $520,000.

[†] Curtius, vol. ii, p. 581; but see pp. 566–580.

carried away by the plague that had fallen upon Athens and added its horrors to those of the sword. Hardly, on the other hand, had Alcibiades reached Sicily and begun to put his magnificent plans into execution when his enemies succeeded in their plots, and dispatched the state-ship Salaminia to recall him to stand his trial before a prejudiced populace. In both cases power fell into incompetent hands. The loss of a commanding statesman well-nigh ruined Athens in the first stages of the war; but the happy issue of Cleon's boastful undertaking, and the capture of a number of Spartans of illustrious families on the island of Sphacteria, gave it a more fortunate turn. It was impossible for Sparta to carry on a hearty and protracted warfare with so many pledges of her good behavior, and so many earnest pleaders for peace, in the enemy's hands. And so it came to pass that after ten years of warfare the peace of Nicias restored the state of things to that which had existed before the war, as far as that was possible when so many men of the flower of the youth of Greece had been slain, and her most fertile and populous territories devastated.

Whatever may be said of the vices of Alcibiades, and they were great and flagrant—however firmly we may believe that he was born to be a curse to his native city—we are almost driven to the conclusion that, having once adopted his hazardous and unprincipled projects, Athens would have fared better in a material point of view if she had allowed him to execute them. As it was, there was no one who could take his place in the cabinet or on the field; no one could thwart him when, thirsting for revenge, he passed over to the enemy, and began to employ his powers of intrigue and organization in their interest. Morally, Athens was better off without Alcibiades at any cost. Absolute power was what Alcibiades aimed at, and nothing short of it would have satisfied him. Even a "tyranny" of the kind which Pisistratus had possessed would have been too limited. Athens must have fallen to the level of the eastern States, become a miniature copy of the Persian Empire, and shared in the rapid degeneracy that overtakes all such forms of despotic government. Military success at such a price would have been too dear; for liberty, and all that literary, philosophical, and artistic glory of which liberty was the prime condition, must have been sacrificed.

That Athens should ultimately succumb to its enemies after the fatal issue of the conflict against Syracuse was almost a foregone conclusion. It is only strange that for so many as eight or nine years the brave Athenians warded off the *coup de grace.* Here let us quote the appreciative reflections of Professor Curtius:

> However deep the shame of the end of the Decelean War, yet there exists no more splendid testimony to the energy of Athens than the eight years' resistance offered by the city after the Sicilian calamity. Greece, Sicily, and Persia were allied against the doomed city, and yet she was not to be overcome by force; her fleet was victorious as soon as it had its right commander; her citizens were full of courage and love of liberty, steadfast, and ready to make any personal sacrifice on behalf of their country. But the whole war was a struggle of despair, because the Athenians had, so to speak, no ground left under their feet; they fought for the preservation of their State, but that preservation depended upon a number of foreign possessions, the permanent recovery of which surpassed their powers: the only remaining strength of Athens lay in her navy, and this was obliged to be self-supporting. The chief care of the generals had always been to procure supplies and pay; no connected plan of operations could, therefore, be pursued by them, and the war became a savage freebooters' war, which widened the gulf between Athens and her former allies till it became impassable. Money is the main question of the whole Decelean War, and, Sparta being equally without a treasury, the issue depends upon the money of the Great King. For this reason Alcibiades knew no better expedient for kindling the ardor of his troops before the battle of Cyzicus than by calling out to them, "The King's moneys are in the hands of the enemy. If you wish to have the one you must vanquish the other." Athens again and again recovered her naval superiority, but not the supremacy of the sea, which it was impossible for her to secure without a treasure of her own. Hence the aimless character of the fighting, and, notwithstanding the most brilliant victories, a condition of helpless insecurity, from the moment when the Sicilian calamity awakened Athens out of the intoxication of unlimited power.[*]

But it was not her external foes, after all, that humbled Athens, and brought her to the dire necessity of submitting to the Spartan arms, and to the tyranny of the "Thirty," whose institution Sparta chose to encourage. It was that treasonable

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[*] Curtius, vol. iii, pp. 517, 518. The classical reader may remember how often Demosthenes in the succeeding century complained that by their neglect to furnish money the war against Philip was suffered to degenerate in a similar manner into *ληστεία.*

party which had long existed at home—a party which coveted victory over the rival party still more than the prosperity of the common country. "Not even during the Persian wars was Attic history free from the blot of treasonable sentiments," says Curtius.* "After the open rupture with Sparta a Lacedæmonian party formed itself, whose efforts were directed to the humiliation of the city." And our author has correctly ascribed the fatal ascendancy which party spirit and party corruption now reached to the working of that miserable system of *sophistry* whose shallowness and mischievous consequences the philosopher Socrates, in Plato's Gorgias, is made to lay bare to the gaze of the world.

> It was the sophistical tendency which mainly contributed to arouse the decomposing forces. This tendency loosened the bonds which held the hearts of the citizens united into one national will; it taught the rising generation of the city to assert their personal wishes with audacious arrogance in the face of all tradition and usage, and to despise the virtues of their fathers. . . . It destroyed faith in the gods, reverence before the law, devotion to home and family, and abhorrence of wrong and of disloyalty. . . . The best intellects became the worst enemies of the commonwealth; education was converted into a prison, consuming the very marrow of the State; and the adversaries of the constitution, who desired to heal the sick State and establish a new aristocracy, a "government of the best," founded upon wealth and culture, were baser, more self-seeking, and more utterly unconscientious than the most vehement among the demagogues.

The accusation is not an empty one. Theramenes, a leader in the oligarchical party, and a prime mover in the plots for instituting the rule of the "Four Hundred," and afterward of the "Thirty," himself declared the course of his colleagues to be in every respect more unjust than that of the sycophants under the democracy.†

The volumes before us close at an important crisis in Grecian history. The destruction of the walls of Athens by her enemies elicits even now the sympathy of all lovers of free institutions. The wanton insult of turning the hour of humiliation into a season of festive exultation we still resent; and the band of women who played the flute while the massive arms which Athens stretched to the sea, and which once secured her maritime supremacy, were being torn asunder, seem to be

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* Curtius, *ubi supra.*

† Xenophon, Hellenica Book II, chap. iii, § 22, etc.

sounding in our ears a dirge over the fall of the grandest State of heathen antiquity. True, Athens was yet to rise again, and to produce some of the greatest men the world has ever seen, as philosophers, statesmen, patriots, and others; but her decadence had set in, and no mortal arm could stay it. Moral restraints were swept away, even such as were drawn from a false religion earnestly believed in. Meanwhile neither "peace" nor "good-will" prevailed. About three quarters of the population of Attica were in bondage. It was the labor of slaves that principally supported and enriched the citizens. Indeed, he esteemed himself but badly off who had not at least six or seven slaves to wait upon him. Could such a system of oppression in the very nature of things last forever? To suppose it would be to suppose a suspension, in favor of a brilliant but unjust state of society, of God's inflexible laws of moral government.

While heartily commending Professor Curtius's history to the careful perusal of the American reading public, we cannot avoid the expression of regret that the translation bears so many marks of haste and careless revision. Sometimes German expressions are simply Anglicized. Thus we have "bloodbath" for *Blutbad*, instead of "massacre," (vol. ii, p. 232,) and, "nothing less," where "any thing rather than" is intended, (p. 271, and other places.) Distances are stated in miles, which, upon reference to the atlas, turn out to be *German* miles, four or five times the length of the mile in use with us. The Athenians, we are told, when they started on their disastrous retreat from Syracuse, "on this day advanced the distance of a mile, (vol. iii, p. 380,) where Thucydides, (l. vii, c. 78) says σταδίους ὡς τεσσαράκοντα, which makes the march fully four and a half English miles. So in other places. On the whole, however, the translation is sufficiently intelligible and idiomatic; but the colloquial and inaccurate use of language is general, and almost universal. Not to mention others, what shall we say of such words and expressions as these: "The adherents of the oligarchical party *befriended themselves* with the idea of seeing Alcibiades return," (vol. iii, p. 425;) "he *was befallen by* the winter storms," (p. 466;) "*these* news had arrived," (p. 484?) Such blemishes as these can so easily be removed with a little care that it is a great pity that they should be allowed to remain and mar the external appearance of a really valuable work.

ART. II.—CHRISTIAN EVIDENCES FROM THE CATACOMBS.

Roma Subterranea. By PADRE ARINGHI. Lutetiæ Parisiorum: 2 vols. folio. 1659.

The Church in the Catacombs. By CHARLES MAITLAND, M.D. London. 1847.

The Catacombs of Rome. By CHARLES MAC FARLANE. London. 1852.

Fabiola; or, the Church of the Catacombs. By CARDINAL WISEMAN. London. 1857.

The Catacombs of Rome. By the Right Rev. WM. INGRAHAM KIP, D.D. New York. 1859.

Letters from Rome. By Rev. JOHN W. BURGON, M. A. London. 1862.

Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae Septimo Saeculo Antiquioris. By CAVALIERE DI ROSSI. Romae. 1857–1861.

Christian Epitaphs of the First Six Centuries. By Rev. JOHN M'CAUL, LL.D. Toronto and London. 1869.

Les Catacombes de Rome. Par M. PERRET. Paris. 1852–1857.

Roma Sotterranea. BY CAVALIERE DI ROSSI. Romae. 1864.

Roma Sotterranea. By Rev. J. SPENCER NORTHCOTE, D.D., and Rev. R. W. BROWNLOW, M.A. London. 1869.

The Testimony of the Catacombs. By Rev. W. B. MARRIOTT, B.D., F.S.A. London. 1870.

"WHAT insight," remarks the learned and eloquent Dean Stanley in his "Eastern Churches," "into the familiar feelings and thoughts of the primitive ages of the Church can be compared with that afforded by the Roman Catacombs! Hardly noticed by Gibbon or Mosheim, they yet give us a likeness of those early times beyond that derived from any of the written authorities on which Gibbon or Mosheim repose. . . . The subjects of the sculptures and paintings place before us the exact ideas with which the first Christians were familiar; they remind us, by what they do not contain, of the ideas with which the first Christians were *not* familiar. . . . He who is thoroughly steeped in the imagery of the Catacombs will be nearer to the thoughts of the early Church than he who has learned by heart the most elaborate treatise even of Tertullian or of Origen."

By the study of the inscriptions, paintings, and sculpture of these subterranean cities of the dead we can follow the development of Christian thought from century to century; we can trace the successive changes of doctrine and discipline; we can read the irrefragable testimony, written with a pen of iron in the rock forever, of the simplicity of the primitive faith, and of the gradual corruption which it has undergone.

In this age of Romish assumption and aggression, when the occupant of St. Peter's chair lays claim to personal infallibility of act and word, and invites all Christendom to an Œcumenical Council, not to discuss matters of faith, but merely to bow to the fiat of his will, it may not be inappropriate nor unprofitable to inquire into the credentials of his authority and the alleged sources of his power. In this era of critical investigation of the very foundations of the faith it will be well to examine the vast body of Christian evidences handed down from the believers living in or near the apostolic age, and thus providentially preserved in those subterranean excavations. Christianity has nothing to fear from the comparison of these remains of Christian antiquity with those of the pre-existing Paganism; as little has Protestantism to fear their comparison with the corrupt form of Christianity into which the primitive Church, alas! too soon degenerated. On the one hand may be seen the infinite contrast between the abominable condition of society under the Empire and the purity of life of the early Christians, and on the other the gradual corruption of doctrine and practice as we approach the Byzantine Age.

The discovery of Pompeii and the recent explorations of the Catacombs bring into sharp contrast Christian and pagan civilization. While traversing the deserted streets of the former "two thousand years roll backward," and we stand among the objects familiar to the gaze of the men and maids and matrons of the palmy days of Rome. But what a tale of the prevailing sensuality, what a practical commentary on the scathing denunciations of Juvenal or the light wit of Horace, do we read in the remains of ancient art on every side! Amid the silence and gloom of the Catacombs we are transported again to the dawn of Christianity, and in the pious inscriptions and symbolic paintings we read the sacred truths that sustained the hearts of the martyrs and confessors of the faith amid the fiery trials of that age of persecution. We are brought face to face with the primitive Church, and comprehend more of its spirit and life than from all the writings of the Fathers or the ecclesiastical histories of the times.

Most of the Christian relics, inscriptions, and sculptures are removed from the Catacombs, and are to be found in the numerous museums and churches of Rome, especially in the

Lapidarian Gallery in the Vatican. Both sides of this gallery are completely covered with inscribed slabs plastered into the wall. Those on the right hand are relics of classic times collected in the neighborhood of the city, votive tablets, altar dedications, fragments of edicts, and public documents. On the left are the humble epitaphs of the early Christians, rudely scratched on stone or baked in terra cotta, and brought hither from the Catacombs.

Here the monuments of pagan and of Christian Rome confront each other, and the immense contrast between their diverse characters strikes every beholder. The pride and pomp of worldly power, the majesty of ancient Rome, its lofty titles and earthly distinctions, are all recorded here. The Roman citizen displays on his sepulchral slab the proud array of prænomen, nomen, and cognomen, which attest his lofty social position. Their utter blankness of despair concerning the future, or querulous and passionate complaining against the gods, show how the races without the knowledge of the true God met the awful mystery of death.

On the other side the humble Christian inscriptions, by their rudeness, their brevity, and frequent marks of haste and ignorance, confirm the truth that God chose the weak, the base, the despised things of this world to bring to naught the things that are mighty. The Christian athlete was laid to rest with no vaunting eulogy, and seldom with any indication of his worldly position. Often only a single name, and that the one received at baptism, was engraved on his sepulchral slab; and sometimes even this was omitted, and the simple words IN PACE attest that he sleeps in the peace of Christ. On every side breathes the assurance of quiet confidence, of certain hope. On many a sculptured slab or tile we read such words of Christian trust as the following:

DORMIT IN PACE.

He sleeps in peace.

DORMIT SED VIVET.

He sleeps, but lives.

JVSTVS CVM SCIS XPO MEDIANTE
RESVRGET.

Justus, who will rise with the Saints through Christ.

LVCIVS DORMIT ET VIVET
IN PACE XO.

Lucius sleeps and lives in the peace of Christ.

How different the spirit of the pagan inscriptions! Witness the passionate defiance of Fate in the following, given by Mabillon:

PROCOPE · MANVS · LEBO · CONTRA
DEVM · QVI · ME · INNOCENTEM · SVS ·
TVLIT ·

I, Procope, lift up my hands against God, who snatched away me, innocent.

If possible, more painful still is the light Epicurean language of the following:

D · M
TI · CLAVDI · SECVNDI
HIC · SECVM · HABET · OMNIA
BALNEA · VINVM · VENVS
CORRVMPVNT · CORPORA ·
NOSTRA · SED · VITAM · FACIVNT
B · V · V ·

To the divine manes of Titus Claudius Secundus. Here he enjoys every thing. Baths, wine, and lust ruin our constitutions, but—they make life what it is. Farewell, farewell.

A great deal of useless speculation and of fanciful theory have been indulged in as to the *origin* of the Catacombs. They have been attributed to a prehistoric race of *troglodytes*, who loathed the light of day, and burrowed like moles in darkness. It was also supposed that they were originally sand-pits or stone-quarries, which were afterward appropriated to the purposes of sepulture, of worship, and of refuge from danger. The Catacombs of Rome, however, are not excavated in the *tufa lithoide*, from which the building stone was hewn, nor in the more friable *tufa pozzolana*, out of which the sand was dug; but in the *tufa granolare*, an accretion of volcanic scoria of intermediate position and hardness. It is probable, nevertheless, that the early Christians made use of the pre-existing *arenaria* as masks to the entrance of the Catacombs, as we still see at that of S. Agnese, where the passage descending to the subterranean sepulchers dives abruptly down from the old pagan

excavation above. They were doubtless also used as at least partial receptacles for the excavated *debris*, of which it is difficult to conceive how they disposed otherwise.

It is impossible to discover the actual extent of this subterranean city of the dead, rivaling in vastness that of the living above ground, on account of the number and intricacy of its passages. According to Di Rossi, the most recent writer on this subject, there are not less than forty-two separate Catacombs in the vicinity of Rome. They so encompass the city, like a military circumvallation, that they have been called "the encampment of the Christian host besieging Pagan Rome, and driving inward its mines and trenches with the assurance of final victory."

The Catacombs consist of two parts—corridors and chambers, or *cubicula*, as they are technically called. The former are long, narrow, and intricate passages, forming a complete underground net-work. They vary from two to four feet in width, and are from five to twelve feet high, arched, and occasionally plastered. At the corners of these passages there is frequent evidences of lamps having been fixed; indeed, without them they would be an impenetrable labyrinth. The graves are in tiers on either side, like shelves in the wall, and are of all sizes, from an infant's to that of a full grown man. They number from two or three to as many as seven on a side. They are generally closed with tiles of terra cotta or slabs of marble put edgeways in a groove or mortice cut in the rock and fastened with cement, on which the marks of the trowel may be seen as fresh as if made yesterday. Many of the inscriptions are mere scratches on the soft surface of the terra cotta hardened by baking; others are cut in stone. The letters vary from half an inch to four inches high, and are colored with a reddish pigment. Extreme ignorance is often exhibited in the inscriptions. They are frequently characterized by bad spelling, bad grammar, the absence of inflections, the use of prepositions instead, and other indications of a transition state from Latin to Italian.

Most of the graves, or *loculi*, as they are called, are anonymous; many of the important inscriptions have been removed, and frequently in the open tomb may be seen the crumbling skeleton. In one figured in D'Agincourt, the outline of the osseous frame is seen in dust on the bottom of the cell. Verily,

pulvis et umbra sumus! As the pilgrim to these chambers of silence and gloom walks through the vaulted corridors his footsteps echo strangely down the distant passages, the graves yawn weirdly as he passes torch in hand, deep mysterious shadows crouch around, the air is hot and stifling, and seems laden with the dry dust of death.

The *cubicula* are vaulted chambers on either side of the passages, frequently with *arcosolia* or arched tombs in their sides, and are generally of a somewhat decorated character, the roof and sides being adorned with frescoes, often much begrimed with the torches of their numerous visitors. Sometimes these *cubicula* are lighted by openings to the sky called *luminariæ.* Most of these, however, are overgrown with weeds or fallen in through age, and have become objects of danger to horsemen traversing the Campagna. There are frequently two, or even three, tiers of passages in the Catacombs at different levels, like the galleries of a mine.

It is difficult to compute the number of graves in these vast cemeteries. Some seventy thousand have been counted, but these are a mere fraction of the whole. Only a small part of this great necropolis has been explored. Mr. Northcote has made the astounding computation, founded upon an accurate survey of part of the Catacomb of S. Agnese, made under the superintendence of Father Marchi, that in all the Catacombs there must be an aggregate of nine hundred miles of passages, and, allowing five on each side for every seven feet, the enormous number of nearly seven million graves. This seems utterly incredible, but we know that for nearly four centuries almost the entire Christian population of Rome was buried here. And that population, even at an early date, was of great extent. The Christian faith, in spite of repression, continued to spread. The servile classes, of which Roman society was so largely composed, heard with joy the message of emancipation. They sprang up to a sense of human dignity as they learned that they—the "vile plebs" of Rome—were created the heirs of immortality, were redeemed by the blood of Christ, and might become the sons of God. In the Christian Church the distinctions of worldly rank were abolished.* In the inscriptions of

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* "Apud nos inter pauperes et divites, servos et dominos interest nihil."—Lactant., *Div. Inst.*, V, 14, 15.

the Catacombs no badges of servitude, no titles of honor, appear. The wealthy noble—the lord of many acres—recognized in his lowly slave a fellow-heir of glory, and regarded him thenceforth "not now as a servant, but above a servant, a brother beloved." Nay, he may often have bowed to him as his ecclesiastical superior, and received from his plebeian hands the emblems of the broken body of their common Lord. The lowly arenarii and fossors, and the Campagnian husbandmen and vine-dressers, and they "of Cæsar's household" alike, during the storms of persecution took refuge in these lonely labyrinths, meeting by stealth for the celebration of the rites of their religion, and burying in their silent recesses their holy dead. And there reposed the proto-martyrs and confessors of the faith—the forlorn hope of the army of Christianity—the conscripts for the tomb, their holy dust making a true *terra sancta* of those gloomy vaults. There arose the funeral hymn, the chant of praise, the voice of exhortation or of prayer, no less acceptable to God than if from the stateliest of human temples.

When the age of persecution had passed away, the Catacombs continued invested with a deep and pathetic interest as the cradle of the faith, the refuge of the Church during the storm of calamity, and the sepulcher of the saints and martyrs. It became an object of ambition to share the resting place of those who had been so holy in life and so glorious in death. Hence we find that during the Middle Ages the loftiest dignitaries in Church and State—popes and prelates, princes and nobles, kings and queens, and even some illustrious wearers of the imperial purple—were borne in death to the churches erected over the shrines of the most illustrious martyrs, to share the last long sleep of the confessors of the Christian faith.

When the Church was no longer compelled to the secret observance of the rites of religion subterranean worship was discontinued, save on the memorial occasions of the anniversaries of the martyrs or saints. Commodious entrances were constructed to the Catacombs, easy stair-ways were hewn in the rock, retaining walls were built, and many of the tombs were adorned with Byzantine work of the seventh century. A *basilica* was frequently erected over the entrance to the Catacomb.

During the lawless period from the eleventh to the fifteenth century, when faction, civil war, and anarchy laid waste the country, when even the classic *mausolea* above ground were converted into armed fortresses, these gloomy vaults became the rendezvous of insurgents and conspirators, and therein were hatched those "treasons, stratagems, and spoliations" that devastated the land. Frequently armed bands of the retainers of hostile houses—the Montagues and Capulets of the day—met in these subterranean vaults, and the war-cry of Guelph and Ghibelline rang through the hollow corridors, and bloodshed and cruelty desecrated the spot sacred to religion and the ashes of the sainted dead. Petrarch thus refers to this unecclesiastical use of the Catacombs:

> "Quasi spelunca di ladron son fatti,
> Tal ch'à buon solamente uscio se chiude;
> E tra le attari, e tra statue ignude,
> Ogni impresa crudel par che si tratti."*

In course of time the knowledge of the Catacombs was lost, and it was not till the revival of learning in the sixteenth century had stimulated the minds of men to the study of the past, and the rescue from oblivion of the priceless remains of antiquity, that this treasury of Christian evidences was rediscovered and again thrown open to the investigation of mankind. To Father Antonio Bosio, a Roman priest, is the honor due of unvailing to the sight of Europe the ancient monuments of the faith buried in their depths. Sustained by a lofty enthusiasm, he spent thirty-three years groping among those gloomy corridors, deciphering the half-effaced inscriptions, and making drawings of the remains of early Christian art. So habituated did he become to this trogloditic existence that the Cimmerian gloom of the Catacombs was more grateful to his eyes than the light of day, which dazzled and almost blinded him. He was not permitted, however, to see the publication of his great work, in which he disclosed to the world the *terra incognita* lying so long hidden beneath the busy life of the Eternal City. He died while writing the last chapter of his learned work, *Roma Sot-*

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* They are become like robbers' caves,
So that only the good are denied an entrance;
And among altars and saintly statues
Every cruel enterprise seems to be concerted.—*Canzone*, xi.

terranea. It was not published till 1632, thirty years after its author's death.

In the years 1651–59 this work was republished in Rome, in two large folio volumes, by Father Aringhi, a learned antiquarian, who translated it into Latin, and added numerous original discoveries of his own. A collection of Christian epitaphs from the Catacombs was published by Fabretti in 1702, but the next important work was the *Osservazioni soprai Cimiterii dei Santi Martiri, . . . di Roma*, a large folio by Father Boldetti, *custode* of the Catacombs. This learned work was also the result of thirty years' personal exploration. The literature of this subject now becomes more voluminous. In 1737 and 1754 were issued from the Vatican press three large folio volumes by the learned Bottari, entitled *Sculture e pitture sagre, estratte dai Cimiteri di Roma.* The next original explorer in those mines of Christian antiquity was M. D'Agincourt, an eminent French archæologist. He came to Rome near the close of the last century with the intention of spending six months in the study of the Catacombs. But the absorbing interest of the study grew upon him, and he remained for fifty years collecting the materials for his magnificent and posthumous work entitled *Histoire de l'Art par les Monumens.* In recent times the subject has been ably treated by M. Raoul Rochette in his *Tableau des Catacombs de Rome*, by the Abbé Gaume in his *Les Trois Romes*, and by the Abbé Gerbet in his *Rome Chrétienne.* In 1844 appeared the *Architettura della Roma Sotterranea Christiana* of Father Marchi, a distinguished member of the Collegio Romano. In 1852–57 appeared the magnificent work, in six volumes, of M. Louis Perret, who spent six years in its preparation. This superb work of art, however, is rather untrustworthy, as an account of the real state of the Catacombs, by reason of the very artistic excellence and force of its illustrations. The most recent and important work on the subject is the Cavalier Di Rossi's *Inscriptiones Christianæ Urbis Romæ Septimo Sæculo Antiquiories*, 1857–61, and *Roma Sotterranea*, (in Italian,) 1864. These are a monument of faithful scholarship, and the authority for most of the remaining part of this paper.

The first English Protestant writer on this subject was Dr. Charles Maitland, whose "Church in the Catacombs" is a work

of great interest, though uncritical and frequently inexact, and necessarily incomplete, being a quarter of a century old. The most important discoveries are those of the last ten or even five years. M'Farlane's "Catacombs of Rome" is a useful little compendium of the subject, (although erroneous as to the origin of these structures,) as also is Mr. Spencer Northcote's book. Cardinal Wiseman's "Fabiola" is a beautifully written tale of the Church in the Catacombs, of course taking strong Romish views on all disputed points. Bishop Kip's book is a very convenient little digest, principally from Maitland, and adopting his now abandoned theories. Dr. M'Caul's admirable volume on "Christian Epitaphs of the First Six Centuries" incidentally treats the topic in hand. It is not confined to the Catacombs, however, but includes Christian epitaphs from every source. It is a work of profound scholarship, and is a very important contribution to the science of epigraphy. Some of the learned author's expansions and interpretations of mere fragments, in this work and in another on Britano-Romano inscriptions, are very ingenious, and seem less the result of a process of reasoning than of a sort of happy inspiration, or rather divination. Mr. Marriott's book consists of two brief monograms on the development of the *cultus* of Mary, and the supremacy of the See of Rome from the second to the eighteenth century, and one on the remarkable ichthyic inscription discovered at Autun in France.

It is, however, the religious teachings of the Catacombs that are of greatest interest to us. To this subject, therefore, the remainder of this article shall be devoted.

Rome lays especial claim to the Christian antiquities of the Catacombs as evidences of the apostolic character of her peculiar rites and usages; but Protestantism need have no fear of the results of their closest investigation. The science of epigraphy is decidedly opposed to her claims. There is not a single inscription, nor painting, nor sculpture, before the middle of the fourth century, that lends the least countenance to her arrogant assumptions and erroneous dogmas. All previous to this date are remarkable for the evangelical nature of their doctrine, and it is only in the fifth and sixth centuries, in the degeneracy of the Byzantine Age, that the peculiar features of Romanism become apparent.

There are some eleven thousand sepulchral inscriptions of the early Christians which have been discovered at Rome. These are of the greatest interest and importance as illustrating the doctrines and discipline, the rites and institutions, of the primitive Church, and the Christian life and character of the early centuries, of which they are almost the only records. They throw light on much that is obscure in early ecclesiastical history, and explain difficulties which would otherwise prove insoluble.

Let us examine a few of the earliest inscriptions and see how far they warrant the assumptions of Rome.

On a sarcophagus of the date A. D. 217 we read after the name of the deceased the words:

PROSENES RECEPTVS AD DEVM.

This is the first trace of doctrine that we discover, and it assuredly is not the doctrine of purgatory. The soul is "received near to God," into his immediate presence.

An inscription of the year 235, in the cemetery of Lucina, bears the words:

AVRELIA DVLCISSIMA FILIA QUAE DE SAECULO RECESSIT.

The word *dulcissima*, "most sweet," is very common in the Catacombs, and is eminently appropriate to the Christian character. In the expression *de sæculo recessit*, "retired from the age or world," we read a strong assurance of immortality, and the confident hope of another country, even a heavenly.

In A. D. 238, accompanying a Greek inscription on a sarcophagus, the touching representation of the Good Shepherd with the lost sheep upon his shoulders for the first time appears. Few figures recur more frequently in the Catacombs than this. It here appears with the utmost simplicity, with no sign of the idolatrous veneration afterward paid to the representation of Christ, not even the conventional halo around his head.

In A. D. 268 or 279, it was not absolutely decided which, on a slab from the cemetery of S. Calixtus appears this legend:

VIBAS INTER SANCTIS IIIA.

What the last word means is not very apparent; but Romanists lay great stress upon the expression, "May you live among the blessed!" as an indubitable instance of intercession for the dead.

Only a mind intensely prepossessed with that idea could discern aught here than the natural language of affection desiring the happiness of the beloved one.

In A. D. 269 we find the next inscription in the cemetery of S. Saturninus. It is written in Latin, though with Greek characters of very unequal size and uncouth form, and certifies that "Leuce erected (this memorial) to her very dear daughter and to thy holy spirit,"—*εδ εισπειρειτο σαυκτω τουω*, that is, *et ispirito* (*spiritui*) *sancto tuo.* This has evidently no reference to the Romish doctrine of canonization, but merely attests the sanctity of character of the person interred. This inscription is evidently the production of extreme ignorance, as is indicated by the wretched grammar and orthography and the incoherent meaning.

In A. D. 291 we find the last dated epitaph of the third century. It asserts, in ill-spelled and ungrammatical Latin, that Macervonia Silvania lived well and innocently with her Virginius. This is followed by the expression, *Refrigera cum spirita sancta*, "Refresh thyself with the holy ones," in which Roman controversialists have discovered the doctrine of purgatory and the invocation of the saints—with what success we leave it to every impartial reader to judge. And this is all—absolutely all—of a doctrinal character to be discovered in the first three centuries, in the ages of the purity of the faith. Many of the subsequent inscriptions, even of a comparatively late date, are of a highly evangelical character; and, if all other records were destroyed, from these alone might be reconstructed the theology and internal organization of the primitive Church.

The first inscription which is clearly favorable to any of the Romish doctrines is of date from 366 to 384. It is the eloquent epitaph at the entrance of the Catacomb of S. Agnese, written by Pope Damasus in honor of the youthful martyr. He unquestionably invokes the assistance of the saint in the line:

UT DAMASI PRECIBUS FAVEAS PRECOR INCLYTA MARTYR—

O illustrious martyr, I beseech thee to aid the prayers of Damasus.

This is Romish doctrine, it is true, but it only shows the departure from the primitive faith in the latter part of the fourth century. In vain Rome searches all her vast museums,

and the rich treasury of the Catacombs, for evidence in favor of her unscriptural dogmas. She can find no better foundation on which to erect her superstructure of error than that which we have cited. "*All* the epitaphs," says a writer in the *Revue Chrétienne*, "favorable to Roman dogmas are without date or posterior to the year 350, and the evangelical character of those which are anterior authorizes us to believe that those which have not this character are of an epoch nearer to us than the middle of the fourth century."

If the evidence from inscriptions in favor of Roman doctrines is so meager, that from the arrangement and furniture of the Catacombs is still more so. In some of the chambers, or *cubicula*, into which the passages expand, are found *arcosolia*, or tombs built in a recess excavated in the wall, which may be readily described as resembling an arched fire-place built half-way up. In these the Roman archæologists have discovered altars for the celebration of the sacrifice of the mass. The development of the sacrificial idea in the eucharist is too wide a subject to be here entered upon; but there is abundant evidence that it formed no part of the theology of the Church of the Catacombs.

In some of the *cubicula* stone chairs, occurring sometimes in pairs, have been found. The Romanists confidently assert that these were confessionals! But they are too far apart from each other if one was designed for the confessor and the other for the penitent, and too close if each seat was a separate confessional. Many circumstances conspire to indicate their true purpose to have been for the accommodation of the male and female catechists who instructed the catechumens of the primitive Church.

The date of the paintings in the Catacombs is more readily deducible from their style than that of the inscriptions, those of the early period being much superior in artistic merit. Their design is more correct, their ornamentation more chaste and elegant, and the accessories more graceful. The converse of this is true of Byzantine Art, to which class the later paintings belong.

One of the earliest subjects represented in the Catacombs is the Good Shepherd. He is generally represented as a beardless youth in a short tunic and buskins, with the lost sheep

upon his shoulders, as the Roman shepherds carry them to this day. This simple figure continually recalls that sweet Hebrew idyl of which the world will never grow tired, to which our Lord lent a deeper pathos by the parable of the lost sheep.

On many of the tombs is a figure standing erect with outstretched hands, in prayer. This was evidently the primitive posture. By the twentieth canon of the Council of Nice kneeling at prayer was forbidden, and, according to Dean Stanley, all the Eastern Churches stand at prayer to this day. Indeed, it was considered a penance to be compelled to kneel. "*Hic habitus orantium est*," says Apuleius, "*ut manibus in cœlum extensis precemur.*" Is this what Paul meant when he willed that men "should pray every-where, *lifting up* holy hands?" Sometimes the figure is that of a woman, but never accompanied by the Divine Child or any other symbol of the Virgin Mary. To some of these the Romanists gave the name of the Madonna, without the least ground for differentiating these particular examples from numerous others in which the figures are regarded as representing the person interred.

The principal scenes represented in the paintings and sarcophagi are simple Scripture history, and, singularly enough, more frequently derived from the Old Testament than from the New.

What is chiefly remarkable in these groups is the conspicuous absence of those representations of the passion of our Lord, so common in later Catholic art, and the rare occurrence of the Virgin Mary. Only one example of the former—Christ crowned with thorns—was found in two hundred and sixty-nine Scripture groups, and only three of the Nativity, in which the Virgin Mother appears only as an accessory to the Divine Child, and not the central object. In the adoration of the Magi she appears more frequently, but in no case is she represented in the Catacombs as an object of religious homage.

The absence of those gross, anthropomorphic representations of the Deity into which later art degenerated is also remarkable. All who are familiar with mediæval art will recall many painful examples of this offense against piety and good taste, to which not even the majestic genius of Michael Angelo can reconcile us. The writer remembers a

representation of the creation of Eve, in which the Almighty, in ecclesiastical garb, with the triple crown of Rome upon his head and a lantern in his hand, is extracting the rib from the sleeping form of Adam. In Germany he was represented as Emperor, in England and France as King. The daring artists of the Middle Ages even attempted to represent the incomprehensible mystery of the Trinity by a grotesque head with three faces joined together. According to M. Emeric David, in his *Discours sur les Anciens Monumens*, the French artists of the ninth century claim the "happy boldness"—*heureuse hardiesse*—of first representing the Almighty under human form. We find nothing of this in the Catacombs. The nearest approach thereto is a single hand stretched out to arrest the knife of Abraham about to offer up Isaac, and a hand encircled with clouds, as if more strongly to signify its symbolic character, giving the tables of the law to Moses.

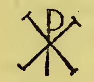
The symbolism of the Catacombs is wholly of a cheering and inspiring character. The most frequently recurring figure is that of a dove, generally bearing the olive-branch—the synonym of peace. On the more ancient sarcophagi are sculptured chiefly harvest, vintage, or hunting scenes, or pastoral groups with numerous little figures of genii after the classic manner. It is evident that the Christian artist had not freed himself from the influence of conventional pagan types.

The ship is also a frequent and appropriate symbol of life, as it was also in pagan art. It is referred to by St. Clement as *ἡ ναῦς οὐρανδραμοῦσα*, by St. Peter in his epistle, and in our own baptismal service. It is frequently of the rudest form, doubtless an imitation of the barges on the Tiber.

One of the most frequent symbols of the Catacombs is a fish, an especial favorite from the fact that its letters (ΙΧΘΥΣ) were the initials of the name and title of our Lord—Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς Θεοῦ Υἱος Σωτὴρ; and also, says St. Augustine, because they were the initial letters of certain prophetic lines attributed to the Sibyl of Erythra. "The fish," Tertullian rather fancifully remarks, "seems a fit emblem of Him whose spiritual children are like the offspring of fishes, born in the water of baptism:" and St. Clement recommends its use, as "such a sign will prevent them from forgetting their origin."

The remains of pagan influence are seen in the frequent recur-

rence of the classic formula D. M., (*dis manibus.*) Sometimes, indeed, this results from the use of slabs on which pagan inscriptions had been cut—*tabulæ opisthographæ*, as they are called. But generally they are used in careless retention of a heathen formula. Many other symbols which were originally heathen acquired a conventional Christian signification, as the wreath, the palm, the anchor, the stag, the peacock, and phœnix, as shadowing forth the resurrection; and Orpheus, who was thought a type of Christ by the sweetness of his preaching drawing all men after him, and probably also as prefiguring him in his descent into the under-world.



But more common than any other Christian symbol is the sacred monogram formed by the junction of the Greek characters X and P, the first two letters of the word Χριστὸς, or Christ. This was probably derived from the well known *Labarum* of Constantine, as the first dated example appears in the Catacombs in A. D. 339. There were, however, previous approximate forms, and it might easily originate from the prevalent practice of contraction and monogrammatic writing. It is frequently accompanied by the letters A and Ω, in allusion to the well known passage in the Revelations; and is then to be read, "In Christ, the First and the Last." The ignorance of the artist is sometimes exhibited by the reversing of the order of these letters.

The changing of this monogram into the cross was very gradual. First, one stroke of the X became coincident with the vertical part of the P, and the other stroke at right angles to it. Then the curved part of the P was omitted, and a truncated or Greek cross was formed. It thus gradually assumed its present form, but was still a sign of joy and gladness, bearing only a dove or a wreath of flowers—the Christian's pledge of peace and victory. It was only by slow degrees that it became the thing of tears and agony, splashed with blood, and bearing the thorn-crowned Christ, that we find in the Middle Ages. About the year 400, a lamb, type of the *Agnus Dei*, is seen at the foot of the cross, a sacrificial emblem to bring the atonement more vividly to mind. As the shadows of the Dark Ages gather, this beautiful symbol gives place to a living man; and in the year 706 the Quinisextan Council ordained, "That the representation of Christ, our God, be henceforward set up and painted

in the place of the ancient lamb." At first he is seen standing beneath the cross with outstretched arms, as if in prayer. In the deeper darkness of the ninth century he is raised to the level of the transverse beam, but still lives and prays with hands unconfined. It is not till the tenth century that Christ is represented as hanging lifeless on the cross, his hands and feet transfixed with nails; and in the thirteenth, his head droops heavily on one side. His dress, which at the first extended from the neck to the feet, becomes reduced at last to a narrow drapery about his loins.

The expression of countenance of the Redeemer also underwent a change—a dire eclipse of woe—no less painful to trace. All the divine fades away, and only the human agony of the wan and furrowed face remains. The serene and joyous aspect which he wears in the Catacombs has vanished, and he is represented as the "man of sorrows," crushed with hopeless grief; and art exhausts itself in the delineation of the intensest forms of anguished suffering. Lecky attributes this degradation of art to the latent Manichæanism of the Dark Ages, to the monkish fear of beauty as a deadly temptation, and to the terrible pictures of Dante which opened up such an abyss of horrors to the imagination—how different from the glorious visions of St. John! But thus at least, in an imaginative age, would be brought vividly before the rude intellect of the times an intense conception of the passion of our Lord.

But the cross was as yet only a painting, not a crucifix. The creation of this was the work of the sculptors. In the tenth century the passion was represented in bas-relief, which gradually became more and more detached from the wall, sarcophagus, or altar, passing through the stages of *mezzo* and *alto relievo*, till in the fourteenth century it stood out the completed crucifix. From this, through rapid stages, we arrive at the gross and ghastly representations which disfigure every continental cathedral and every way-side, from the gilt and jeweled crucifix on the high altar to the wooden rood from which the uncouth carven image of Christ, crowned with a crown of real thorns, and often in popular superstition endowed with the power of weeping, of motion, of speech, and of working miracles, looks down on an adoring multitude. Hither comes the bandit or the murderer, red-handed from his deed of blood,

and thinks by a muttered *Ave* or *Paternoster* to atone for his crime.

As little do we find in the Catacombs in favor of the worship of the Virgin, which is so strikingly characteristic of modern Romanism. We discover no *Ave Maria* or *Ora pro nobis* addressed to Mary as the intercessor with God. The first certain representation of the Virgin Mary does not occur till the fourth century, and it is not common till the sixth. Even then she appears, not as the principal figure, much less as an object of adoration, but only as accessory to the Divine infant, frequently vailed from head to foot; never as the mournful *mater dolorosa*, or with the transpierced heart of the later artists, but rather as the "blessed among women."

We have seen how utterly baseless are the Romish figments of purgatory, invocation of saints, and prayers for the dead. The celibacy of the clergy, another cherished, and, as all history proves, most pernicious dogma of the Church, is also disproved by numerous inscriptions in the Catacombs, in which Presbyters and Bishops lament the death of their wives, "chaste, just, and holy." "Would to God," says a writer in the *Revue Chrétienne*, "that all their successors had such!" Here is a characteristic epitaph from Aringhi, (Lib: III, c. iii):

LEVITAE CONIVNX PETRONIA FORMA PVDORIS.

Petronia, a priest's wife, the type of modesty.

This was in the Consulate of Festus, as late as 472.

But not only does the teaching of the Catacombs show us what was *not* the practice of the primitive Church; it gives us also many illustrations of its ministry and rites.

The office of Bishop is indicated by the words *επ*, *επι*, and *επις* on several tombs. We have also epitaphs of "Presbyters," "Levites," "Pastors," and "Deacons." We read, too, inscriptions to "Lectors," whose duty it was to read the Scriptures aloud in the church. Julian the Apostate in his youth was lector in the Church of Nicomedia.* Often children were dedicated to this office in their tender youth. We read an epitaph of one "who lived twelve years, more or less"—*plus minus*. The latter is a very common expression.

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* *Ως καὶ κλήρῳ ἐγκαταλεγῆναι, καὶ ὑπαναγινώσκειν τῷ λαῷ τὰς ἐκκλησιαστικὰς βίβλους* —*Sozom.*, Lib. V, cap. ii.

Another office now unknown was that of exorcists, originally Jewish, apparently, but early incorporated into the Christian Church.*

The fossors, according to St. Jerome,† were the "first order among the clergy, who, after the example of the holy Tobias, are admonished to bury the dead." They are frequently depicted in the Catacombs, surrounded by the instruments of their art.

There are also indications in the Catacombs of the existence of a female diaconate, and the employment of widows in offices of charity. This fact is confirmed by ecclesiastical history. The order of *ministræ* is recognized by the Council of Chalcedon, and its members restricted to those over forty years of age. Thus we have in the inscriptions the expressions, "widow of God," "handmaid of God," and "a consecrated virgin."

The care of the primitive Church for the young is indicated in the epitaph of a catechumen who died under the age of ten years. The frequent mention of "neophytes" of tender years indicates that the rite of baptism, by which they were admitted to the Church, was administered in infancy. One of these epitaphs is to a child of three years and thirty days, and another to one of twenty-one months.

In addition to the holy eucharist another rite, preserved in modern times we believe only in the Methodist community and among the Moravian brethren, is commemorated in the Catacombs. This is the *agape* or "feast of charity" mentioned in the Epistle of Jude. In the Catacomb of Marcellinus is a painting representing this feast. Two matrons, over whose heads are inscribed the words IRENE and AGAPE, preside. The guests are supplied with food from a small table supporting a lamb and a cup. To this Tertullian refers in the words: "Our supper by its name, which is the Greek for *love*, displays its character. . . . We so eat as having to worship God by night: we so talk as knowing that the Lord hears. After washing our hands and bringing lights, each is called upon to sing to God according to his power, either from holy Scripture or from his

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* Unus de exorcistis, inspiratus Dei gratia fortiter restitit, et esse illum nequissimum spiritum, qui prius sanctus putabatur, ostendit.—*Firmil., Ep. ad Cypr.*, 75.

† Primus in clericis fossariorum ordo est, etc.—*De Septem. Ordin. Eccles.*

own composition. Prayer also concludes the feast."[*] In course of time this beautiful custom became subject to abuse, and was finally suppressed by the decree of the Quinisextan Council, A. D. 706.

We have thus endeavored to give a faithful representation of the doctrinal teaching of the Catacombs. We have seen how identical it is with that of holy Scripture, how opposed to all the dogmas of Rome. We have only to compare the buried relics of the past with the living present above ground to see at a glance the infinite contrast between the Church of Christ and that of Antichrist. In all things, both in Church and State, what a change has taken place! The leopard no longer leaps in the Flavian amphitheater, nor the ribald "plebs" of Rome utter their vociferous cry, "*Christiani ad leones!*"[†] The flame of sacrifice to the supreme Jove no longer ascends from the Capitoline Hill, nor the haruspices augur from the flight of birds, or from the smoking entrails of sacrificial victims. Instead of this from four hundred cross-crowned campaniles baptized and consecrated bells toll forth the hour of prayer; on a thousand altars the multitude adore, they vainly think, the real presence of the Redeemer, and chant and anthem evermore ascend not to the gods of the Pantheon, but to the still more numerous saints of the Roman calendar.

Yet a blight seems to rest upon all things. The degenerate Roman of to-day creeps sluggishly along the road constructed over two thousand years ago by the Censor Appius Claudius. Upon the solid basalt pavement along which marched the legions that conquered the world now lumbers an occasional *diligence.* The great imperial city has dwindled from a population of two millions to less than one tenth of that number. The gardens, palaces, and stately villas, where Roman courtiers, wits, and poets dreamed life away in an elysium of pleasure, have given place to the desolation of the Campagna. Across the far horizon stretch the broken arches of a ruined aqueduct, gleaming in the twilight, vast and shadowy, like a spectral procession of the vanished deities of Rome. But

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[*] *Apologeticus,* cap. 39. Ita saturantur, ut qui meminerint etiam per noctem adorandum sibi esse; ita fabulantur, ut qui sciunt, dominum, audire, etc.

[†] Tertull. Apol., cap. xv.

nature is unchanged, and the golden sunlight falls, and the sapphire sea expands, and the purple hills of Albano stretch into the distance as fair and lovely as of yore.

Yet beneath the living death that cumbers the ground, in those chambers of silence which we have been studying, we find the evidences of that undying life of Christianity for which we seek in vain in that city of churches, the Apostolic See of Christendom—the vaunted seat of Christ's vicegerent upon earth. We turn away from the gorgeous ritual, the stately pomp, the sublime music, the porphyry pillars and the frescoed arches of the Sistine Chapel, with its powerful hierarchy of priests, prelates, and Cardinals, to the lowly chambers of the Catacombs, where the Christian hymn of a persecuted remnant of the saints ascended from beside the martyr's grave, as the truer type of Christ's spiritual temple upon earth. With a deeper significance than that with which it was first uttered we adopt the language of Tertullian, and exclaim, *Id est verum, quodcunque primum; id est adulterum, quodcunque posterius:* "Whatever is first is true; whatever is more recent is spurious."*

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* Tertull., Adv. Prax., Oper. ii, p. 405.

NOTE.—The entire subject of Christian evidences from the Catacombs, which has been so cursorily glanced at in the foregoing article, is treated with great fullness of detail and copious pictorial illustration in a work by the present writer, now in course of publication by Messrs. Carlton and Lanahan, entitled, "The Catacombs of Rome, and their Testimony relative to Primitive Christianity." It discusses at length the structure, origin, and history of the Catacombs; their art and symbolism; their epigraphy as illustrative of the theology, ministry, rites, and institutions of the primitive Church, and Christian life and character in the early ages. The gradual corruption of doctrine and practice and introduction of Romanist errors, as the *cultus* of Mary, the primacy of Peter, prayers for the dead, the invocation of saints, the notion of purgatory, the celibacy of the clergy, rise of monastic orders, and other allied subjects are fully treated.

Art. III.—EARLY METHODISM IN THE WEST.

The early settlers of the West entered the great Mississippi Valley on two diverging lines of travel. One led through the defiles of Virginia and the Cumberland Gap into the Holston and French Broad territory, extending thence westward and northward into Tennessee and Kentucky; the other across the Alleghany Mountains through the Redstone country, and along the region of the upper Ohio and the Kanawhas. Along the shores of the "Beautiful River" the immigrants met and mingled. Hardy and intrepid, they labored side by side for the same civilization, nurtured the same sentiments of national faith, and fought for the same freedom. This was their inheritance, and they divided it among them.

Hard after the pioneer settlers trod the pioneer Methodist itinerants. Almost before clearings were made or cabins erected, and long before the savage was subdued and Indian hostilities had ceased, the preacher was tracking his way from settlement to settlement, and hunting up the lost sheep of his Master's fold. The first cismontane preacher was Jeremiah Lambert, who traveled the Holston Circuit in 1783. Four years later the work was extended, comprehending the Nolachuky Circuit and the entire State of Kentucky and the Cumberland region. Eight preachers now traveled in the West. When the Western Conference met in October, 1800, fifteen preachers were appointed for the entire Western country. We may get some idea of the extent of their circuits by examining the appointments. Henry Smith's circuit embraced all of Southern Ohio between the Scioto and the Miami rivers. Benjamin Lakin traveled in Northern Kentucky, between Maysville and the Licking River; William Burke's circuit extended a hundred miles each way in Central Kentucky; while the Presiding Elder, William M'Kendree, superintended the entire work, comprising portions of Virginia, East and Middle Tennessee, all Kentucky, and as much of Ohio as was then settled.

The only mode of traveling was on horseback; and as there were no graded highways, and the roads merely traced out,

when located at all, their passage was difficult in the extreme. Besides, the streams were not bridged; only occasionally were there any ferries, and these only on the principal thoroughfares of travel; and as for houses of entertainment, there were very few or none at all, unless we regard every house an inn, and every settler a host. Hospitality was one of the virtues of the pioneers; and, scanty as were the accommodations, few who inquired for a meal's victuals or a night's lodging were turned away unfed or uncared for. Consider, too, the modes of life at that early day. The settlers dwelt mostly in cabins built of round logs, notched down at the corners, and rendered tight by "chinking" the spaces between the logs with billets of wood, and "daubing" them over with mortar or clay. The floors, if any were laid, were constructed of "puncheons," or thick slabs split out of logs, hewed smooth on one side, and secured to the joists by great wooden pins. The windows were made by sawing out a log, and in cold weather white paper was tacked across the opening and greased. When there was snow on the ground it was no uncommon thing for the paper to be pecked into holes by the half-starving birds. Glazed windows, with few lights and small panes, were soon introduced, and they added greatly to the comfort and convenience of the inmates.

The doors of the cabin were made of rough split boards, hung on wooden hinges, and fastened by a wooden latch drawn by a string or leather thong. One room was all that the cabins usually possessed; but there was commonly a loft, reached by a ladder, in which pallets were spread for the children. The fire-place was always a capacious one, occupying nearly the entire width of the cabin. It was constructed of stone and mud, bricks being a thing unknown, and the chimney was formed of split billets, piled alternately at right angles in a stack, as a cooper piles his staves for drying, and then well daubed on both sides with clay to prevent their taking fire. The hearth was large and roomy, so as to afford a sufficient protection against the sparks of fire which were apt to snap out from the ample logs. Over the hearth, and around the rude jambs, poured such a stream of light down the wide-mouthed chimney that windows were scarcely required for either light or ventilation.

After saw-mills were erected these wooden houses were more

neatly constructed, and the number of rooms increased, as partitions could more easily be made. The logs were hewed, the floors were laid smoother, and stair-ways to the lofts were built. Cupboards, shelves, and mantels were also introduced.

The cabins had no cellars; but fruits, milk, etc., were preserved in out-sheds and spring-houses, an excavation being made in the ground and the logs built over it, with the soil thrown out of the hole heaped up against it. Sometimes pent-houses were built against the cabin itself, the soil beneath them being removed to the depth of two or three feet, and heaped against the leaning boards which formed the shed. There was a door at one end; and as it was placed on the north side of the house, or in the shade of trees and shrubbery, it was sufficiently cool to keep milk sweet for two or three days, even in the sultry weather.

The dress of the people was mostly domestic cotton or home-spun linsey-woolsey. The Methodist ministers wore a suit of these simple fabrics, the fashion being of the plainest cut, and sometimes quite odd. The notion that dressing like citizens generally was conformity to the world was quite prevalent in the Methodist societies, and an affected singularity in dress was regarded as distinctive a badge of the Methodists as it was of the followers of George Fox. The preachers were expected to wear straight-breasted coats, high-standing collars, long waist-coats, the plainest of neck-ties or cravats, and even to dispense with suspenders; while the laity were admonished to leave off all show or ornament, and to observe the letter of the general rule of Discipline which forbids the putting on of gold and costly apparel. Even tucks and ruffles on children's frocks were discountenanced; ringlets and curls in the hair, though natural, were frowned on; and rings and artificial flowers banished from a lady's attire.

Few and simple were the household utensils. An assortment of pewter dishes, basins, and mugs, or dishes of earthenware, were the most common; but if a family were provided with queen's-ware they were considered well off indeed. Porcelain and china were almost unheard of; and if a lady's sideboard could boast of a single porcelain cup or pitcher it was regarded as remarkably well furnished, and its proud possessor classed among the higher ranks of fashionable society.

The furniture consisted of common board tables, ash or hickory split-bottom chairs, and bedsteads of domestic manufacture. These last were originally made stationary by mortising the rails in the logs of the cabin, and connecting them with an upright post fastened in the floor. Slats, or thin boards, were then laid across for the bedding to rest upon. The mattresses were usually filled with straw, and the beds were covered with neat wrought quilts or home-woven coverlets. A well made and clean bed, with tasteful quilts, high bolsters, snowy sheets and large blankets, was the greatest pride of a neat housekeeper.

It was among such a people, and into the midst of such manners, that Methodism was introduced. A few families belonging to the Methodist societies had settled here and there throughout the West, and in some instances they were organized into classes by zealous local preachers; but no effort at keeping up the worship and usages of the Church regularly was made until they were visited by the itinerant ministers. Our people were mostly poor, and though they raised enough on their farms to eat and to wear, they were seldom blessed with means to afford any thing better than the most meager support to their preachers; yet they kindly received and entertained them in their houses, and often supplied them with food and fuel when they could not dispense to them from their hard-earned money.

The meetings were held in private houses, except occasionally where a meeting-house had been erected in the more populous settlements. But the residences of the pioneers were small—perhaps twenty feet square might be reckoned as the average size of the single cabins. So welcome were the visits of the traveling preacher that their houses were freely opened for public worship and other religious exercises; and it was no uncommon thing for men and women to walk every week five or six miles to attend a class-meeting, and at night the same distance to a prayer-meeting, lighting their way through the woods with blazing fagots of hickory bark instead of a lantern. In summer the men and boys often attended the meetings in their bare feet; and the women and girls, if they could afford shoes and stockings, carried them in their hands until they came within sight of the place of meeting, when they washed off the dust in the nearest brook or spring, and finished their toilets.

that they might appear more decent in meeting; but as soon as the services were over and they set out on their return, their feet were again stripped bare, and in this condition they traveled ofttimes many miles; and the distance was seldom too great, or the roads too bad, to prevent these devoted disciples from being in their places when the Gospel was preached.

Services were held on week-days as well as on Sunday. In a circuit of four weeks the preacher might have a sermon to preach every day at one or another point, until, at the close of the time, the circuit was again commenced, and the same exercises were proceeded with in the same order.

But the Quarterly Meetings, when the sacraments were administered and love-feasts held, were the great occasions of religious interest among the pioneer Methodists, as they still are on the larger country circuits. People of both sexes, when the season was favorable and the weather warm enough, would come from twenty or thirty miles' distance—many on foot—and find some hospitable neighbor to entertain them during the continuance of the meeting. Such hospitality never was wanting. The kind Christian friends in whose vicinity a Quarterly Meeting was to be held would for days beforehand make provision for it. A large stock of provisions was wont to be laid in; the larders were well supplied with bread, cakes, and pies; while butter, eggs, fresh meat, and perhaps poultry, were made ready against the time for the welcome guests; and a wealthy member would thus be prepared to entertain as many as fifteen or twenty of his acquaintances. The venerable Philip Gatch, of Clermont county, Ohio, makes mention of these popular meetings, many of which were held in the Forks of the Little Miami.* "It was a matter of astonishment," says he, "to see the numbers that attended. Women would walk twenty, and even thirty, miles to attend them. The whole care devolved on three families; each would have frequently to provide for from fifty to a hundred people." At night the house was given up to the women, who slept on pallets or beds strewn over the floor; the owner himself, with his male friends, sleeping in the nicely swept and carefully prepared barn, being distributed around in the hay-mow, or on extemporary mattresses of straw on the thrashing-floor.

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* Memoirs of Gatch, by Hon. John M'Lean, LL.D., page 108.

If the house where the services were held was not roomy enough to contain the congregation, the barn was sometimes fitted up for public worship; or, if the weather was good, the preacher would stand on the threshold and talk to the audience assembled within and the people crowding around the doorways without. Under such circumstances booths, or awnings consisting of the leafy branches of trees, were sometimes erected. This was a necessity, for most of the cabins were built in the open fields, every timber and shade tree being cut away, and no shelter from the sun-heat or winds left near them.

Fridays were always strictly observed as fast-days. Preaching began on Saturday morning at ten or eleven o'clock; in the afternoon a short service was held, after which Quarterly Conference was convened; and at night there was again preaching, or several prayer-meetings at different convenient points in the neighborhood. On Sunday morning the love-feast was held, conducted by one of the preachers; and about eleven o'clock the principal sermon of the Quarterly Meeting was preached by the Presiding Elder, followed by a sermon, it might be, from one of the other preachers, and then perhaps by an exhortation. The sacraments of baptism and the Lord's supper were usually celebrated at the close of the morning services, but sometimes deferred till the afternoon. At night there was again preaching—generally followed by prayer-meeting, exhortations to repentance, collects for penitent seekers, and fervent hymns, not always sung according to the laws of musical art, but with a fervor that almost carried the soul to the gates of Paradise.

Often, on such occasions, and especially at the camp-meetings, the converts would be numbered by the score. The meeting, protracted for several days, frequently resulted in numerous accessions to the Church, and the new members were watched over with a godly jealousy. Rarely would a Quarterly Meeting occasion pass by without the mourners' bench—an observance in those days almost peculiar to the Methodists, but now adopted by more than one religious sect which then looked upon it with ridicule or disfavor—and for weeks these occasions were looked to by the faithful with longing hopes and ardent prayers for the salvation of their families and their neighbors.

Such were the customs of our fathers when Methodism

enrolled its first converts and formed its first societies in this western country. Very little money was then in circulation, and but small sums could be collected for the support of the ministry. For this reason the prejudices of the Church against married preachers were exceedingly great. The laity looked upon the wife of an itinerant as an actual incumbrance to him and a burden to them. Nor is it much to be wondered at; that, when the total allowance for a preacher was scarcely a hundred dollars, and a deficiency amounting to more than one half was no unusual thing, the additional expense of a preacher's wife was a matter of complaint. If, in the face of all these discouragements, a preacher followed the leadings of Providence and the demands of nature, and married a wife, the people threw many obstacles in his way for a successful ministration. They said, You ought to locate; we cannot support you; and as a man's first social duty is to provide for his own, many preachers were compelled to relinquish the ministry for secular employments. Hence so many names were annually reported at Conference in answer to the question, "Who are under a location through family concerns?"

But the scarcity of money, and the consequent penuriousness of the pioneer Methodists, did not detract from their piety. They were strict observers of the Sabbath, and refrained with diligence from many customs which have since crept into vogue. Shaving, brushing clothes, polishing boots and shoes, and laying out the garments to be worn the next day, were all attended to on Saturday evening. Very little cooking was done: in many families none further than the making of coffee for breakfast, and of tea, where milk was not used instead, for supper.

No meal was eaten without the asking of a blessing or the returning of thanks. If the head of the household was absent, his wife took his place. The family always stood on their feet surrounding the table until this was done. Instead of a grace offered at the commencement of a meal a stanza was occasionally sung, and thanks given at the conclusion. Bishop Asbury thus used this verse:

> Be present at our table, Lord;
> Be here and every-where adored;
> These creatures bless, and grant that we
> May feast in paradise with thee.

If any other minister was present the Bishop would call upon him to return thanks when all had finished eating.

Family devotions were attended to night and morning. The entire household, including servants, were expected to be present and join in the services, which consisted of reading the Scriptures, singing a hymn, and offering prayer. Private devotion was rarely neglected. On entering the place of preaching a silent prayer was uttered, the head bowed down and the face covered—a form still often witnessed. The Psalmist's rule was strictly followed: "Evening, and morning, and at noon will I pray;" and the early Methodist memoris are full of the accounts of conversions at private prayer in the woods, in the fields, at the barn, or in the bedchamber. The case of Dr. Thomas Hinde, of Kentucky, was by no means peculiar. Says Bishop Kavanaugh:

> On the place which he cultivated you might often see little houses built of sticks of wood, and covered most usually with bark, with a door for entrance. His grandchildren, myself among the number, who were accustomed to joyous gambols over his grounds, were rather perplexed as to the use of these singular structures. At length the old doctor was overheard at his private prayers in one of these houses. After that we all called them "Grandpa's prayer-houses." He aimed to conceal his person, but did not pray very silently—he could often be heard a considerable distance.*

The deprivations suffered by the pioneer settlers were shared to the full by the pioneer preachers. Their salary (over and above house rent and table and incidental expenses) was fixed at $64 a year, afterward increased to $80, and finally to $100, at which rate it remained until the General Conference of 1866, when all reference to a fixed allowance was stricken from our Discipline. Surely, not from love of gain or emolument have our preachers entered the ministry. At no time within the history of our Church could the worldly advantage have been any temptation; and nothing but the impulsive power of the Holy Ghost could have ever induced the preacher of the Gospel to undergo the toils and the privations of an itinerant life. A paper in the handwriting of Bishop M'Kendree, now in the possession of the writer, shows the following account of receipts and expenditures in the year 1808: from seven Conferences

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* Redford's "History of Methodism in Kentucky," vol. i, p. 375.

the receipts were $175; salary, $80; traveling and other expenses, $61 63; leaving $33 27, which the good Bishop is particular in noting to be yet due to the Conference. Think of a yearly salary of $80 a year for a Bishop, and less than $62 for his table expenses, traveling, and cost of keeping a horse!

Almost at the beginning of our Church the Conference raised a fund for the support of its superannuated members, and to make up deficiencies in the salary of those in the regular work; but even this small pittance was charily bestowed, and only upon the extremely necessitous cases. In the Minutes of the old Western Conference for 1803 is this entry:

> *Benjamin Lakin's Account*, [of deficiency in his salary,] $28 95. But it appears that the circuit maintained Brother Lakin's wife and her beast gratis; it is therefore our opinion that it is ungenerous in him to bring a demand on Conference; and seeing that there are others more needy, it is our judgment that he ought not to have any thing. *Jesse Walker's Account*, $165 37. But it appears that $76 of this is for children. It is our judgment that the demand for children be deducted, and then he is deficient $89 37.

When David wrote "Happy is the man that hath his quiver full of them," his prophetic soul surely saw not these days.

Few of us know from experience the deprivations of that heroic age. Our preachers have always been, as the late President Harrison characterized them,

> A body of men who, for zeal and fidelity in the discharge of the duties they undertake, are not exceeded by any others in the whole world. I have been a witness of their conduct in the Western country for nearly forty years. They are men whom no labor tires, no scenes disgust, no danger frightens in the discharge of their duty. To gain recruits for the Master's service they sedulously seek out the victims of vice in the abodes of misery and wretchedness. Their stipulated pay is barely sufficient to perform the service assigned them. If, within the period I have named, a traveler on the Western frontiers had met a stranger in some obscure way, or assiduously urging his course through the intricacies of a tangled forest, his appearance staid and sober, and his countenance indicating that he was in search of some object in which his feelings were deeply interested—his apparel plain but entirely neat, and his little baggage adjusted with peculiar compactness—he might be almost certain that stranger was a Methodist preacher hurrying on to perform his daily task of preaching to separate and distinct congregations: and should the same traveler upon approaching some solitary, unfurnished, and scarcely habit-

able cabin hear the praises of God chanted with peculiar melody, or the doctrines of the Saviour urged upon the attention of some six or eight individuals with the same energy and zeal that he had seen displayed in addresses to a crowded audience of a populous city, he might be certain, without inquiry, that it was the voice of a Methodist preacher.

Nor did our pioneer fathers in the ministry shun exposure or hardships when they lay in the path of duty. They were forced to ride to their appointments in all kinds of weather: in heat and cold, in drought and wet, in snow and sleet; to swim rivers and creeks swollen with rain or filled with floating ice, no house or fire at hand where to change or dry their wet and freezing garments; laboring often under a burning fever or shaking with the tertian ague; sometimes so feeble that they could scarcely sit upon their beasts or stand on their feet during the time of their preaching; and yet, cold, hungry, and wet, they would often ride fifteen or twenty miles to an appointment, and in that condition preach, then without rest or refreshment proceed several miles farther and preach again, and, to crown all, perhaps be compelled to sleep in a dirty cabin or a damp bed. Brave men! Abundant in labors, inured to poverty and toil, suffering from the inclemencies of the seasons, daring hardships that few for love of gain would ever attempt, the story of their lives reads like a romance, and even fiction cannot surpass it. Deep and broad they laid the foundations. They wrought well, and we have entered into their labors. All honor be to their names!

It is a mistake to suppose that our preachers, as a class, have been ignorant men. That they were unlettered men, without the advantages of scholastic training, and but little read in general literature, is readily admitted; but that they have not kept abreast, or rather in advance, of the times is denied. The pioneers of the Church had few books and but little time for study; but what they had they knew by heart. The Bible, the Methodist Hymn-book, and the Church Discipline, constituted of many the entire library; out of these they learned their theology, and they learned it well. Many of these unlettered preachers were able to confound doctors of divinity. In the art of reasoning they were masters; from Mr. Wesley, the acutest logician of his times, they acquired the art of compressing a battery-discharge into a single argument; and in

effective oratory they surpassed, if possible, even John the Baptist. Yet among these apparently uncultured preachers were many good scholars—men who read the Scriptures in their original tongues, and whose acquaintance with the world's best thoughts was not meager.

The results of their labors cannot be computed in numbers. By them public opinion has been powerfully influenced; the spiritual life of members in every branch of the Church has been quickened; by their peculiar style of preaching the intelligence of the masses has been greatly increased; and thousands have been reclaimed to a new and better life through their efforts. Nor is it too much to say that our well-braced form of society, the wonderful progress of the world's intellect, the rapid advance of the laboring classes toward independence, the stirring activities of Christian benevolence, and the ripening Christian graces of every evangelical sect, are in no small degree due to Methodist preaching and Methodist theology. But what of the future? Under God's blessing, "to-morrow shall be as this day, *and much more abundant.*"

ART. IV.—VICARIOUS ATONEMENT.

ALL other questions of theology sink out of sight in comparison with the doctrine of the person and work of Christ. While, however, we see in this age concessions of the most grateful kind made to the person of Jesus, we cannot but view with some alarm the growing tendency to mistake and to undervalue his work. It is assumed that the incarnation of the Son of God is the highest point, the most important fact, of his history, and that his death is but the natural and consistent close of his earthly career; whereas, important as is the fact of his incarnation, it is to be regarded as deriving its significance from his death as its great end, as the wondrous consummation toward which it pointed for the accomplishment of the purpose for which the Son of God was made flesh. (Heb. ii, 14; John xii, 23-33; xviii, 37.) Not till as he was dying did Jesus say, "It is finished." Consequently, the correct understanding of the work of Jesus, as completed and accom-

plished in his passion and death, is important not only because of its intrinsic worth as being the true means of a sinner's approach to God, but also because of its relation to all the doctrines of Christianity as constituting one whole and perfect system. The interpretation put upon the atonement of Jesus gives complexion to every other question of the Christian religion: sound, decided views here almost invariably imply the same views on other points; and loose, vacillating opinions here, correspondingly vague opinions elsewhere. As the hearty reception of Christ in his mission carries with it the whole train of personal righteousness, so the *rational* reception of Christ in his mission seems to carry along with it an entire consequence of sound doctrine. "This is the work of God, that ye believe on him whom he hath sent." This is the doctrine of God, that ye believe on him whom he hath sent.

The history of Jesus must strike every reader, even the most superficial, as unique. If it could be read with no previously formed opinion of its cause, it would yet impress one by its separateness from the lives of ordinary mortals. Though closely, profoundly, one with men, he still was removed from them, walking in a new path, filling a plane of thought, feeling, and action wholly his own, and actually unapproached and unapproachable. And the feature which first and most forcibly seizes the attention is not his wisdom, his purity, his power, or even his goodness, but his *sorrowfulness.* Though human among the human, mingling alike in the amenities of the wedding and in the mournful ceremonials of the grave; though going about doing good, and so busying himself with actual life; though acceding to all its lawful claims of family, society, government; yet there is an abstractedness, a depth, a pensiveness in his eye, which indicate an unusual insight to human nature; and this insight, with its necessary conviction, seems to reflect itself upon his features, and, indeed, to invest his whole manner with an air of painfulness, which led inspiration to characterize him as "a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief." And then what is most wonderful is, the second thought which arises—that this man, who for his purity, his power, his wisdom and goodness, had the best, the only right to real happiness, uniform and continuous, is the only man whose life was uniformly sorrowful; a life, singularly enough,

deepening in the shadows of grief as it deepened in the light of holiness. The first glimpse of his intelligent career is seen in the disturbance between his own and his earthly parents' will, which doubtless must have cost him a struggle, as it did his mother; the last glimpses, the awful conflict and perplexities of Gethsemane and Calvary, where his own will bows in deepest submission to the heavenly Father's will.

The inquiry, then, forces itself upon us, What is the meaning of this phenomenon, standing thus alone in the history of mankind? Why was Jesus—the spotless, sinless Jesus—such a sufferer? He did not deserve to suffer, he did not need to suffer. What is the key which unlocks the mystery of his incarnation, his passion, and death? I answer, His life was spent for others. His sufferings and death were vicarious, were in the room of others. He, the innocent, holy Jesus, suffered and died for guilty man, to atone for him, to save him, who otherwise for his sinfulness must have died for ever. "Surely he hath borne our griefs, and carried our sorrows: . . . the Lord hath laid on him the iniquity of us all. . . . For the transgression of my people was he stricken." "For he hath made him to be sin for us, who knew no sin; that we might be made the righteousness of God in him."

But the question further arises, What was the *character* of Christ's sufferings? They were vicarious; but in what sense? Hitherto there was but one sense in theology in which they could be vicarious, but Dr. Bushnell, with his accustomed conceit of originality, affects to use the term in other than its fixed theological meaning. Any thing done in the room of another is vicarious; suffering endured in the effort to save another is vicarious; and so Christ's sufferings, because of this primal, literal definition of the word, were *vicarious*, even though they were in no sense expiatory. Thus he gives us a book under the misnomer of "Vicarious Sacrifice," when, according to customary theological language, it is in his opinion no vicarious sacrifice which Christ offered. The misnomer, at the very door-way of the new temple which he has attempted to rear, is but a sample of the contradictions and bad taste which are displayed in all its parts.

But waiving terms which cannot affect the inquiry, all who admit the efficacy of Christ's sufferings and death do allow

that in some important sense they changed the relation existing between God and man; were designed to bring about, and did produce, a most beneficial effect upon man's moral condition. To determine the sense of this change, to show how this beneficial effect was produced, is the vital issue.

With those of the purely rationalistic school, who reject an atonement altogether—who claim that Jesus was simply an eminent or pre-eminent Helper of humanity—I do not propose to deal. They are at least consistent in their course. Rejecting an atonement as impossible in nature and abhorrent to their moral sentiments, they cut out and turn over to the flames all Scriptures which teach it. These Scriptures cannot be true, or they belong to a barbarous age, because they teach what the moral judgment knows to be false and cruel.

The great point of divergence with those who hold to an atonement is found in these differences: 1. That it affected wholly and simply man's condition: 2. That it affected both God's and man's condition. Here the separation begins, and diverse opinions, taking thence their rise, *as opinions* never meet. It is to be hoped that those who propound and hold them, in consideration of the uncertainty and difficulty of metaphysical theology, may meet before their theories, or otherwise must they be doomed to a hopeless alienation. Both of these theories ground themselves, according to the judgments of those who expound them, in the nature of God and in the necessities of man.

1. The first assumes that, while man is sinful and morally unable to recover himself to holiness, it was of the nature of God, of his own free motion, without regard to any thing due himself, to provide for man's recovery by all means possible.

This general view is variously expressed; but it is a fair generalization of all those views which maintain exclusively the manward notion of the atonement. The statement is varied, according as the several adherents hold more or less firmly to the idea of an atonement.

"Mr. Jowett thinks 'Christ performed the greatest moral act that was ever done in this world.'"—*Rigg, Anglican Theology*, p. 322. Mr. Maurice's fundamental principle is, that Christ's life and death were the divine sacrifice by means of which God declared his own relation as a loving, reconciled

Father to universal mankind. As the God-man, Christ embodied and exhibited self-sacrificing love to man and God; thus representing God to man; and at the same time, as the archetypal man, attracting men to imitate God as seen and known in his humanity, and glorifying the principle of self-sacrifice as due from man to the God-man.—*Ibid.*, p. 344.

Dr. Ellis, in his "Half-Century of the Unitarian Controversy," says:

> Unitarianism maintains that the death of Christ, so far as its efficacy is distinctly defined, is instrumental to our salvation through its influence on the life and heart of man, not through its vicarious value with God; and also, that revelation does not acquaint us with any obstacle in the method of administration which God has established as his government which prevents his exercising mercy to the penitent, except through the substitution of a victim to law.—Page 193.

He says further:

> We protest against the charge of confining our construction of the atoning death of Christ to the power and service of example; we repel it. It is not our doctrine that the death of Christ becomes efficacious to us as an example, or even that it is especially needed or available in that direction. Christ to us is a victim, a sacrifice; his death was a sacrificial death. Its method and purpose and influence fix a new, a specific, a peculiar, an eminent meaning to the word sacrifice, when used of him. But, in conformity with that deciding distinction already made as settled by the terms of a God-ward or a man-ward intent in the cross, we regard Jesus as a sacrifice *for man;* but not a sacrifice *to God.* The difference is an infinite one. . . . We regard Christ as a victim offered by human sin for human redemption. He was nailed to the cross to secure our salvation, but not to make reparation for our sins to God.—Pp. 193, 194.

Dr. Bushnell says:

> Christ is here, according to the doctrine of this treatise, to be the moral power of God on the world, so the moral power of God unto salvation. We have seen him, for example, fulfilling the love-principle in vicarious suffering for us; revealing, in his obedience, God's everlasting obedience to law; adding vigor to law by his tremendous enforcements; doing honor to God's retributive justice by subjecting himself to all the corporate evils it brings on the human state; and by all these methods declaring so impressively the righteousness of God as to prepare the glorious possibility and fact of a free justification.*

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* "Vicarious Atonement," p. 528.

I give also a passage from the voluminous work on the Atonement, by J. M'Leod Campbell:

> The peace-speaking power of the blood of Christ is to be conceived of as a direct power on the spirit in its personal relation to the Father of spirits, revealing at once the heart of the Father, and the way into the heart of the Father, even the Son. The blood that reveals this imparts peace, makes perfect as pertains to the conscience—yea, purges it from dead works to serve the living God. Indeed, that the relation of that blood to God's law, and the honor it rendered to that law, have had, as we have seen, a direct reference to our receiving the adoption of sons, implies that it has not come directly between man and judgment, or taken him, by the fact of its being shed, from beneath the righteous rule of God, and, therefore, that it ministers no peace, being rejected; but, on the contrary, only a fearful looking for of judgment, so assuredly giving no place for the direct confidence, "He suffered," therefore I shall not suffer.—Page 214.

I need hardly state the objections to Mr. Jowett's view. It is so far removed as to be scarcely dangerous. But little reverence is left in him for the holy Scriptures, and he brushes them aside at his pleasure and sets up his own "ideas." To say that Christ performed the greatest moral act that was ever done in the world, is not to say much, and does not imply any very especial, much less an exhaustive, power in his sufferings and death to effect human salvation. Mr. Maurice, with more of reverence left for the word of God, affects to confine himself to its authority, and so seeks by its teachings to explain the work of Christ, but reduces that work almost wholly to a moral exhibition. It is the expression of God's love working in the God-man, who, as the archetypal man, draws, or is to draw, all mankind into his own likeness of self-denying love. God in Christ speaks nothing of holiness, authority, wrath against sin. Dr. Ellis, representing the most conservative phase of New England Unitarianism, disclaims entirely all God-ward effect in the atonement; that its influence on man is not by any vicarious value with God; that it does not show or remove any obstacle in the government of God to the free pardon of the penitent sinner. It is without a substitution offered to violated law. Although repudiating the charge that his school look upon Christ merely as an example, or chiefly so, yet I cannot see that his definition of Christ as a sacrifice for sin is anything more than Christ's succumbing to the oppositions of sin as

the victim of its hate. He was not God's victim, but the shining, sinless Exemplar, the pre-eminent Holy One, whom the malice of sin could not allow to escape; and who, in falling beneath its power and witnessing thus to Truth and Duty, of right becomes in some mysterious sense the dispenser of life: in what other than the sense of moral attraction, as in the theory of Maurice, I am unable to see. I have already said Dr. Bushnell's vicarious sacrifice is a misnomer. A good trap it is to catch the unwary. I am sorry so honest and brave a man should descend to the least unfairness in so grand a matter as an effort on his part to help settle forever the vexed and difficult doctrine of the atonement. He disavows every peculiarity in the ordinary definition of the atonement of Christ as received by the orthodox Church, and still hides himself under its phraseology, and concludes his essay to wrest every old time-honored expression of the doctrine from its accepted use, by exhorting those who think with him, who may feel some compunctions in the use of the old nomenclature, not to mind—words are not much—to go on with the same symbols, even though they may not convey the secret, hidden sense in which they are held. No wonder that a man who begins by bandying English, Greek, Hebrew, about at his pleasure, twisting words to suit his argument, should end by declaring that it is not very important to use words exactly as we understand them. He finds another sort of justice in God, after God began to exist and created man, than that which previously existed as a conception, eternal and all embracing. God's justice could need no expiation; there can be no such thing as substitution; no such thing as suffering the punishment of the guilty on the part of the innocent. The love of God was always vicarious, and God suffered for the sin of the world from its first commission. Finally Jesus came forth from the Father to manifest this suffering: he met sin and conquered it by submitting to its inconveniences and triumphing over them, so showing the holiness of God's law in his loyalty to it under temptation, and the exceeding struggle it required in him to keep it. He pronounced awful curses upon those who should disobey it, and thus by his own obedience, and by his authority, declared the immutable righteousness of God: and so having endured all the discomforts and pains of seeking a lost world in a sinful surrounding,

and yet without himself becoming sinful, he has now become the author of salvation to all who believe in him—that is, receive his same spirit of righteous obedience. The holiness of God, the absolute demerit of guilt, the wrath of God against sin and sinners, has little or no place in Dr. Bushnell's attempt to explain the great problem, "How can man be just with his Maker."

Mr. Campbell wrestles with the problem manfully—his prolix volume on the atonement, and his less one on "Christ the Bread of Life," have in them some noble thoughts. Christ did expiate the sin of the world; but he did it by taking its sin so far as to have it condemned in his bodily nature, to confess it before God, and to offer intercessory prayer to the Father on the basis of his suffering and confession. All well: there is confession in suffering and words, there is intercession; but he falls short of the great fact of Christ himself offered for the sin of the world. The confession, the intercession—but where the victim? The key to the atonement Mr. Campbell finds in the passage, "Lo! I come to do thy will, O God." He does not understand by this that Christ obtains our sanctification by carrying out the eternal purpose of God in sending him forth a Lamb slain, etc., but in the perfect obedience to the divine moral law which he accomplished: and thenceforth as the Son of God in humanity, he is to save by working in the sinner the same conformity to the Divine will or law. Hence, in his "Bread of Life" he objects to the communicant's looking to Christ's righteousness as a *work done for* him, and so to be realized, but insists that faith must apprehend Christ's righteousness as the spirit of obedience or holiness working *in* the believer.

(2.) All these views fall short of what I deem the truly adequate statement of the vicarious sacrifice of Christ. Stated fully and briefly, it may be affirmed that man was unable to save himself, being guilty and corrupt before God and condemned to death; that God of his own free love provided for his recovery, but not without answering a demand on his own nature and government, which required a full *satisfaction* for man's sin; this satisfaction was made by the offering of Christ, the only begotten Son of God—the God-man who by his obedience, passion, and death, became an expiatory sacrifice to God for the sins of this whole world.

This satisfaction was due primarily to the justice of God, which held the transgressor guilty, and amenable to penalty or punishment, and consequently could not allow of his forgiveness without violence to the nature and government of God. Either the sinner must die, or some one every way fit to be his substitute must die in his place. This substitute the Son of God was suited to be; he as very God and author of law, and therefore the equal of the law, could become such substitute, and so by rendering an adequate sacrifice to the law maintain its integrity and his own justice. The infinite Son of God was not without means consistently to accomplish this purpose. He became incarnate without becoming sinful; he came under law while he was above law; he obeyed law, allowed all its claims, suffered the oppositions of sin, the pains of sin, not as any innocent, sensitive spirit could suffer them, but suffered, feeling all the time that he was taking in his own heart the anger of God which was rightly due the guilty race with whom and for whom, and, after a certain sense, in whom, he was living and acting. A voluntary substitute—moved to be such by his own and the Father's free and united love—he spared himself in nothing, but "made himself, once offered, a full, perfect, and sufficient oblation and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world." He was made sin—I shrink not from it; no nice, soft, syllabub explanations will do—he was made sin, counted as sinful and punished, who knew no sin, that we might be made the righteousness of God in him. "The wages of sin is death." "He was made a curse for us." The satisfaction thus rendered to the justice of God by no means exhausts the full conception of the atonement. Ascended to the Father, by the power which inhered in him to lay down his own life and to take it up again—by reason of the perfect satisfaction thus made once in time—he obtained gifts for men. The grace hitherto restrained from a guilty world now streamed out afresh in superabundance by the power of the Holy Ghost or Spirit of Christ shed forth. Thus the atonement of Christ, as correctly understood, includes all that is implied in a perfect revelation of truth in the teachings and spirit of Jesus; all meant by a perfect manifestation of love in the gift of the Father's only-begotten Son, and in the self-sacrificing surrender of Christ himself; all meant by a perfect exhibition of holiness, tenderness, in the

sinless purity, obedience, and affectionateness of Jesus; all that is meant by his being the power of God in the soul of man. And also it possess and presents to the guilty, despairing sinner, set forth for his free and instantaneous forgiveness, an expiation which makes his peace with God, the Eternal Sovereign and Father of spirits. But this doctrine of substitutional satisfaction to the justice of God is a rock on which many split. It is an offense. I may notice a few of the leading objections offered to its acceptance.

1. It is asserted that this so-called justice of God is a "moral fiction," a creature of man's own fancy, and has no real existence in God. 'God moves freely as he will without regard to any thing in himself which can hinder him, or any thing which needs propitiation in order for him to do as he will.' But if it is a fiction in God which demands of him that he must punish the guilty, how will we explain the universal sentiment of justice among men which feels and says the guilty should and must be punished. The execration pronounced against crime as deserving penalty, and which will not allow the exercise of mercy at its own option, is a stern reality. If it be said, Men feel differently upon sober second thought, I say, Not always; and I say that when they do relax, it is frequently attributable to an indisposition to take the trouble which the enforcement of law requires. It is a pity that Mr. Jowett and Mr. Maurice can descant so elegantly on the divine inspiration of humanity, exalt its ideas, etc., quite to a revelation, and yet can see only a fiction in that justice of God which demands either the guilty's punishment or an expiation, when the same principle pervades all mankind. It is a pity, too, that Dr. Bushnell can appeal so constantly to the moral sentiments for his guidance, and can see only fictitious representation when, in explaining God's feeling toward guilt, it is claimed that its exact image is in man's own breast. When he would evade this justice of God, he can find a great moral law of right which was before God himself, before *instituted* law, and consequently before penalty. This great law to which he refers the conduct of God before he was hampered by justice, a mere institute, he finds recognized in the soul. And so he does, only not his use of it.

But why should he be so oblivious to this sense of indigna-

tion against sin, its accountability to judgment and wrath? Evidently it does not suit his scheme of *Moral Galvanism* to see it. It raises a barrier to the unrestrained, free-moving mercy of which he delights to think.

He asks, Why talk of the satisfaction of God's justice? Why not also speak of the satisfaction of his mercy? Must not God be merciful as well as just? Cannot we as well conceive of justice relaxing as of mercy relaxing her exercise? God knows when to enforce justice and when to restrain it; and he can do either as he pleases without the intervention of an expiation to appease him, etc. This is essentially the argument of the whole school who hold simply to the "moral" theory of the atonement.

It is conceded that the necessity for propitiation arises out of the separation produced by sin between God and man. . Therefore reconciliation concerns both God and man. Where there is cause of separation, certainly both parties are related to the cause, and the removal of the cause must affect the attitude of each. It cannot be that all, in effecting a reconciliation, is due to one, and that the offending party. The first instinct of nature demands that satisfaction be made to the offended party. The love of God as an active, living principle has certainly been stayed by sin—we see and know this every day—so that while disposed to move it hovers around his rectitude and holiness unable to move. God's love is a *holy* love, and can move only as it moves righteously. Otherwise it deteriorates into weakness under the guise of compassion, and into cruelty under the guise of mercy. The very fact that God is love makes him all the more angry with sin, and incapable of the least seeming countenance of it, for it is the great destroyer of the creatures of his love. So that "the expression, the *wrath of God*, simply embodies the truth that the relations of God's love to the world are unsatisfied, unfulfilled."*

"It is an appropriate description of the love of God, the divine pathos restrained by his righteousness! Indeed, the very existence of mercy could not be conceived without conceiving of the justice of God; much less could its exercise be conceived without a divine judgment against sin. Where is any need of mercy, until the justice of God, enforcing the de-

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* Martensen, Christian Dogmatics, p. 303.

mands of holy love, holds the sinner to a strict accountability, claiming in its inexorable rightness, "The soul that sinneth, it shall die." Now this is what God, true to his own nature, to his eternal love, does: he provides a ransom, a substitute, for the guilty and condemned, which satisfies righteous judgment and frees the guilty sinner. Thus we get our first notion of compassion. Mercy does not override justice to release the sinner in the face of outraged law, but exerts herself to produce a ransom, and so herself proclaims that God can now "be just, and a justifier of him that believeth in Jesus." The infinite, supreme love of God claims, in the conscience of the sinner, a debt which he cannot pay, and for which there is no resource except in Infinite Love itself, and so mercy springs from the bosom of Eternal Love. Is God then in conflict with himself? Nay, by this course his unchangeableness is demonstrated. "I am the Lord, I change not; therefore ye sons of Jacob are not consumed."

How can we do otherwise than to judge of God's character as it is manifested to us in his dealings with men as a *righteous governor*, following the laws his own finger has written upon the tables of the conscience as well as on tables of stone? We don't see him deal with us, as a person with persons, wholly or chiefly, but as a ruler with subjects. Government is of God. Its laws are his laws as mankind have been able to interpret them. Mankind could not appreciate a divine government which based forgiveness simply upon the repentance of the sinner without any satisfaction to the sanctity and integrity of Law. They see that the repentance of the guilty cannot always undo the damage done by transgression. They do not see that the original and main intent of law is not to reform the bad, but rather to protect the good. They do see that its design toward the wicked is not to reform them, but to deter them from crime; and that it has power to reform only as it has power to deter. Here is one of those glaring inconsistencies so common in Dr. B.'s book. He makes Christ republish, if not originally promulge, the doctrine of future eternal punishment—using the arguments ordinarily employed; and yet he presents Christ, in his great work of atonement, as evading the penalty due to the justice of God for sin. God does pardon all sinners without a satisfaction for guilt—his

love demands it and his mercy overrides his justice, and yet, O yet! he can see millions upon millions writhing in everlasting torments, and the mercy of God can do nothing to relieve them! If mercy could once overleap justice, why not twice, thrice, always? I cannot refrain from Mr Arthur's words in the "Tongue of Fire," "Right in our governments is the imperfect reflection of a perfect right. Had the favor of the Almighty crossed the line which divides innocence from guilt, and smiled upon the latter, that smile would have been a scathing flash, wherein all morals would have blackened."—P. 18.

2. It is further objected that substitutional satisfaction shocks our *moral sense.*

"That God, an infinitely good being, perfect in all his ways, should require a satisfaction before he can pardon the sinner, degrades him in our judgment of his character—it is what we would not think of any good man." As previously stated, we must judge of God by the facts of his government, supposing that government to be a transcript of himself. It is no shock to our moral sense that God must maintain his justice—that he cannot forgive without a sacrifice to it when he himself provides the sacrifice. He will neither allow justice nor the sinner to be sacrificed, but maintains the one and saves the other. This process with himself and before men he prefers.

It is thought especially derogatory that he should require and accept as a satisfaction the sufferings of an innocent being, and so should be unjust to innocence under the plea of faithfulness to justice.

Bishop Butler has unanswerably met this general objection in his "Analogy." "When, in the daily course of natural providence, it is appointed that innocent people should suffer for the faults of the guilty, this is liable to the same objection as the instance we are now considering."—P. 188. But I am surprised that Dr. Bushnell, while admitting the righteousness of this principle so long as suffering is simply endurance to recover the lost—the pain and anguish through which self-sacrificing love can alone reach and rescue the sinful—shrinks back, as from a horrible thing, from the admission that this suffering of innocent, self-sacrificing love, may be, must be, primarily an expiation for guilt.

Now I submit that it is as reconcilable with the character

of God that he cannot clear the guilty without the suffering of innocence as a satisfaction to justice as that he cannot save the sinner at all without the intervention of suffering innocence. Does Dr. B. and those who with him magnify the efficacy of the mere moral aspect of Christ's sufferings allow that the sinner could have been saved without these sufferings? Were they simply adopted as the best, and not the only, expedient? How could a just, a holy, a good God on *any principle* require the suffering of innocence for guiltiness? and if on any principle, why not as well on the principle of a satisfaction to justice as upon any other? We do see the innocent suffering for the guilty, where the only apparent, and indeed possible, result is punishment for sin. He is shocked that Christ, the innocent holy One, should be punished to satisfy justice; and yet he can exult in the exhibition of his indescribable pain and agony in suffering to show the holiness of the law, the pain of transgression, the infamy of sin. This innocent Jesus may endure all the pains to which sin can expose him by snapping at him as a fierce fiend on his highway of obedience, tear him to pieces, crush his guileless spirit, but it must not be thought that any of this suffering is at all expiatory—that would make God cruel. It would make him commit the absurdity of thinking that in punishing an innocent person he really punished a guilty one, the only proper object of his wrath. But we do see in the course of providence a constant transfer of suffering from the guilty to the innocent, where it can be only regarded as penalty, and never becomes to the innocent in any sense disciplinary. A guilty mother destroys her innocent child, simply because it is a child of guilty lust; what can such destruction be regarded other than a punishment of the parent upon the child, and that without possibility of discipline to the child? We do find as a fact the course of justice stayed by innocent suffering, so that the ends of administration are practically met, although we cannot always know how the transfer of punishment takes place, or whether it always takes place justly.

3. The objection is further raised: If Christ expiated the sins of the whole world, how can God be just and afterward punish the sin of the incorrigible transgressor? Can he require justice to be *twice* satisfied?

I will not take refuge under the distinction of a "public" and a "distributive" justice, and say it was to satisfy the former and not the latter that Jesus died. "The punishment due to individual transgression remains unatoned for, and, therefore, where he pardons it is an act of free grace; none can claim pardon as an act of justice, and so sinners punished for their sins are punished only for what they could not be forgiven, except as an act of grace." It may be readily seen how election and reprobation may hide under such subtlety. Christ did suffer to satisfy justice in the most *absolute* sense, in all its aspects and in all its claims; but he did so in his relation to the human family as its Head, as the second Adam; and in that capacity, not only as the second Adam in a human nature, but as the Lord from glory, the God-man. The human race cannot be regarded as a heap of sand without necessary cohesion; it cannot be regarded as detached parts in its individual members without essential connection. It is one. It is a body with unity of life. Its emblem is not in the broken, severed branches, and fallen, scattered leaves, of the tree, but in the living tree with all its branches, twigs, leaves, growing upon and deriving sustenance and life from the one trunk. Christ is related to humanity not as one branch to another branch, nor as one leaf to another leaf, but as the trunk which sustains all is to all. Coming and existing thus in our humanity, what he does in it he necessarily does for it, and for it all, in every member of it. It is conjectured that if we had an instrument sufficiently powerful, we might see in every seed the full outline of the matured plant which is subsequently to grow out of it. Now in some such way Christ, the great germinal seed of humanity, has in him all the possibilities of the whole race. When it is accepted that all Adam's posterity sinned in his sin, no such doctrine is received as that Adam committed every actual transgression of every one of his descendants. It is not necessary to conclude that his consciousness took cognizance of any such fact; and yet it is believed that his sin by *possibility*, growing out of his federal headship, contained germinally every sin which his fallen children have committed. So, is it not equally fair to say that when we affirm that Christ was punished for the sins of the whole world, we mean not to imply that it was necessary that in enduring the penalty he should have felt

the suffering which divine anger inflicts upon every sinning soul? He endured that suffering *potentially*, as the second Adam and the Restorer of the race.—The curse due mankind fell upon Him *extensively*, but not *intensively*. As all the world sinned and died in the first Adam, so all the world was punished and made alive in the second Adam. "For we thus judge, that if one died for all, then were all dead," that is, then did all die in him, or were punished in him; "that they who live," they who are so made alive by suffering in him the demerit due their sin, "should henceforth live not unto themselves," etc. It is not necessary, therefore, to assume that they who are punished for actual transgression are punished a second time, and that justice is twice expiated.

Moreover, it is manifest that Christ by his wondrous intervention to save mankind becomes to the race the author of a new life. And standing thus to the race as the Lord of life from heaven, and the Saviour of humanity, he possesses the right to introduce for the race a new law of life. What shall it be? What can it be, other than the law of *faith* in him as the Redeemer of the world? Jesus could not do otherwise than place mankind under a law of obedience, which was necessary to secure to them the benefit of his atonement. As the atonement itself was necessary, because God must deal with man as a moral agent, so its intervention cannot be supposed to supersede this necessity. Since to have failed to vindicate the high principles of righteousness in the act of redemption would have been to ignore man's moral nature, so also to have constituted an atonement satisfying these principles, but disregarding man's free choice in embracing it, would have been equally to have trodden out his moral nature and rendered his salvation not a religious one, because destitute of the virtue which can only be predicated of freedom. Hence it appears, as might be anticipated, the all-containing sin, the sin of sins, under the new life, is unbelief, the willful rejection of the Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. "Of sin, because they believe not on me." And this is the sin for which the persistent transgressor is punished.

The relation thus introduced by faith between Christ and the soul comprises the new law of life in Christ Jesus. The guilty but penitent sinner now sees his sin expiated in the death of

Jesus, accepts the substitution, and this faith or acceptance of Christ is counted to him for righteousness. God is just, and the justifier of him that believes in Jesus. I would not prefer to say with Dr. Bushnell, (as I neither like his freedom with the Queen's English nor the purpose he seeks,) the "*righteouser*" of him that believeth!

The fault which the whole school of the deniers of expiation find with this view is, that it fills the mind with the notion of a merely legal justification instead of a moral righteousness. This whole school would regard the work of Christ as strictly subjective—a work to be accomplished in us by the operation of the Spirit of Christ in producing his own image in our nature. Now the beauty of the old doctrine is, that it is both objective and subjective. As a legal justification, it first removes the barrier to the free movement of the Spirit of Christ into the heart of the penitent, and then consentaneously fills him with righteousness of nature. Christ is made the power of God unto salvation as the ground of pardon in his satisfying merits, and he is made the power of God in the soul by the inworking of the Holy Ghost, answering to the atoning blood, which renews and seals the child of God. Now, I do affirm that this doctrine meets the whole case, and that no other does. The first want of a burdened, condemned, despairing, but penitent sinner, is *pardon*. Hence the cry, "Have mercy upon me!" from the lips of David; "God be merciful to me, a sinner!" from the publican. The mind is occupied, not with its corruption, but with its guilt and danger. It would have, first of all, instantaneously—now—the wrath of God removed. The more you offer a guilty, despairing sinner a holy Saviour simply to work in him, the more, it seems to me, you are liable to discourage him; but when once forgiven, and he has tasted that the Lord is gracious, then, enamored of the beauty of holiness, his heart sweetly submits to the informing, sanctifying power of the divine character and Spirit. I am amazed that Dr. Bushnell, in his chapter on "Christ the Power of God," should plead as though those who hold to the doctrine of Christ's sufferings as a ground of justification have underrated the inward work of Christ's Spirit, or the Holy Ghost, as an integral and inseparable part of the work of justification. Such teaching cannot be found in our orthodox standards, nor from our living preachers. As Wesleyans we

can only smile at such ignorant assumption. On the theory that Christ's work is wholly an inward, spiritual one—setting aside the original pardon, which was needed when the penitent soul first came to God—what becomes not only of the remaining corruption, but of the repeated transgression of the imperfect believer? Where is the expiation to take away, or cover, or secure forgiveness for this recurring, constant guilt? What could poor human nature do, even at its best, when gazing upon the perfect righteousness of Christ, and even when conscious of the inworking grace of his Spirit in carrying forward the work of holiness, if it could not cling in its seasons of error and failure and transgression to the merits of Christ, as indicating a work done *for* it, to be imputed to, or be passed over to it, by the simple act of faith? Indeed, take away this blessed thought and fact, "for Christ's sake," and you eviscerate our whole body of divinity. The Old Testament types are no longer types, and are without significance; the New Testament sacrifice is but one of the moral sacrifices of the great and good: the songs of ages lose their sweetest notes, their divinest harmony; preaching becomes but the instrument of a moral improvement, and the glad evangel sounding along the march of the centuries, "Free grace, sovereign grace, for all despairing souls," is hushed forever. Dr. Bushnell's most charitable explanation of the happy fruits of the old doctrine in the myriads of believers who have washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb is, that their experience was better than their theology! But, somehow, the acute and eloquent Martineau, though a Unitarian, finds among those who cleave to the expiatory sacrifice of Jesus all the philosophy, all the poetry, all the society for which he most cares.

In testing doctrines by the Bible, the only and fully sufficient source of doctrine, the question is not what doctrine may find some proofs here and there in its teachings, but what doctrine will answer best to *all* its teachings? what is most distinctly taught by the analogy of Scripture? The older Rationalists of Germany conceded that no impartial reader could study the Scriptures without seeing that they taught the doctrine of expiatory piacular sacrifice; and hence, as I have said, they expurgated those parts which taught what was obnoxious to reason, and among them those that clearly taught vicarious

sacrifice. But it is left for our times to see men deny the most natural and time-honored meaning of the word of God in order to suit a theory. Those who must hold on to the whole Bible as the inspired mind of God, and who must give up the expiatory sacrifice of Christ, must, of course, begin by denying outright the typical character of Old Testament sacrifice. The whole Unitarian fraternity and Dr. Bushnell think that the ritual of the Old Testament was simply educational—for the time; it was the best adapted to school the world in its then barbarous condition, and it simply happened that New Testament writers found types of Christ and his sacrifice in what was never instituted by God or understood by God's people with any such intent. Accidents will happen. Isolated facts become precedents. History repeats itself. There is a God in history giving it a divine philosophy; but alas for any traceable mind of God in the religion which he himself gave to his own peculiar people! "These sacrifices, too, were only lustral, and as such are applied to the death of Christ. There was no expiation for guilt in them; they were only cleansing," etc.

Now I think it may be clearly shown that the fundamental thought of all religious sacrifice is expiation, atoning for guilt, a satisfaction to justice. Hear the verdict of the philosophic mind of Madame de Staël in her work on Germany:

> I consider sacrifices as the basis of all religion, and the death (*sic*) of Abel as the first type of that sacrifice which forms the groundwork of Christianity. The greater part of ancient religions instituted human sacrifice; but in this barbarity there was something remarkable, namely, the necessity of a solemn expiation. Nothing in effect can obliterate from the soul the idea that there is a mysterious efficacy in the blood of the innocent, and that heaven and earth are moved by it. Men have always believed that the just could obtain, in this life or the other, the pardon of the guilty. There are some primitive ideas in the human species which re-appear, with more or less disfigurement, in all times and among all nations.

Coming directly to the subject of the Mosaic sacrifices, they show,

> 1. That the offerer presented the victim as his own representative; 2. That by laying his hands upon the head of the sacrifice he symbolically transferred to it his own guilt; 3. That in its death he exhibited the punishment due to his own sins; and,

4. That in the pouring or sprinkling of the blood before the Lord was concentrated the very point and meaning of the whole service, since the blood represented the life which had been forfeited, and which was thus symbolically rendered to the Lord.—*Rigg*, p. 370.

The peace-offering, the thank-offering, were based upon the reconciliation effected by the sin-offering. Kurtz says, "The animal and its sinless life stand instead of man; instead of him it suffers the punishment of death, thus making void the guilt imputed to it. This is a juridical view, because it looks upon the slaying of the beast as an act of punishment, and that which the beast effects by suffering for man as a vicarious sacrifice."

It is assumed that, because on two occasions in the Old Testament where an atonement was made and God's wrath was stopped there was no beast slain and no blood shed, therefore the slaying of the beast and the shedding of blood was not necessary to an atonement, and that the element of expiation did not enter into either the nature of the atonement or the sacrifice of the beast. When the people had sinned in the matter of the golden calf, Moses said, "Now I will go up unto the Lord; peradventure I shall make an atonement for your sin." He went up accordingly, says Dr. Bushnell, and made intercession for them in words of supplication, without any sacrifice at all, and this was his atonement. The stopping of the plague by the zeal of Phinehas is cited by Mr. Campbell, in which it is affirmed an atonement was made by a moral act simply. It should be borne in mind that both Moses and Phinehas were acting under a system of sacrifices. That system is not to be judged by single or exceptional cases, but by its general tenor and direction. These cases were both extraordinary—the exigency was very great—and to meet the urgent demands of the crisis God accepted as an atonement the zeal of his servants, not as superseding, but as complementing the general law under which they acted. We do not know what Moses did on the Mount in making an atonement. To say he made no sacrifice is to assume too much. Evidently he offered to God what was more than the life of the beast, even his own life, in consideration of which *virtual* sacrifice the course of justice was stayed, the nation was spared, though, as a partial

punishment, that generation perished in the wilderness. That God had instituted a fixed method of sacrificial atonement by the blood of animals never was meant to exclude the possibility of atonement by the self-sacrificing zeal of his servants acting under and in harmony with this instituted method. The zeal of Phinehas made an atonement by the sacrifice of the blood of a guilty pair, and after twenty and four thousand had died of the plague. What further ritualistic atonement took place is not stated, and yet it may be inferred from the analogy of other cases that such an atonement was afterward made. The inspired historian might not have deemed it necessary to note what usually followed as a course of instituted law. But these passages have another side. The acts of Moses and of Phinehas are called atonements, and evidently so because they stopped the wrath of God. This is the main significance. There is no slain beast, no shed blood mentioned, it is true; but with what consistency can it be denied of an atonement by the shedding of blood that its fundamental object is not to stop the wrath of God, or, in other words, not to make an expiation for sin? If the turning away of God's anger is necessary to an atonement in the one case it is so in another. And here is one of those errors into which objectors to the doctrine of vicarious atonement so commonly fall: they take detached passages and build their theories upon them as isolated accounts, whereas the true method is to explain these separate instances by the whole scope of Scripture. We cannot take the words "atonement," "sacrifice," "reconciliation," "redemption," "mediation," etc., and insist upon the particular significance which any one of these words may have in a special connection as the basis of a sufficient definition of the work of Christ, but they must be studied in all their relations and applications, and thus the results of a fair and thorough comparison arrived at. That is the true meaning which best answers to all the varieties of meaning in the different and detached passages. There is scarcely a passage in the Old Testament where the word "atonement" does not imply the removal of wrath. When the people, after the punishment of the two hundred and fifty rebels, murmured against Moses and Aaron, and the Lord threatened to destroy them, Moses gave direction to Aaron: "Take a censer, and put fire therein from the altar, and put on incense, and go quickly to the con-

gregation, and make atonement for them: for there is wrath gone out from the Lord; the plague is begun." (Num. xvi, 46.) Here was no beast or blood, but the fire from the altar manifestly stood for the sacrifice which it usually consumed. In these three cases it is God's wrath excited by sin which is appeased by propitiation. The atonement (Greek, *εξιλασμός*, and the Hebrew, כַּפֵּר) certainly intervenes between God's wrath and sin. In the sacrifices of the day of atonement the same thought is clearly revealed. After Aaron had offered his bullock of the sin-offering, he was to take two kids of the goats for a sin-offering for the people, and, bringing the two goats to the door of the tabernacle of the congregation; to cast lots upon them—one lot for the Lord and the other lot for the scape-goat. The one which fell to the Lord was slain, its blood sprinkled upon the altar, as the blood of the bullock had been sprinkled for Aaron, after which he was to bring the live goat: and lay both his hands upon the head of the live goat, and confess over him all the iniquities of the children of Israel, and all their transgressions in all their sins, putting them upon the head of the goat, and sending him away by the hand of a fit man into the wilderness. (Lev. xvi, 20, 21.) This act of confession was a transfer of the people's sin, its guilt and corruption, to the animal, and its escape denoted their deliverance. The punished sin was symbolized in the slain goat, the pardoned sinner in the escaped goat. The profound significance of the passover dwindles, in the hands of the deniers of substitutional atonement, into a mere means on the part of God to mark the residences of the Israelitish people as distinguished from the houses of the Egyptians; whereas the blood of the paschal lamb upon the door-post not only showed where an Israelite lived, but declared that every Israelite was saved by the blood of the lamb, as a means of warding off death as a substitutionary sacrifice for the first-born of Israel, who, but for it, must have perished by the avenging angel with the first-born of Egypt. St. Paul must have known what it meant to the mind of a Jew, or he would not have said, "Christ, our Passover, is slain for us." And Jesus himself, in instituting his own supper at the close of the passover, explicitly avows and embodies the great fact of his dying to save; to save not only by the inward communication of his spirit of obedient self-surrender,

but also and principally as a ground of pardon: "For this is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sins." The *ἄφεσιν* cannot mean cleansing, except by implication; but literally and by the widest usage signifies letting go, freeing, removing barriers as opening sluices, remission, forgiveness. The Saviour's evident reference was to the old covenant, which was sealed by blood, and which based forgiveness only upon condition of shedding of blood. (Exod. xxiv, 8.)

Why should his supper commemorate his *death* rather than his birth, or any event of his life, except that it was the pregnant point of his career, as indicated in all the sacrificial types which preceded him? "For the life of the flesh is in the blood; and I have given it to you upon the altar, to make an atonement for your souls: for it is the blood that maketh an atonement for the soul." Lev. xvii, 11. These Old Testament sacrifices, we read in the New Testament, were *shadows* of the good things to come, the *substance* was Christ. They derived their power not from the entertainment which they gave to an ignorant, crude people—not from any adequate sense of sin which they were supposed to convey—but from their designed reference to the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world. It is not necessary to suppose that the Jew embraced in his knowledge their fullest spiritual significance; yet assuredly he did embrace enough to keep alive his faith in the deepest purpose of God in the creation of the world. The older Rationalists and Mr. Jowett tell us, that since the apostles, as Jews, were full of the Old Testament doctrine of expiation by sacrifice, it was the most natural thing for them to see the same doctrine in the life and death of Jesus. It is left for our modern vindicators of the character of God to find out that Jehovah never meant to teach what these apostles had learned from the sacred books. Abraham and the other patriarchs, Moses and the kings and the prophets, saw the day of Christ and were glad, but they did not understand what they saw, much less why they should be glad; they could not put this and that together, as through the smoke of their own sacrifices they looked down through the ages and caught the flashes which ascended to heaven from Calvary's altar; they could see no connection between the two; their sacrifices were only a dumb

show, given to them as a toy is given to a child to occupy it until it can comprehend and manage real things. Dr. Bushnell sees an argument for the absence of significance and power in the Old Testament sacrifices in their growing disuse as the moral sense of the Jews expanded. They outgrew such crudities! Did not the prophets charge this growing neglect rather to a growing wickedness than an expanding conscience? They, to the last recorded utterances of Malachi, reproach the people for robbing God of his dues in withholding the tithes and offerings. It was to their shame that they either brought nothing or brought only the blemished, such as were an abomination unto God. And whenever God speaks lightly of sacrifices, it is where those sacrifices are associated with corruption and are vainly presented without repentance and reformation. It is impossible to find that at any time God meant that the mere blood of the beast could take away sin, only as it was a sign, or the expression, of the deeper sacrifice of a broken and contrite spirit, and a symbol of that greater Sacrifice which was to appear once in the fullness of time as a satisfaction for the sins of the whole world. The age so boastingly called the advanced period of Israel was an age of apostasy—the purer age, on the contrary, was when the people brought of the best of their flocks, etc., to sacrifice regularly to the Lord. The flame of piety died with the flame of the altar, and only revived again at Pentecost, after that the sacrifice of the Lamb of God had found acceptance in heaven and obtained eternal redemption for men. The ancient sacrifices were valueless only as they diverted the mind from Christ and the holiness which it is the end of all religion to create, but so long as they kept the mind steadily on Christ as the Lamb of God taking away the sin of the world they were of priceless value. It is only when brought into comparison as a ground and means of holiness with the blood of Jesus that their value vanishes. And when, too, God's great purpose is ripe to effect by the real sacrifice that which was hitherto only foreshadowed and anticipated—by the one great sacrifice of his Son—then they altogether vanish away. "For it is not possible that the blood of bulls and of goats should take away sins. Wherefore, when He cometh into the world, he saith, Sacrifice and offering thou wouldest not, but a body hast thou prepared me: in burnt-

offerings and sacrifices for sin thou hast had no pleasure. Above, when he said, Sacrifice and offering and burnt-offerings and offering for sin thou wouldest not, neither hadst pleasure therein; which are offered by the law; then said he, Lo, I come to do thy will, O God. He taketh away the first, that he may establish the second." Heb. x, 4–6, 8, 9. The Lamb "slain from the foundation of the world" had now appeared, offered himself, and, all past as well as the present and future merging in him, the apostle could say, "Whom God hath set forth (preordained) to be a propitiation (a propitiatory sacrifice) through faith in his blood, to declare (demonstrate) his righteousness (justice) for the remission (forgiveness) of sins that are past, through the forbearance of God, (because of his seeming inpunity in overlooking transgression in the past;) to declare (demonstrate) at this (present) time his righteousness: (justice:) that he might be (is) just and the justifier of him which believeth in Jesus." This sacrifice was that to which the ancient Jew looked by anticipation; it is that to which we now look by retrospection. It has already been shown how Christ derived from the passover the lesson, and henceforth embodied in his own Supper as a fact the truth, of his atoning death; it remains to quote but one among many instances in which he assumed for himself and his sacrifice the whole burden of meaning involved in the Old Testament ritual. "Even as the Son of man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many." Matt. xx, 28. Here the evangelist puts into the mouth of Christ the very word, (*λύτρον*,) *lutron*, by which the "Seventy" translate Exod. xxi, 30, *λύτρα*, a ransom, and the equivalent forfeited life; also (Lev. xxv, 24, 51,) the purchase price to be paid for a possession according to a just valuation. Take this in connection with the great event which Christ pointed out as approaching, (verse 18,) his betrayal and death, and it does seem indisputable that he designedly inculcated that his death was to be of the nature of a substitutionary satisfaction. He was to redeem the many by buying them out from the curse of the law. Otherwise how can we interpret language? (See Stier's "Words of the Lord Jesus," vol. iii, p. 81.) It is not claimed that the whole significance of Christ's life and work is to be found in the Old Testament ritual, but it is claimed that one vital connection

of the Old and New Testaments is the blood of expiation. Here they meet if nowhere else. Without shedding of blood is no pardon for the guilty. In the great truth of *satisfaction by substitution* as the only adequate explanation of the vicarious atonement the believer must rest. Nothing short of this as fundamental can meet the reason of the case, the wants of conscience, and the testimony of Holy Scripture. Tried by experience—the experience of myriads who overcame by the blood of the Lamb and the word of their testimony—it alone stands the immutable rock on which Christ has founded his Church, and against which the gates of hell shall never prevail. If we may determine what is the most wholesome food for the body by ascertaining by what substances the body is nourished at its best state, so may we fairly infer what is truest, soundest doctrine for the Church, if we can find out what has been the belief of the Church in its purest and most victorious periods. No more decided and favorable answer is needed than that which comes from the lips of the more thoughtful and devout of the doubters of the doctrine of the vicarious expiatory sacrifice of Christ. Systems, like men, must be tested by their fruits. The sign never to be cut off is the ever-recurring miracle of the Cross. It makes a "holy people." "The blood of Jesus Christ . . . cleanseth us from all sin." "But of him are ye in Christ Jesus, who of God is made unto us wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption."

ART. V.—CHURCH PROPERTY QUESTIONS IN THE SOUTH.

IT is generally known that since the close of the war a number of questions, both legal and moral, have arisen in the South, bringing into controversy the legal claims and rightful ownership of certain Church property. Houses of worship, parsonages, and in some instances improved camp-grounds, are held and used by the members of one Church which are claimed as rightfully belonging to another Church. In some places the members of the Methodist Episcopal Church are in the possession and use of property which is claimed as exclusively be-

longing to the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. In other localities the case is reversed, the members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, being in possession of similar property to which the Methodist Episcopal Church prefers an exclusive claim. Over these disputed questions parties have become greatly excited, and language has been used, both by the tongue and pen, which is inconsistent with a Christian spirit and unbecoming to the Christian name. Thereby much bitterness has been engendered, and unholy prejudices have been extensively developed and greatly strengthened.

There must be a lack of consistency, if not a want of sincerity, in a Church which denounces as criminal in the other Church an act which it persistently justifies in itself. It is easy to see that what is wrong in one locality cannot be right in another. What is a virtue in Virginia cannot be a vice in Tennessee, and what has been unmeasurably denounced as "Church stealing and robbery" in the Holston Conference cannot justly be characterized by any milder epithet when committed by the accusing party on the "sacred soil" of Maryland and Virginia.

There is no power in the place, nor in the blood of the perpetrator, to change the nature of a crime. It ought to embarrass a judge when called to pronounce sentence upon one who is no more guilty than himself. Happy is he who alloweth not in himself what he condemneth in another!

It is fair and charitable to presume that both parties in this unhappy controversy are honest in their convictions of right, and that each holds the property in dispute under what seems to it just claims either in equity or in law. Amid the excitements which have prevailed and the circumstances under which parties have acted this certainly is possible, and, being possible, the law of Christian charity demands it. Each party should make to the other this mutual concession. The lack of this charity might argue as great a want of religion in the spirit of the accuser as the thing he charges in the act of the accused. Honesty of motive may be conceded without any detriment to the real merits of the case.

These Church property cases in the South may all be arranged into four classes, which for the sake of convenience it may be better to consider separately. The first class we will designate

as the *Military Cases.* They came up first and during the war. They occurred mostly, if not entirely, in the Valley of the Mississippi. In time of war many things which are to be sacredly respected in a time of peace have to yield to what is denominated military necessity. None ought to understand this better than our brethren in the South. Property of all kinds may be seized and used, and destroyed even, if the exigencies of the occasion demand it. Churches are not exempt from such seizure. They are often taken for sanitary purposes and used as temporary hospitals. In our late war there was an additional motive for seizing churches in the South, namely, to weaken the power of the enemy. How this could be, may be inferred from the following extract taken from the letter of a Southern loyalist who had the best of opportunities for knowing whereof he affirms. To the truthfulness of his statements hundreds in the South are now able and willing to testify.

> Rebel preachers are the worst class of men in the South, and did more to bring on the Rebellion, and to continue it, than any other class of traitors. They urged the young men of their charges to go into the rebel army, and, in the true spirit of blasphemy, assured them that, dying in so sacred a cause, they were sure to be saved. Thousands of young men religiously educated went into the rebel army through the influence of those ministers, became demoralized, and thus died.

These exhortations were given frequently from the pulpit, when the people were gathered together of a Sabbath day in the houses of worship. Thus churches were turned, as one writer says, "into recruiting camps" for the Confederate army. Rebel ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, had then, and still have, a reputation for pre-eminence in this work. This reputation, whether well or ill-founded, reached the headquarters of the Federal armies, and was believed there. As a natural consequence, orders were issued to seize such churches as had this bad pre-eminence, and turn them over to the use of such ministers as were known to be loyal to the Government of the United States. This was no more than ought to have been expected when churches of this character came within the Federal lines. It was no more, probably not so much, as the Confederate army would have done with our churches under like circumstances. Several of those churches when seized were

assigned by the military authorities to the use of ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Our ministers temporarily accepted and used those churches for strictly religious purposes. Many of the pastors had fled before the approach of our armies, and our ministers preached to as many of their scattered flocks as would come to hear them, and also organized and instructed in them Sunday-school classes.

Where was the wrong in this? Was it in the war power in seizing the property of a disloyal Church to weaken the power of the enemy? Was it in authorizing our preachers to use them? Was it in our preachers in accepting them under the circumstances, or in our Church in allowing our preachers to preach the Gospel in them? Where is the precise point at which the rank offense was given? All the thunder of their indignation was let loose upon the Methodist Episcopal Church in general, and against the Bishop and ministers in particular who under the circumstances accepted the use of the churches. The impartial historian in years to come, when passion and prejudice shall have subsided, after a calm and impartial survey of the situation and all the attending circumstances, will find but little cause for censure in any thing that was done by us, but more in what was not done, in the fact that perpetual confiscation to the Government of all such Church property did not follow, as thousands of their members justly feared and expected.

Possibly it might have been wiser and better not to accept or use Church property even for religious purposes, under such circumstances, and possibly it would have been wrong not to do it. It is a question on which good men may innocently differ in judgment. To settle the exact merits of a question of that kind requires an amount of coolness and reflection which are neither natural nor easy under the powerful influences of war and of such a crisis as was then impending.

When the Government, whose military authority took possession of those churches, issued an order to return them to their original claimants, that order was promptly obeyed. With a knowledge of all the facts, an intelligent and impartial public must judge of the true merits of the case. If any wrong was done, or any lack of wisdom was manifested in using said churches under the circumstances, our ministers will, undoubt-

edly, when convinced of it, cheerfully acknowledge their error. Of all the Military Cases sufficient is now known, and enough has already been said. We therefore dismiss them, and pass to the consideration of

The second class of cases. For want of a better term we call them *Colored Cases.* In reference to these our Church has not much, if any, responsibility. They are all connected with certain meeting-houses, properly belonging to the colored people. Before the war colored congregations, composed mostly of slaves, could not hold property in their own right. When churches were built by them for their use, with their own means and labor, they were deeded to white trustees, who were to hold the legal title to the property for the benefit of those worshiping in them. After the war, during which slavery was abolished, when the colored man had been elevated to American citizenship, with all the rights of a citizen before the law, efforts were made in some places to secure the title to these churches to trustees of their own membership.

In the Louisiana Conference are forty-five houses of worship, all except three of which are deeded either to our Missionary Society, or held by trustees in accordance with the Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Those three churches are in the city of New Orleans, and belong to the colored people, although the original deeds are held by white trustees, members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. Special Order No. 119, November 18, 1865, from Military Head-quarters in New Orleans, which turned over to white rebels the churches which the military authorities had seized and taken from them, reserved to all colored congregations the Church property then in their possession. Special Order No. 32, issued February 6, 1866, contained the following provisions:

> The members of the colored congregations in this (Louisiana) department are authorized to exercise complete and absolute control over the Church property in their possession. And upon the election of trustees the management and control of all such property heretofore held, or now held, by trustees appointed in pursuance of any law of the State of Louisiana which forbids slaves to hold property, shall be turned over to said trustees, and the trustees now in possession shall transfer and vest in the trustees elected under the authority of the order above cited all the rights, interests and privileges, direct and indirect, connected with the control and management of this property.

It was the intent of Orders No. 32 and No. 119

> That the aforesaid colored congregations may remain independent of denominational control, and be free to attach themselves to any Christian congregation according to their judgment and discretion.

Subsequently the three colored congregations worshiping in Winans Chapel, Wesley Chapel, and Soule Chapel, elected trustees according to the above order, and attached themselves to the Methodist Episcopal Church. Our Church has never claimed that property, but it has recognized and received those colored societies. The possession of the property remains just where the order of the United States Government placed it. Strange to say, these white trustees, members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, as we are creditably informed, have never obeyed the order, have not transferred and vested the title to said property as therein directed. When our Church was ordered to surrender and restore property we did so promptly. When the Church South was ordered to transfer and vest in trustees elected by the colored Societies the property which they had held for the benefit of those Societies, because of the law against slaves owning property, they took the responsibility to disobey. Why did they not obey? Was it because those colored Societies had connected themselves with the Methodist Episcopal Church? The world must judge between the two Churches. "By their works ye shall know them."

It must be remembered that these colored congregations built their own churches out of their own means. Under the new order of things they have a just right in law, equity, and morality, to this property—not only to its use, but to its formal ownership. It would be considered disreputable and wrong, even in a Jew, to withhold it under the circumstances: how much more in a professing Christian!

Cases of this kind are scattered over the South, except that outside of the Louisiana department there may have been no formal order for the transfer of such property. We are informed that several similar cases exist in Kentucky, and that the colored people are distinctly told that if they will unite with the Southern Methodists, or even with the African Methodist Episcopal Church, their property shall be transferred to them; but

if they connect themselves with the Methodist Episcopal Church it shall not be so transferred. Comments are unnecessary. All the colored cases in dispute of which we have any knowledge will fall into the same category. Further specifications are unnecessary.

The third class we will call the *Holston Conference Cases.* They arose after the war in East Tennessee, within the bounds of the Holston Conference. These are probably the most important cases connected with this unhappy controversy. In connection with these the Methodist Episcopal Church has been most bitterly denounced and most severely censured by Bishops, ministers, and the laity of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. These cases, therefore, will require a more thorough investigation, and more minute and extended treatment. The merits of the questions here cannot be fully understood without going back to the circumstances of their origin, and carefully tracing their rise and growth to the present time. It is scriptural and just that the chief actors on both sides of the controversy be judged by their works. More or less of blame may be found on both sides; for to err is human, and the parties here are certainly very human. To acknowledge and confess one's faults, when convinced of them, is a highly Christian virtue. Though there may have been errors, wrongs, and follies even, committed by both parties, yet it is well to inquire which was first in the wrong, which has erred oftenest and most widely, and which has manifested and still manifests the greater unwillingness to adjust all differences and difficulties on the grounds of fairness and Christian equity. Why did the Methodist Episcopal Church enter this field after the war, from which her ministers had been wholly excluded since the great secession in 1845? By virtue of the so-called "Plan of Separation" the Southern Methodists claimed an exclusive right to this territory, and have insisted to this day that our Church has no right to send ministers and missionaries into the South, nor to organize conferences below Mason and Dixon's line. If it was wrong for the Methodist Episcopal Church to enter this field of labor, it must have been a still greater wrong to possess and use any Church property found existing here.

Our ministers entered this field for the same reason that Paul first went to Macedonia, because of a voice crying, "Come over

and help us." They followed the injunction of Wesley, "Go always not only to those that want you, but to those who want you most." They obeyed the Master who commanded, "Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature." The ministers had still further warrant for going. The authorities of our Church appointed and ordered them to go. Wesleyan Methodism justly recognizes "the world as its parish," and repudiates the idea that any political or temporizing policy has any right to say to it, "Hitherto shalt thou come, and no farther." It never ought and never will consent to be excluded from laboring in any part of the world of lost sinners to which there is in the providence of God an open door. That is a well-settled point in the grand and holy policy of Methodism.

A Convention of ministers and laymen of the Holston Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, met, according to a call issued in May preceding, in Knoxville, Tennessee, July 7, 1864. The war was still raging, and only a small portion of the territory of this Conference was as yet included within the Federal lines. Hence many of those who wished to meet with their brethren could not be present. One old minister, Rev. E. Stockbridge, one of the best scholars in the South, it is said, when he came to the Confederate lines was stopped by the soldiers and stripped of his shoes. This, however, did not restrain him, for he then walked barefoot forty miles to be at the Convention. Fifty-seven delegates were present, twenty-seven of whom were ministers. The names of one hundred and twelve loyal ministers were reported, and at least forty more were believed to be loyal. The following item from the published proceedings will explain the kind of persons present, and the object of their meeting:

> The Convention of the local ministry and membership of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and of those whose Church relations have been changed by expulsion for disloyalty to the Southern Confederacy, or by voluntary withdrawal, met according to a published call, and, after reading and prayer, was organized by electing Rev. E. E. Gillenwaters, Chairman, and Rev. R. G. Blackburn, Secretary. The objects of the Convention were then briefly stated by the chairman to be the gathering together of the loyal portion of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, within the bounds of the Holston Conference, into legal and permanent organization, and the supplying of the Church with a devoted and spiritual pastorate.

The following is taken from the report of a special committee, and was unanimously adopted by the Convention:

Pursuant to public notice a Convention of loyal Methodists, laymen and preachers, local and traveling, convened in the city of Knoxville, Tennessee, on the 7th of July, 1864, to take into consideration the wants, prospects, and interests of the Methodist Church within the bounds of the Holston Annual Conference. The undersigned, a general committee to whom the subject was referred, have had the matter under serious and prayerful consideration, and beg leave to submit the following report:

"At an early period in this Rebellion the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, took her stand upon the treasonable, and therefore false, foundation of secession; her pulpits bellowed with more terrific thunder on the side of disunion than those of almost any other Church, hurling fiery invectives at the Union and the North, carrying most of the leading and influential portion of her ministers and members into the unhallowed embrace of treason. Under the administration of this our former Church, some of our ministers have been proscribed, some refused circuits and stations, and others expelled, all for opinion's sake, and because they were loyal to the United States. We have determined, therefore, no longer to live under the iron rule of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, or to be associated in our Church relations with the men who control the interest of said Church, and are likely to direct her future movements. It therefore remains for us, and the loyal thousands of our brethren similarly situated, to do one of three things, either to remain in the wilderness, not of *Judea*, but of *Dixie*, and wander off into the mountains of sin and unbelief whence we came; or, next, to form ourselves into a separate and independent Church organization; or, last of all, to seek a re-union with the Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States, whose doctrines, usages, and faith are in accordance with ours, and in the enjoyment and practice of which we desire to live and die.

"We, therefore, report in favor of returning to the Methodist Episcopal Church, and asking most respectfully to be recognized by her, and provided as the Holston Annual Conference, giving our loyal preachers the lead in our new organization, subject to the control and authority of the appointed heads of our Church in the United States, and to her Discipline."

The following were among the resolutions reported by the said committee, and unanimously adopted by the Convention:

Resolved, That all who willingly engaged in this Rebellion have, in the eyes of the supreme law of the land, in the judgment of all enlightened nations, and especially in the feelings of every loyal heart of this vast continent, forfeited all the rights, privileges, and immunities of the government of the United States.

> *Resolved*, That the loyal members and ministers of the Holston Conference are entitled in law to all property belonging to said ecclesiastical organization; and with the Divine blessing we intend to claim and hold the same, and rebuild the waste places of Zion.
>
> *Resolved*, That the loyal people and preachers of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, within the bounds of the Holston Conference, constitute said Church; and this Convention, acting for said Church and people, hereby propose, at the earliest day practicable, to transfer the same to the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States, and that a committee be appointed to complete the negotiations, subject to the approval of those transferred.

The committee consisted of W. G. Brownlow, Chairman; W. H. Rogers, J. Albert Hyden, John Cox, Thomas H. Russell, T. P. Rutherford, James Cumming, W. C. Daily, D. P. Goss, Edwin A. Atlee, Ed. A. Ruble.

Let it be borne in mind that this Convention was held in July, 1864. That Convention was the result of causes which had been in operation for many months. In October, 1862, the Holston Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, convened in Athens, Tennessee. Bishop Early presided, whose zeal for the cause of the South may be inferred from these words, which he is reported to have said when about to ordain a class of ministers. Lifting his hands toward heaven he exclaimed, "God forbid that these hands should be laid upon the head of any man disloyal to the Southern Confederacy!"

Rev. Jonathan L. Mann, then a young member of the Conference, was present, and gives the following description:

> In order to appreciate the doings of this Conference, we must first remember that the Confederacy was then at the highest climax of its glory, and that all rebeldom was sanguine of certain success. These things inspired (Bishop) Early and his rebel conclave to daring deeds of religious and ecclesiastical chivalry. They were surrounded by rebel soldiers, and cheered on by the presence and curses of the Provost Marshal at Athens, who might have been frequently seen in the gallery of the Conference room during the sittings of the Conference, *swearing* what *he* would do with all the "Tory" or Lincolnite preachers of the Conference. The rebel members now had every thing their own way, without even the show of opposition. No Union member dared to enter his protest against even the most extreme measures that might be offered. Rebel bayonets and rebel prisons awed all of us into silence. Every Union minister of the Conference seemed to say, "If prudence will save my life, I will at least be cautious."

Under these circumstances one of the first measures of the Conference was to appoint a committee of investigation, whose business it was to examine the political status of every suspected character of the Conference. The following were that committee: John M. M'Teer, James S. Kenedy, W. H. Bates, A. G. Worley, Carroll Long. Before this inquisitorial committee were arraigned the following brethren: W. H. Rogers, W. H. H. Duggan, Wm. C. Daily, J. A. Hyden, P. H. Reed, John Spears, James Cumming, Thomas H. Russell, and Thomas P. Rutherford—nine in all, every one of whom was charged with disloyalty to the Confederacy.

To most of these brethren was put the question, "Do you sincerely love the Southern Confederacy in your heart?" Those who failed to give a satisfactory answer were either expelled, located, or left without an appointment.

The action of that Conference in these cases was based on a lengthy and elaborate report of that committee, the gist of which is contained in the following extract.

> But now that these questions have assumed a *concrete form*, and under the inspiration of abolition fanaticism have kindled the fires of the most brutal and ruthless war ever known in the history of man, involving every interest, political and religious, held to be most sacred and absolutely vital to the present and future weal of our people, it is the deliberate and religious conviction of your committee that no patriot, no Christian, and, last of all, no Christian minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church, *South*, and a citizen of the Confederate States of America, and who is presumed to be even partially acquainted with the merits of this unhappy controversy, can throw the *weight* of his *opinions*, *words*, or *acts* into the *scales of our enemies against* us, with moral impunity or with a conscience void of offense toward God and his fellow countrymen.

That conclusion reached and adopted without a dissenting voice—for who under the circumstances would have the temerity to dissent?—the Conference proceeded to act upon the cases of political heresy. It is affirmed that Bishop Early, before reading out the appointments, said: "Brethren, when you go to your several fields of labor, *purge* the Church of its unworthy members," by which he was understood to mean, "Turn out all persons who are not loyal to the Southern Confederacy." The Conference had set them a worthy example in this kind of work. They were exhorted now to go to their charges and do likewise. Whether the ministers so understood the Bishop

or not, or whether they needed any exhortation, when they went to their charges, we are told that they, the disloyal portion of the Conference, eagerly commenced and zealously prosecuted the work of "purging the Church" of known Unionists, and thus hundreds if not thousands were cut off from membership. The preachers could not wait the slow process of a formal citation to appear and a trial by their peers. In many cases a summary process was adopted, and the names of the members deemed unworthy were by the minister stricken from the Church books, and those who were members a moment before were by a simple stroke of the pen dashed into excommunication. For nearly two years there followed a persecution which cannot be appreciated by those who did not feel it, the facts of which, when stated, would seem almost incredible. Then came the meeting of that Convention in Knoxville, in 1864.

Without the knowledge of the foregoing facts the significance of that Convention cannot be appreciated. It was an imploring voice from the representatives of thousands of sufferers, which cried out through that Convention, "Come over and help us!"

Did the Methodist Episcopal Church do right in responding to that call, and in sending ministers to take care of the scattered sheep thrust so rudely from their fold? Many of them were members before 1844, and had cherished, as the hope of their life, the thought of return to the bosom of the old Church that they might die in her embrace. Union men outside of the Church had no altar to flee to in affliction, no trustful guide to direct their faltering steps in the way of life. Did our Church do right in sending ministers to look after this class of persons, and point their tearful eyes to the Saviour of sinners?

Let us inquire into the state of society when our ministers entered upon their labors in this field and began the work of ecclesiastical and social reconstruction.

At the close of the war the ministers of the Church South in East Tennessee who had allied themselves to the Rebellion, with very few exceptions, had abandoned their spiritual charges. Some were chaplains in the Confederate service, some were colonels or captains, and some had enlisted as privates in the rebel army. Most of the others had left for safety when the Federal soldiers showed themselves in their neighborhoods.

Their flocks were literally scattered like sheep without a shepherd. The majority of the laymen had remained loyal to the Federal Government, and were determined, after what they had "felt and seen," to listen hereafter to none but loyal ministers. The loyal ministers of the Church South were also determined to identify themselves with the old Methodist Church, from which many of them had been separated in 1845 against their will and against their protest. Their old pastors gone, the people, who built their houses of worship, threw open their Church doors and invited our preachers to enter them and become their pastors. They did so, and that is the way the preachers "stole" their churches. If that is stealing, then our ministers are verily guilty. At the request of the people, or with their hearty concurrence, they were organized into Societies of the Methodist Episcopal Church. They came to us by thousands. They knocked at our door and it was opened unto them. In this the Scripture was fulfilled, "Knock and it shall be opened unto you." They brought with them the houses which they had built out of their own labor and money, and which they supposed they justly owned.

There was a general feeling and belief among the laity, which was shared largely by ministers who have not yet identified themselves with our Church, that as slavery was abolished—the original cause of the separation—hereafter there would be but one Methodist organization in the South, and that must of necessity be under the organization that had proved loyal to the Government during the war. These convictions were very natural. They were living facts at the time. Under these convictions, at the close of the war almost the entire laity, with the loyal outsiders, rallied to our standards, and nearly the whole population in the different towns and villages were rejoicing in the privilege of going up again to the house of God in company. The membership of our Church rapidly increased, and the ministers had not the slightest idea of any wrong or imprudence in occupying, as they did, the houses of worship. We have been told by those who were witnesses of the fact that this state of society was nearly universal in East Tennessee. Things were rapidly settling into harmony and peace, and there was an excellent hope for the future. All this while our preachers were quietly cultivating the field.

We come now to chronicle a great and radical change. Who was responsible for it? We shall see. Things were not allowed to remain long in this quiet, hopeful way. After President Johnson had taken his "new departure," and had swung completely "round the circle," he gave an unexpected hope to the rebels of the whole South. What may have been intended by the President only for political effect touched every chord in society, and produced not only a profound sensation, but a complete revolution in the spirit of the vanquished South. It permeated society, and reached even into ecclesiastical affairs. It was seen property was not to be confiscated, that traitors were not to be punished, that the absent might safely return home. In a little while the absent shepherds of the Church South returned, and, having laid off the Confederate gray and their official uniform, donned again their priestly garb. Not desiring to return to the bosom of the Old Church, which had been so loyal to the Government whose power they sought to overthrow, and not liking to be without a sympathizing flock, they began to exhort their former friends who had allied their hopes to the now lost cause to remain in a separate Church organization, and not identify themselves with the Methodist Episcopal Church. To this end all their activity and influence were directed. Soon the old hostility which had begun to expire commenced to revive, and a broad line of distinction began to be drawn in some of the Societies. The Church South under their leadership undertook to re-erect her fallen altars, and to rekindle her extinct fires. No one can tell how much the cause of social and religious reconstruction was hindered by this movement. Eternity alone can reveal it.

It was not long before a demand was made for the restoration of their churches. They claimed a right to control all Church property in the hands of Methodists within the bounds of the Conference. The question now naturally arises, "Why did not our people promptly surrender to the control of those ministers all the Church property demanded?" This question is certainly pertinent to the case, and careful attention is invited specially at this point of the inquiry.

All this property, or nearly all of it, was in the hands of trustees, many of whom were Union men, and had suffered, as they believed, at the instigation of those ministers, or with their

approval, great persecution on account of their Union sentiments. They did not, therefore, feel very much inclined to gratify their ex-pastors by a compliance with their request. Simultaneously with the demands for the return of this property, threats were extensively made by many disloyal persons that the ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church would soon be compelled to leave the country, and that native Union men would find it too hot for them to remain. The threatening spirit of persecution became generally rampant, and Union men believed, from strong circumstantial evidence, that some of those ministers were the instigators of it. None of them tried to restrain it, none by words disapproved of it, many said it ought to be done, and all seemed to predict that it would certainly be accomplished. This raised a new issue, and put Unionists somewhat on the defensive, and, being in possession of the churches, they felt the pressure of a kind of military necessity to hold them as a means of self-defense. These facts are not generally known outside of the country where they transpired; but they are facts, nevertheless, that ought to be known in connection with this question.

Many suits were brought in the local courts to recover this property; but they generally, if not universally, failed. Legal decisions sanctioned or confirmed our people in the possession of those houses of worship. There were other grave and weighty considerations connected with these cases which seemed to the people—for the people, not the ministers, claimed and held these churches—which seemed, I say, to the people a sufficient justification of their course, both legally and morally. They honestly believed that the Church South, by the course which it pursued in the Rebellion, had justly forfeited all right and title to the property claimed by it. That fact was fully expressed in one of the resolutions adopted by the Knoxville Convention.

Quite a number of these houses of worship were built before the great secession in 1845, and were deeded to trustees to be held for the use of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America. The deeds had never been changed. The trustees holding the deeds became members of our Church, and brought their property with them, supposing that they were fulfilling their high trust in restoring them to the old Church from which they had been forced away. Providence had opened a way for the

Church to receive back her own, and they were delighted to be able to place her again in her rightful possession.

Another class of this property had not been deeded at all. Parties who owned the land and assisted to build the houses steadfastly refused to deed them to the Church South. Having possession of property of this class, and knowing all the facts in the case, they felt justified in refusing to surrender it. Some of this property has since been deeded by its legal owners to trustees of the Methodist Episcopal Church according to the provisions of the Discipline.

Another class of Church property was deeded to the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, built since 1845. On some of the houses of worship debts had accumulated before the war, and legal judgments hung over them. Others had been repaired at considerable expense. Paying off the judgments and making repairs our people had a just lien upon them, and, of course, would not surrender them until their liens were satisfied.

Other cases were of this nature: The property held was created wholly or in part by the members of our Church and the congregations worshiping in them, and our people believed and felt that they had claims in equity on that property, and were unwilling to surrender it until there was a manifested willingness on the part of the Church South to settle the difficulty on the grounds of equity.

Every Church property in dispute between us in the Holston Conference, known to the writer, comes legitimately under one or another of the classes above referred to. These considerations may not furnish claims which impartial courts would respect in all cases, but they were of sufficient weight to create a firm belief in our people that those claims are sound, both morally and legally; and holding property under such circumstances until some authorized legal or ecclesiastical tribunal shall decide upon the claims, cannot by any fairness be termed "stealing," "robbery," dishonest, immoral, or unchristian. It is not in the power of a respectable casuistry to fix the guilt of fraud or dishonesty where the parties act under such honest convictions that religiously and morally they are doing right.

When these demands were made for an immediate surrender of the property in dispute, the Church South demanded and insisted upon the pound of flesh. All the churches and par-

sonages must be at once given up, for they were the property, they said, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. There was no proposition to settle a single case on the grounds of equity, nor to allow in any case our preachers to preach in them. This was their spirit at first, and not until within a few months has there appeared the slightest indication of a disposition to soften down in the tone of their demands.

Thus matters went on until 1868, when the Holston Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, sent a memorial to our General Conference in Chicago, requesting its interference to secure them in the repossession of the property which they claimed was unjustly and unlawfully withheld from them by the Holston Conference, over which they had jurisdiction. That memorial was received, referred to a special committee, and reported upon. The whole matter was referred back to the Holston Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, with the expressed belief that it was "disposed to do right."

At the session of the Holston Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Jonesborough Oct. 9, 1869, the following memorial was received through Prof. Edmund Longley, of Emory and Henry College.

To the Holston Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in session in Jonesborough, Tenn.

We the undersigned were appointed a committee by the Holston Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, at its last session, held at Abingdon, Va., to ask in the spirit of Christ your reverend body that you will at your present session, by such action as you may deem best, and so far as it is in your power, either repossess the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, of all her property now held by the Methodist Episcopal Church within your bounds, or that you will declare to us the grounds, both moral and legal, upon which you are holding and using this property.

Our committee are the more encouraged to make this request of your reverend body because your General Conference, at its last session in Chicago, in May, 1868, referred all papers in regard to this subject, including, we suppose, a memorial sent to that body by the Holston Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, to your body, "believing," as they say, "that you will be careful to do justly," etc. (See Journal of your General Conference, 1868, page 633.)

These papers, we learned from your secretary, in October last were received and by your order filed with the papers of your Con-

ference. You are thus, as a Conference, placed in position to adjust this whole property question, touching the moral aspects of the case.

Again, there is, we think, a prevailing desire that there shall exist every-where among us, as Methodists, the spirit of brotherly kindness and charity. A great hinderance to this is found, we think, in the fact that our property rights, as we understand them, are not recognized nor respected by your body. Cannot something be done by which a better state of things can be secured? We believe that there can be, and in the hope of it we are here. We request that if it be your pleasure this communication be read to your Conference, and that you take measures to confer with us in such manner as you deem best. We will be found at the law office of J. E. Reeves, Esq.

This paper would have been presented earlier in your session, but some members of our committee have been detained by unavoidable circumstances.

Respectfully, E. E. WILEY, B. ABROGAST,
R. N. PRICE, F. W. EARNEST,
E. CLAY REEVES.

A special committee of five was appointed to confer with the committee above named, to whom this memorial was referred. The following is that committee's report:

The committee appointed by the Holston Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church to meet and confer with a committee of the Holston Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, on the subject contained in their memorial to this Conference, and to whom said memorial was referred, have attended to their duty as best they could under the circumstances, and submit the following as their report:

Our interview with that committee was very pleasant, and, so far as the spirit manifested is concerned, was to us perfectly satisfactory. They were frank and clear in all their statements in regard to the subject before us. We endeavored to meet them in the same Christian spirit of frankness, courtesy, and kindness.

The main object of your committee in the interview was to ascertain, as definitely as possible, precisely what they wanted, and their views as to the best manner in which the whole subject pending could be satisfactorily adjusted.

The following is their own statement of their views, in regard to which they express the belief that they properly represent the views of their Conference.

"1. That the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, is entitled to all the property acquired by the Plan of Separation adopted by the General Conference of 1844, as well as to all property acquired by our Church since the separation, except such as may have passed out of our hands by due process of law.

"2. That all such property should be restored to our Church immediately.

"3. That if the members of the Methodist Episcopal Church have, by paying debts or otherwise, acquired a just lien on any property of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, they are entitled to have such lien properly satisfied.

"4. That in case of restoration of property it will be highly proper for our ministers and members to exercise toward the ministers and members of the Methodist Episcopal Church courtesy and magnanimity.

"5. That where a majority of those who may have contributed to the acquisition of Church property may have adhered to the Methodist Episcopal Church it might seem hard to eject them from such property, and it would, therefore, be right that our congregations should, in such cases, make such concessions and compromises as may alleviate the cases so far as possible, without the surrender of vested rights."

Before making our reply and recommendation in reference to the whole subject thus presented, a preliminary question seems to require a little consideration at this time and in this report. This question has reference to the grounds on which the members of our Church justify themselves both in originally possessing and afterward holding the property in dispute. The necessity of this consideration arises from the fact, that unjust charges are frequently made in the newspapers, public addresses, and very often in private conversation, against us as "church thieves" and "robbers of churches." These things are very unpleasant to us and damaging to the cause of God and our reputation in places where the facts in the case are not fully understood.

These charges were not made nor insinuated by the committee of the Holston Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. Their language to us was far above such insinuations and charges, indicating that in their view of the case such charges could not, in any sense of propriety, be made against our Church, except in the application of principles which in other sections of the country would make the Church South equally guilty of precisely the same crimes. There is ground on which both parties can stand, and do stand, without involving a particle of the guilt of theft or robbery.

We are satisfied that wherever members of our Church have possessed themselves of property claimed by the Church South, they have done so on the ground of honest and settled belief that before God and men they had a just right to do so, either in equity or in law.

This subject, as related to civil and ecclesiastical law, is of such a nature, so complicate and involved, that we find many lawyers of acknowledged ability who entertain on the subject the same beliefs as our people do, and when consulted give corresponding legal opinions. We cannot, therefore, reasonably expect that our people will be clearer-headed or wiser in their judgment on this subject

than such devoted students of the law. Acting honestly, therefore, under these beliefs and under legal advice, they cannot in any just sense be either *thieves* or *robbers*.

We are willing to and do cheerfully accord the same honesty of belief and intention to members of the Church South, wherever they have done similar things as it regards property which they occupy, claimed by the Methodist Episcopal Church as rightfully vested in it.

In coming to the subject as now presented for our consideration and action, we earnestly desire in the spirit of Christ so to act and so to recommend action on the part of others that peace may speedily ensue throughout our entire work, and that all unsettled questions of property in dispute between us may be so amicably and satisfactorily settled that brotherly love and a fraternal spirit may both exist and abound between these two branches of Methodism, and that, if God so will it, organic union may soon succeed to this oneness of spirit.

The propositions of our brethren of the Church South contemplate the settlement of questions occurring only within the bounds of the Holston Conference. Our first convictions were, that our report should have reference to these questions only; but the more we considered the subject that our Methodism is one, and that the settlement of the questions here should be upon the same principle as similar questions elsewhere, and when we take into account the fact that more Church property claimed by the Methodist Episcopal Church is in the possession of the Church South, in the States of Virginia and Maryland, than they claim that we occupy of theirs within the bounds of the Holston Conference, we thought that it would be better and wiser, and we trust quite as acceptable to our brethren on the other committee, to base our action and recommendation on some general principle which might be adopted throughout the Church in every case where similar difficulties have arisen or may arise in the final settlement of the right to Church property.

And we do hereby declare our entire willingness to settle, so far as we have power, all the questions within the bounds of the Holston Conference on the same basis which our brethren of the Church South will agree to in Virginia and Maryland where churches claimed by us are occupied by the Church South. This we have no reason to doubt will meet the view of our brethren of the Church South, who, as well as we, will rejoice to observe the golden rule: "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them.

The plan of settlement which your committee recommend is this:

Inasmuch as pacific and fraternal measures were recommended by our last General Conference, and a board of commissioners having been appointed to treat with a like board which we expect will be appointed by the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, at its approaching General Conference, in reference to a prospective union of the two Churches—and as the satisfactory settlement of

these property questions is necessarily involved and must be effected prior to any union—and as the response of the Bishops of the Church South to the fraternal letter of our Bishops officially informing them of the action and desire of our General Conference breathes a kind and Christian spirit, and indicates the same strong desire on their part to have the existing difficulties properly adjusted, so that there may be peace between us—and as we do not wish in any manner to increase the difficulties in the way of their prospective action, your committee, therefore, recommend the reference of this whole question for a uniform plan of adjustment to that joint board of commissioners of the two Churches, and that the Conference now pledge itself, so far as it may be concerned, and has power and influence, to abide by and conform to any plan or principle which that joint commission shall agree to recommend to both Churches, and that as members of this Conference we will use our influence to induce all our people to carry out the same plan in the adjustment of our difficulties which may remain unsettled.

In the meantime we earnestly recommend to the members of our Church holding property claimed by the Church South to endeavor amicably to adjust all existing disgreements, so far as in their power, upon the highest principles of equity and Christian charity. And we earnestly hope that our brethren, in any attempt at adjustment, will treat with the members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in the true spirit of Christian courtesy and magnanimity.

N. E. Cobleigh, J. B. Little,
F. M. Farming, J. A. Hyden,
J. R. Eads.

That report was unanimously adopted without debate. It was entirely unsatisfactory to the other committee. No notice was taken of the subject by their succeeding General Conference; and there has seemed to be no disposition on the part of the Church South, generally, to meet our brethren in the spirit we recommended. We know of but a single case where the matter in dispute has been settled in this way. This is the church house in Jonesborough, where the Conference was in session when the report was read and adopted.

The effect of this report, however, on both sides, was like oil on the troubled waters. The spirit of our own people afterward was much more kind and conciliatory. The other party, finding themselves arraigned before the public and involved in the same criminality as they alleged against us, lowered very much their tone of complaint and abated the severity of their language. That report was an era in the controversy.

All these difficulties can be easily adjusted if our brethren of the Church South will approach the members of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the Holston Conference, who hold the property in dispute in their possession, in a kind, Christian spirit. Convince our people of what is right, and they will be ready and willing to do right, whatever that may be. They are tired of this controversy, and want it settled. They are willing to concede more than they believe justice or equity can require; but they are men of sensibility and men of honor, and must be approached and treated as such. They are not "thieves and robbers;" and before they will compromise these matters those unjust and unchristian charges must be withdrawn. They are not regarded as such even by their enemies in the communities where they live, but are respected and treated as gentlemen and Christians.

Our preachers, our conferences even, have never had more than an advisory influence in this matter. Local trustees hold and control the property. They will adjust all these questions on the grounds of equity whenever our brethren on the other side will meet them in the same spirit. The Church South cannot afford to have the questions settled on any other ground. A public Christian sentiment will not sanction any other. Either party can better afford to lose the whole property concerned than to seriously damage their Christian reputation, or their moral and religious influence.

There is one point in these cases that should not be overlooked or lightly estimated. The persons who claim rights in this disputed property were formerly members of the Church South. They helped to create its value, and are entitled in equity to their *pro rata* interest in it. They were either expelled, or forced by persecution, or constrained by moral causes, from that Church because of their loyalty to the National Government. But for this highly patriotic virtue their Church relations would not have been disturbed. Should that loyalty in them work a forfeiture of their sacred rights in church property, which was created, in part at least, by their labors, means, and sacrifices? Will the civil government stand by and see men deprived of their rights for such an offense—rather, for such a rare virtue in the South? Is the Church South willing to risk its future in assisting to make and enter such a chapter

in its ecclesiastical history? Will the loyal North look on with indifference, and speak no word of vindication for men who suffered like martyrs, and then have to submit to be defrauded of sacred rights as a requital for their fidelity to a glorious principle? There is more in these Church property questions than lies upon the surface. The Church South, if need be, should be made to feel the wholesome pressure of a healthy public sentiment, and be constrained thereby to an equitable settlement on grounds that the Christian public will approve.

The fourth class of cases comprises those which have occurred within the bounds of what was the old Baltimore Conference. As they exist in what is now known as the Virginia Conference, we will call them the *Virginia Cases*, though some of them may be in the State of Marlyand. The Baltimore Conference did not go with the South in the great secession in 1844–5. They bravely fought through the conflict and excitement under the banner of Old Mother Church. The legal fiction of the so-called "Plan of Separation" cannot be extended so as to claim any property in the bounds of that Conference originally deeded to the Methodist Episcopal Church. In 1861 a portion of the ministers of that Conference withdrew, and finally joined the Church South, being dissatisfied with the action of the preceding General Conference at Buffalo in reference to the chapter in the Discipline on slavery. During the war some of the churches and parsonages belonging to the Methodist Episcopal Church were seized, both in Maryland and Virginia, by the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. There is said to be more of this Church property seized by them, and retained to this day in the possession of the Church South, than they claim that our people hold of their property in East Tennessee. Some of those houses of worship which they do not use, it is said, they nail up and refuse to let the lawful owners, members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, occupy them for religious worship.

Rev. E. P. Phelps, of the Virginia Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in an appeal to the people in 1868, says:

> We claim for the Methodist Episcopal Church the property, houses of worship and parsonages, that have been built for the use of her members and ministers. This claim is denied, and we are

excluded from many of them. We base this claim both upon justice and law.

In 1869 the Virginia Conference said in its Pastoral Address:

> In portions of our bounds we labor under difficulties because of exclusion from houses of worship built for the use of our members and ministers, the right to the use of which we claim upon both moral and legal grounds. Because we make this claim we have been denounced as "house-stealers and robbers;" but this will not divert us from our purpose, if possible, to possess them. We claim no property but that which was in the bounds of the Baltimore Conference, and such as the Church South had no claim upon arising out of the so-called Plan of Separation.

Says the Rev. E. P. Phelps, in a letter published in the "Christian Advocate," June 8, 1871:

> Yet we are excluded from a large number of churches and parsonages. If the leaders of the Church South are willing to risk the verdict of history as to their course they can do so. That verdict will not be rendered by passion engendered and inflamed by slavery and rebellion, but in the light of liberty, truth, and justice.

Mr. Phelps further says:

> The Legislature of Virginia, backed by ministers, members, and friends of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, propose to *deprive us of our rights*, to shut out ministers and members of the Methodist Episcopal Church from these houses, to establish worship in them under the authority of a Church for whose members they were not built, and for whom they could not have been built in former years. *We may worship in them, if we will change our Church relations or practically renounce them.* Where is the robbing now? Who seeks to break the bond to deprive others of their rights? The people, the masses, will decide.

Under some circumstances legislatures can be influenced to pass an unjust law, the operation of which will defraud citizens of their rights. Is it possible that professedly Christian people will stoop so low as to not only favor such a scheme of fraud, but even to assist in trying to bring it about? To succeed in such a scheme will prove worse than a failure. If encouraging holiness, awakening sinners and leading them to Christ, is an important part of the work of a Christian people, they cannot afford to be implicated in any species of voluntary wrong-doing. They must avoid the very appearance of evil, or they will forfeit the favor of God and lose their moral influence among men. They may achieve success, but they will gain a loss of power. God

will give them flesh to eat, but send leanness into their souls and throughout their Churches. Better a thousand times for a Christian people to have poor houses of worship, or none at all, with the favor and blessing of God resting upon them, than to abound in fine and costly churches with the spirit of God departed from them. These remarks will apply equally to both sides of this controversy, to any and to all Christian Churches.

Mr. Phelps gives the arguments used by the friends of the Church South in justification of their withholding this church property as follows:

1. "The ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church have no business here." By what law or by what policy excluded? Why may not our ministers go and preach to those who want to hear them in Virginia, as well as to the Feejee Islands, or to the same class of people in any other State in the Union?

2. "The Methodist Episcopal Church has not been in sympathy with the South?" Of course not, so far as slavery and rebellion are concerned. Does that comprise what they mean by "The South?"

3. "The people do not want you." Who are the people? Those who still favor slavery and rebellion do not want us, it is true. They, however, are not all the *people* of Virginia. Those of the people who are loyal to the government of the United States do want our Church and our ministers, and mean to have them, with or without their houses of worship; and that Government which a vital Christianity upholds should see to it that our rights are properly respected and secured.

4. "You are disturbers of the peace." Just as the lamb would disturb the peace of the wolf until the latter could devour it: just as a loyal voter in the South disturbs the peace of a community until the Ku-Klux go for him and secure his disappearance. Our ministers and people are peaceable: they preach peace, breathe peace, and pursue it until other parties who hate them become the real disturbers of the peace. They are disturbers of the peace just as the Orangemen were in New York a short time ago, when the Catholic Irish determined that they should not have a procession in the city. These flimsy pretenses are too transparent to be of any service, except to show the folly and the weakness of the cause of those who gravely put them forth. American public opinion, at whose

bar all these cases must be tried and decided, is not to be turned aside by them. The truth will come at last, and in its light opinions will finally be reversed, modified, or confirmed, according to the facts in the case.

How the Church South, with her record of the property cases in Virginia, can, without blushing, call our brethren in East Tennessee "church stealers and robbers," is one of those difficult questions in human nature that require a special solution. It is truly enigmatical; yet there may be a key which, when applied, will unlock the whole mystery. All these property questions are intimately connected with the spirit of the rebellion, as will appear from a close and comprehensive study of them. Not one of them can be thoroughly and properly understood with the influence of that spirit left out of view. Those who may hereafter attempt to aid in the settlement of these questions should enter upon the work with a full knowledge of this fact. It may be proper in the conclusion of this article to bring into view a few things.

1. The entrance of our ministers into the South after the war, and their labors in this field, were intensely and persistently opposed by the leading ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. Proof of this is abundant. Their Bishops, Editors, and influential leaders have put their evidence upon record. Their official Church papers have been burdened with editorials and correspondence on this subject. Those who were most eager for the Southern Confederacy were, and still are, most bitter and earnest in their opposition. They wanted our loyalty, our literature, our instruction, and our influence entirely excluded from the Southern field. The source of the inspiration of that opposition is manifestly from the spirit of the rebellion. It is almost like one of the axioms of Euclid, self-evident.

2. They predicted an early withdrawal of our Church from this field, as they redoubled the force of their opposition. The demand for an immediate surrender of the churches which they claimed in Tennessee—the seizing, holding, and refusing to give up to us our Church property in Maryland and Virginia—were only practical forms of that opposition to compel the withdrawal which they had predicted. Their refusal to settle these questions on the grounds of equity is of the same spirit.

They do not propose by word or deed to encourage us to remain by the equitable settlement of these questions.

3. From the same source has proceeded a more diplomatic operation to produce a divided sentiment among our friends at the North. Our friends at the North desire re-union. They think the cause of Christianity would be promoted thereby. This is undoubtedly true. So, whenever our Southern brethren meet or correspond with any of our brethren from the North, they say to them, "We, too, want union; but we cannot consent to make any arrangements for it till you restore the property unjustly seized and kept from us. Withdraw all your forces and give us the entire field of the South; then we will begin to talk about re-union." Some of our brethren seem wonderfully taken with this fine talk, and are more than half-inclined to comply with their request. Their object is perfectly consistent with the spirit of this opposition. They want to force our Church to leave the field. In this they will not succeed. The authority of the great commission forbids it; the spirit and progress of the age are against it; the fixed purpose of our Church is opposed to it. Do all these things find their explanation in a cherished hope of yet gaining "the lost cause?"

4. Consider well another fact. The leading men of the South, in and out of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, whose hearts and hands were in the rebellion, have not given up all hopes of yet securing an independent Southern Confederacy. They cannot tell you how it is to be brought about, but they confidently expect it. It may be by sharp political maneuvering, or as the result of another hard-fought war. This idea crops out occasionally in the eloquence of some fiery orator in a public harrangue, who is more noted for zeal than for wisdom. In private circles of select friends, when no hostile ear is presumed to be nigh, this subject is most confidentially talked over. Occasionally the conversation is overheard by ears that learned to listen at windows and doors before the war and during its terrible progress. Their secrets, therefore, are not secrets. While the evidence of this hope in them may not be tangible, so as to be put in proper form for the courts, yet its ethereal essence is sufficiently diffused abroad to produce almost universal belief among the Southern loyalists.

If there is but even a slight probability that an attempt may be made hereafter to revive and to restore the "lost cause," the spirit and influence of a pure Gospel should be earnestly and rapidly diffused throughout the South, that the hearts of the people may be converted to God, and saved from the sin and the fearful consequences of an attempt at another rebellion.

This article has been written entirely in the interests of truth. The writer has expressed only what he sincerely believes to be true. Yet human knowledge at best is imperfect, and its sources may sometimes render it uncertain. If any statement shall prove to be incorrect, the writer will be most happy to make the requisite acknowledgment when convinced of his mistake or error. As far as possible, it is desirable, to "let by-gones be by-gones;" but in presenting these property cases, well-authenticated facts had to be referred to and re-stated, from their vital connections with or important bearings upon the questions. They have been stated, not for the purpose of reflecting upon our brethren of the Church South, but simply for the purpose of putting the cases fairly before an intelligent public. Wherever the Methodist Episcopal Church, or any of its ministers, have done wrong, we have no desire to screen them; but where they have been maligned or misrepresented, we have aimed simply to set them truthfully before the public. As we are all hastening to that tribunal before which all disguises will be stripped off, and where each will be judged and rewarded according to his works, while we deal charitably and kindly we should also deal honestly and truthfully with each other. The truth is mighty and will prevail.

Art. VI.—SOCRATES.

About the middle of the sixth century before Christ the Grecian States had reached the height of their prosperity and glory. Athens in particular, under the administration of Pericles, stood forth unrivaled in arts, in literature, and in arms. The generation was yet upon the stage that had witnessed and shared in the victories of Marathon and Salamis, the triumph of the Greeks over the veteran myriads of Persia. For forty

years together—from the years 470 to 430 before Christ—Athens enjoyed high and uninterrupted prosperity. Her ships commanded the seas, and poured in upon her the treasures of distant lands; her artists wrought her marble into innumerable forms of beauty and majesty; every species of literature—history, poetry, and eloquence—was cultivated and carried forward to perfection. This was the age of Aristides, Thucydides, Anaxagoras, Æschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Pericles, and, more than all, Socrates.

Socrates was born at Athens in the year 469 before Christ. Here he spent nearly the whole of his life, and here he died in the year 399 before Christ, at the age of seventy. His parents were in humble life, his father, Sophroniscus, being a sculptor, and his mother, Phenarete, a midwife. He was trained to the business of his father, and wrought in marble with his own hands for many years. Some pieces of his statuary are thought to be still extant. He was favored with such an education as the schools of Athens afforded, and early formed an acquaintance with some of the philosophers. He was particularly attached to Archelaus, a follower of Anaxagoras, and studied physics under his direction; but in this branch of science, as it was then taught, he felt no interest, and soon came to despise and reject it. The contradictory hypotheses which he heard presented, and the utter confusion in which it was involved, brought him to the conviction that the gods intended that the machinery by which they brought about astronomical and physical changes should not be known, and that to pry into their secrets was both impious and vain. He thought that "the proper study of mankind was man," and to this he gave his chief attention.

Socrates was unfortunate in his marriage. For her irritable and abusive temper and tongue his wife, Xanthippe, has become a proverb. It must be admitted, however, in excuse for her, that he was not a model husband. He was never at home, and made little or no provision for his family. On his inviting some wealthy persons to take supper with him, his wife complained that they had nothing suitable to be set before them. To this he replied, "If they are worthy people they will be satisfied; and if not, we need care nothing for them." To a friend who inquired why he did not study to improve the temper

of his wife, he said, "I accept her as a needed discipline to prepare me for the management of men, just as those who break horses begin with the most intractable first, after which others can be controlled more easily." After all, it is evident that Xanthippe loved her husband. This is clear from the interest which she felt for him at the last. His tender regard for her appears in his committing her, at parting, to the special care of his friends. Socrates had several children, who survived him.

In his personal appearance our philosopher had nothing to recommend him. He had a large, strong-built frame, with a bald head, prominent eyes, flat nose, thick lips, and a belly as protuberant as that of Falstaff. His dress, too, was coarse and threadbare, and in all places and at all times he went barefoot. No wonder that his odd, uncouth appearance exposed him to the ridicule of the thoughtless multitude. His wealthy friends pitied him, and would have assisted him to any amount, but he spurned their offers as superfluous and unnecessary. Alcibiades offered him land on which to build a house, but he declined it. Charmides would have given him slaves, from whose labor he might have derived revenue, but he would not accept them. Passing the shops where articles were sold he would say to himself, "How many things there are of which I have no need!"

Like some other great philosophers, Socrates was often absent-minded. On one occasion, when abroad as a soldier, he is said to have stood a whole day in one spot, with his eyes fixed, absorbed in thought, as though in an entranced condition. This reminds us of Sir Isaac Newton, who, on rising from bed and getting one leg into his trousers, remained in that position for hours. On another occasion, perhaps more wonderful, Newton lost his dinner by his illusory speculations, thinking that he had taken it when he had not.

Socrates never left Athens except on two or three occasions when he was drafted as a soldier. He first entered the ranks at Potidæa, just before the commencement of the Peloponnesian war. The service here was one of great hardship. It was in the winter, and the climate was severe. While others were putting on coats and wrapping their feet in wool, Socrates wore his usual coarse garments, and marched barefoot on the ice. It was at this time that he rescued his wounded friend Alcibiades, and bore him in triumph from the field.

Socrates's next military service was at the battle of Delium, in the eighth year of the Peloponnesian war. Here the Athenians were defeated and obliged to retreat. Again Socrates saved Alcibiades and secured his retreat, and that of one of the generals. In the same year we again find him a soldier in Thrace, but of this adventure no particulars are mentioned. Socrates sometimes served his country in the capacity of a civilian. On one occasion he was a member of the Council of Five Hundred, and it devolved on him to preside over their deliberations when the generals who commanded at Arginusæ were brought before them for trial. These generals had done their duty bravely, and gained a splendid victory; but on their return were accused of neglecting the bodies of the dead who perished on the field. Public prejudice was strong against them, and if the question had come to a vote they would have been condemned; but Socrates, who appreciated their merits and knew their innocence, would not put the question. He resisted all the influence which could be brought to bear upon him, and thus saved their lives.

Subsequent to this, when the oligarchy had been established and the thirty tyrants were in power, they had marked out Leon of Salamis for destruction, and so they deputed Socrates and four others to go to Salamis and bring Leon to Athens that he might be slain; but Socrates would have nothing to do with such wickedness. He left the other four to go without him, and Leon was put to death; but Socrates chose rather to hazard his own life than to betray innocent blood. We mention these instances to show his firmness in circumstances which literally "tried men's souls."

Socrates was not altogether free from the superstitions of the age in which he lived. This could not be expected of him. He worshiped the Grecian gods and goddesses, and believed that they interposed continually in the affairs of men. He believed himself to be under the special direction of an invisible genius, commonly called his demon, who did not counsel him what to do, but rather what to avoid. Through the greater part of his life he followed the suggestions of this guardian spirit, and abstained from whatever he was warned to shun. He consulted the heathen oracles, and had confidence in them. It was a response from the shrine at Delphos which led him to renounce

secular employment, and enter upon the course of life in which he spent the remainder of his days. His friend Chærephon had inquired at Delphos, "Who is the wisest man in Greece?" The priestess answered, "Socrates is the wisest man." On hearing this declaration Socrates was greatly perplexed; he knew not how to understand it. At length, after a distressing struggle, he resolved to test the accuracy of the infallible priestess by taking the measure of the wisdom of others in comparison with his own. So, selecting a leading politician renowned for his wisdom, he entered into conversation with him, and put to him some searching, Socratic questions. The answers which he received convinced him that this man's wisdom was no wisdom at all. Still the politician himself was not convinced, but thought himself as wise as ever. Whereupon Socrates said, "I am wiser than this man, for I know my own ignorance and he does not." Socrates repeated the experiment upon several individuals who were in repute for wisdom, but always with the same result. In this way he commenced that peculiar work to which he regarded himself as exalted of God, nor would he desist from it until it cost him his life.

Socrates never pretended to be a teacher so much as an inquirer, or rather inquisitor. He was strictly self-made, self-taught. He sprung from no existing school of philosophy, and he founded none. Some of those who came after him established schools, but he had no such ambition or design. He had neither grove, nor garden, nor porch, nor any other particular place for his discussions, but entered upon them in any place where people would meet him and listen to him. Morning after morning he might be seen in the gymnasium, or the market-house, or the busy mart of the Piræus—wherever people were wont to assemble—among booths, or shops, or ships, or shanties, conversing with any one who came in his way. His place was with men and among them in every vocation and condition of life, content with his poverty, and living, not for himself, but for others.

Some writers have confounded him with the Grecian Sophists, but most improperly, as we think. He was the opposite of the Sophists in almost every respect. They were flippant and boastful; he, modest and humble. They were foppish in their dress and appearance; he was thinly and poorly clad.

They exacted large pay for their services; he asked nothing, and would receive nothing, for his. Indeed, it was his favorite employment to encounter them, corner them, and show them up for the amusement of others. The concealed irony of Socrates in his dealings with the Sophists is one of the most interesting features of the contest. On meeting one of these renowned masters of wisdom he affects the profoundest veneration for his genius, and listens for a time to his gorgeous declamation; he then ventures to suggest that some little difficulty occurs to him, which he doubts not that so great a philosopher can easily solve. He begs the privilege of asking two or three simple questions, not at all with the idea of disputing the conclusions so cogently maintained, but merely for his own satisfaction. Overcome by his compliments the Sophist encourages him to propose his doubts, assuring him of an instant and satisfactory solution. The dialogue commences with some very simple query, to which the wiseacre promptly replies. Other questions follow, becoming more and more abstruse, until the Sophist finds himself in difficulty. He has contradicted himself back and forth, and can neither go forward nor turn aside to the right hand or the left. He finds himself in the coils of a great logical *boa-constrictor*, who binds his folds tighter and tighter around him until the poor wretch is nearly strangled, and then, perhaps, he gently releases his folds and suffers his victim to gather breath, but only that he may return to the torture and re-entangle him in the same way.

At a certain time Hippias, a versatile and flippant Sophist, made his appearance at Athens, shining with jewels and tricked out in all the finery of the age. Socrates soon meets him, and accosts him thus: "O Hippias, the fine and the wise, what a long time it is since you last touched Athens!" At which Hippias replies, "It is because I have not had leisure, Socrates, for the Eleans, you know, whenever they have any public affairs to negotiate always apply to me, for they consider me as the ablest person among them to form a right judgement of what is argued, and to make a proper report to them." After such an introduction Socrates persists in plying Hippias with affected praises, just to draw out and expose the coxcomb's vanity, till at length they hit upon the principal topic of discussion, namely, *the beautiful*. "Can you tell me now," says

Socrates, "what is the beautiful?" "No difficulty," replies Hippias; "the easiest thing in the world;" and so he undertakes, time after time, to make out a definition of the beautiful. These definitions the old philosopher sifts and refutes till he makes them appear perfectly ridiculous. Once and again he drives the little Sophist to the wall, pins him there for awhile, and then lets him loose, just to see how he will flounce and flutter. The game is continued until Hippias at length loses all patience. He complains that his argument has been "cut and torn into a thousand pieces," and concludes with gravely advising Socrates to have done with such "petty, paltry disputes," and no longer continue "playing with straws and quibbles." This must suffice as a specimen of Socrates's manner of dealing with the Sophists.

As to the particular doctrines of Socrates it is not easy to speak at length. He wrote nothing himself, and sentiments are ascribed to him in the Dialogues of Plato of which it is likely that he knew nothing. Thus when Socrates heard Plato recite his Lysis, he is reported to have said, "How much this young man here imputes to me which I never uttered!"

I have said already that Socrates did not reject the gods and goddesses of his country, but with him these were inferior divinities. Above them all he believed in one Supreme God, the upholder and moral governor of the universe. He held the Deity to be a pure, spiritual, uncreated essence; omnipotent, omnipresent, and omniscient; who, having instituted the present order of things, pervades and sustains it with an unseen but ceaseless agency. In proof of this he pointed, as Dr. Paley does, to the varied evidences of benevolent design with which what we call the works of nature are every-where fraught. Socrates assigns various reasons why the Deity should be worshiped: (1.) Because, although he is so far above us, he yet thinks of us, feels an interest in us, and manifests in a thousand ways his regard for our happiness. (2.) By the worship of him we may best learn his goodness, care, and love. (3.) We have an instinctive tendency to the adoration of the gods. We cannot be happy and neglect it.

The Greeks in the time of Socrates were generally skeptical as to the immortality of the soul; but this truth he held with a firm conviction. It stood connected in his mind with the

belief of a moral Ruler and Judge, and the necessity of a future retribution. On the ground of a Divine government and providence, of immortality and retribution, Socrates builded his system of morals. They were heathen, and not Christian morals. Tried by the standard of the Gospel, Socrates is wanting; but tried by that of Grecian paganism, he stands forth the moral prodigy of his age. His *theory* of virtue, so far as he had any, was defective—holding knowledge and virtue, also ignorance and vice, to be much the same. Still he urged the practice of virtue in the general, and denounced vice with an energy that might shame many Christian moralists. "If," said he, "we would deserve the favor of the all-seeing Power that delights only in goodness—if we would be happy both here and hereafter—we must live purely, temperately, justly, and seek virtue more than riches, honor, or any other good. We must shun crime more than death, and sacrifice even life to fulfill the will of the gods. The virtuous man alone can meet death with joy; for he cherishes the conviction that he shall not die, but go away to happier abodes. The wicked, on the contrary, cannot console himself even with the hope of annihilation. The terrors of his impending doom already seize upon him. Yet, even aside from an hereafter, virtue is essentially connected with happiness, and vice with misery." Nowhere, except it be in the Christian revelation, are temperance, sobriety, and self-denial enforced by more cogent arguments than in the teachings of Socrates. "He tears off the mask that disguises the deformity of what men call pleasure. He shows her to be a wicked hag, tricked out in the decorations of a harlot—a syren, luring to destruction the inexperienced and unwary—a Circe, whose drugged and poisonous cup transforms men into swine. Drawing them into her service by promises of pleasure she corrupts them in body and soul, and subjects them, after a youth of continued folly, to a manhood of imbecility and remorse—to an old age of shame and despair." The growing degeneracy of the times in which Socrates lived made it necessary for him to insist on topics such as these with the greatest earnestness.

Socrates commenced his public inquiries and exhortations at the age of forty, and continued them for thirty successive years. Considering the sharpness of his logic, and the sternness of his

rebukes, it is no wonder that he had enemies. It is no wonder that there were sophists and sensualists at Athens who hated him and sought his life. The wonder is rather that they bore with him so long. Several years before his death Aristophanes had exposed him to ridicule in his comedy of the Clouds. But in the year 399 before Christ, the last year of his life, he was suddenly arrested on the charge of impiety. His accusers were Melitus, a weak young man, and Anytus and Lyson, whom he is supposed to have offended. The charges against him were the following: "Socrates does not acknowledge the Grecian gods; he has introduced new divinities; he is also chargeable with corrupting the young." He was to be tried before a court consisting of several hundreds, and the penalty proposed was death. Plato expected and attempted to plead his cause, but the judges would not allow him to proceed. Socrates appeared, therefore, in his own defense, and his speech was recorded at the time by Plato, under the title of *The Apology of Socrates.*

The speech of such a man as Socrates when on trial for his life, reported, too, by such a man as Plato, should have much interest on the mere ground of curiosity. It is also a deeply interesting performance both in matter and manner. We find here no splendor of diction, no fervid appeals to the passions, none of the tricks and artifices of oratory; but all is grave, simple, direct, dignified. Socrates addresses his judges much as he was wont to do in common discourse—proposing questions, stating facts, and pressing home upon them his conclusions. He begins by refuting the accusations of his enemies—that he was a mere sophist, whose object it was to pervert the truth, and make the worse appear the better reason; that he was a corrupter of youth, and an innovator upon the religion of his country. He affirms his belief in the Athenian gods, declaring that he not only worships them himself, but endeavors to persuade others, young and old, to do the same. He assures his judges that he is above the fear of death; that he has pursued his particular course of life not with any view to personal emolument, but because he thought it right and just; and that he would be deterred from it by no punishment which they had it in their power to inflict.

After the vote had been taken, and he had been condemned by a majority of three voices, he again addressed his judges

with the same calmness and dignity as before, assuring them that his death would soon be as much regretted as it was now desired, and warned his accusers that a terrible retribution awaited them—that they would come to a speedy and untimely end, which was actually the case.

In the closing part of his address Socrates speaks of his death as a departure to the society of the good in another world, and then asks: "If this be true, O my judges, what greater good can there be than this? At what rate would not either of you purchase a conference with Orpheus and Musæus, with Hesiod and Homer? What would not any one give for an interview with him who led that mighty army against Troy; or with Ulysses, or Sisyphus, or ten thousand others, both male and female, that might be mentioned! for to associate and converse with them would be an inestimable felicity. Truly, I should be willing to die often if these things are true."

After the condemnation of Socrates circumstances occurred which delayed the execution of his sentence some thirty days. During this period he was in prison, where he was often visited by his followers. Among those who came was Crito, his early patron, his oldest and best friend; and this introduces the dialogue of *The Crito.*

Crito came to urge Socrates to make his escape, assuring him that it could easily be done, using many arguments, and promising him all needed pecuniary assistance. Socrates thanks him for his kindness, but utterly refuses to accede to his wishes. He insists that we ought to despise the opinions of the vulgar, endure calamities patiently, and submit to the laws. As we enjoy the benefit of the laws, we ought to consent to bear the burdens, and meet the destiny which they impose. Such is the subject and substance of this dialogue. It is full of noble sentiments, is altogether worthy of the venerable philosopher, and suited to the trying circumstances in which he was placed.

At length Socrates's last day arrived. At the going down of the sun he was to drink the fatal hemlock, and pass away to that other life, of which he had so clear and joyful an anticipation. In the morning of that day he was visited by his wife and children, whose lamentations distressed him, and he directed them to be removed. His philosophic friends now clustered around him, and the day was spent in discussing the most

appropriate and interesting topics. These conversations constitute the dialogue of *The Phædo.*

The great subject of this dialogue is the immortality of the soul. Socrates had often adverted to this subject before, and expressed his belief in it; but he now enters into a demonstration of its truth, and undertakes to free it from objections. As he had not the light of inspiration to guide him, or its voice to instruct him in any way, it may be interesting to know what kind of arguments he would employ in proving the great doctrine of a future life.

1. The first argument which he urges is, that every thing in nature is produced or generated from its *opposite.* Thus the worse proceeds from the better, and the better from the worse. From the state of wakefulness we pass to sleep, and from sleep to wakefulness. And as from being alive we go to the dead, so from the dead we pass into another life.

2. The soul must subsist after death, because it existed *prior to the present life.* Socrates here assumes the soul's preexistence, and infers its continued existence when the body is dead.

3. The soul will exist forever, because it is a *simple, unchanging substance.* If it were a compound, like the body, it must, like the body, be dissolved. But as it is one simple substance, and not subject to mutations like the body, the conclusion is that it will never be dissolved.

4. It belongs to the soul to govern the body, and not the body the soul; which proves that the soul is allied to divinity, and, like that, is immortal.

5. Into whatever the soul enters it introduces *life,* which shows that life is essential to it, and it can never die.

Socrates not only urges these arguments at length, and with a great variety of illustration, but he listens patiently to the objections of his friends, and obviates them to their satisfaction, thus preparing himself and them in the best manner for the solemn event which was so soon to separate him from them.

A little before sunset he went into the bath, saying that he preferred to wash himself before drinking the poison, rather than trouble the women to wash his dead body. His friend Crito asked him how he would be buried. "Just as you please,"

said he, "that is, if you can catch me;" at the same time remarking with a smile, "Crito thinks that *I* am he whom he will shortly see dead; whereas *I*, *Socrates*, shall then have departed to the joys of the blessed."

When the executioner came to administer the poison, he was so overcome with the calmness and fortitude of his victim that he could not restrain his tears. And when his friends, the philosophers, saw him actually drinking it, they were quite overwhelmed. They covered their faces with their mantles, and some of them wept aloud. But Socrates rebuked them, saying: "What are you doing, excellent men! I sent away the women lest they should produce a disturbance of this nature. Is it not proper to die joyfully, and with propitious omens? Be quiet, therefore, and restrain your tears." When the poison began to take effect, he laid himself down upon his couch, and closed his eyes. At length, opening them, he said, "Crito, we owe a cock to Æsculapius. Discharge this debt for me, and do not neglect it." These were his last words. The great soul of Socrates was soon released, and naught remained but his lifeless and (as he deemed it) comparatively worthless body.

The grand source of that consolation which he felt in the dying hour Socrates repeatedly explained. "Unless I thought," said he, "that I should depart to other gods who are wise and good, and to the society of men who have gone from this life, and are better now than when among us, I might well be troubled at death; but now I believe assuredly that I shall go to the gods, who are perfectly good; and I hope also to dwell with wise and good men. So that I cannot be afflicted at the thought of dying, believing that death is not the end of us; and that it will be much better hereafter for the good than the evil."

We cannot conclude this account of Socrates without instituting a comparison—often forced upon us—between his life and death and that of our blessed Lord. Both were moral and religious teachers, and both claimed to be acting under a divine commission. Both were surrounded by a company of attached followers; and though neither of them wrote any thing themselves, but threw out their words upon the winds, the lives and sayings of both were recorded by their friends.

Those of Socrates were committed to writing by Plato and Xenophon, and those of Jesus by the four evangelists. And to carry the analogy a little further, both these great personages had mortal enemies, and both came to a violent death. Socrates was condemned to drink the fatal hemlock, and Jesus to suffer on the cross. In one respect there was a difference between them. Socrates was born and trained at Athens, in the very focus of ancient philosophy and wisdom; while Jesus had his training under poor parents, at Nazareth—one of the meanest towns in the most inconsiderable province of Palestine. In point of local position and advantages the case was decidedly in favor of Socrates. And yet what were the results of his teaching and labors compared with those of Jesus Christ? Though considerable for a time, as we have seen, yet in the long run they were as nothing. How few have troubled themselves about Socrates and his philosophy for the last thousand years! How very few have ever heard of it, or know any thing about it! But the teachings and the life of Jesus are as household words in every part of the civilized world. Little children, as soon as they can say any thing, are taught to lisp the name of Jesus, and to reverence him as their Saviour. In numberless Sabbath-schools and Christian congregations the teachings of Jesus are unfolded every Lord's day, and his name is fragrant as ointment poured forth.

Such, then, is the mighty difference in the results of these men's teachings; and how is it to be accounted for? How? In only one way. Socrates, though an earnest inquirer after truth, was—what he professed to be—a frail, ignorant mortal, groping after truth, but scarcely able to find it or to be assured of it when it was found. Jesus was—what he professed to be—"the Light of the world;" not only the Son of man, but the Son of God. It was well said by the eloquent blind preacher, (quoting it from Rousseau,) "Socrates died like a philosopher, but Jesus Christ like a God." With equal truth it may be said: Socrates lived and taught like a philosopher, but Jesus Christ like a messenger from heaven—one "who is over all, God blessed forever." On this supposition the widely differing results of the teachings of these two men may be fully accounted for, but on no other. On any other theory the facts of the case are an inexplicable enigma.

ART. VII.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES, AND OTHERS OF THE HIGHER PERIODICALS.

American Quarterly Reviews.

AMERICAN PRESBYTERIAN REVIEW, July, 1871. (New York.)—1. Darwin's Theory of the Origin of Species. 2. Reminiscences of James P. Wilson, D.D., and Rev. Albert Barnes. 3. The Revival of Christian Dogmatics. 4. Retributive Law and Capital Punishment. 5. Physical-life Theories and Religious Thought. 6. Albert Barnes. 7. President Wheelock and Dr. Chauncy. 8. The General Assembly and Ministerial Relief.

BAPTIST QUARTERLY, April, 1871. (Philadelphia.)—1. New Testament Revision. 2. Athens: Her Place in History. 3. Lightfoot's Christian Ministry. 4. The Baptist Historical Society. 5. The National Baptist Educational Convention. 6. Life and Times of Rev. John Leland.

July, 1871. (Philadelphia.)—1. Romish and Protestant Theory of Missions. 2. The Bible and the State. 3. A Study in Chinese Literature. 4. The Abrahamic Covenants. 5. The Baptism of the Holy Ghost. 6. Instability of the Pastoral Relation.

CHRISTIAN QUARTERLY, July, 1871. (Cincinnati.)—1. The Genuineness and Authenticity of the Gospels. Second Paper. 2. Does the New Testament Idea of a Local Church admit of its being composed of Several Congregations? 3. Disciples and Baptists—Will They Unite. 4. Classic Baptism. Second Paper. 5. Miracles and Modern Skepticism.

MERCERSBURGH REVIEW, July, 1871. (Philadelphia.)—1. The Revelation of God in Christ. 2. The Fourfold Culture of Man. 3. St. Paul the Corypheus of Evangelical Progress. 4. Restoration and Conversion of the Jews. 5. Scripture View of Holy Baptism. 6. Glory and Honor. 7. The Miracle of Pentecost in relation to the Constitution of the Church.

NEW ENGLANDER, July, 1871. (New Haven.)—1. The Opening of the New Northwest. 2. Tai-Ping-Wang, and the Chinese Rebellion of 1853–1862. 3. Life in the Roman Catholic Church during the first French Revolution, as illustrated by the Memoirs of the Marquise de Montagu. 4. Evolutionism in Natural History as related to Christianity. 5. Mirabeau as a Statesman, in the Light of the History of France during the last Eighty Years. 6. Yale College—Some Thoughts Respecting its Future. Fourth Article.

QUARTERLY REVIEW, July, 1871. (Gettysburgh.)—1. France and the Allied Powers at Waterloo. 2. Strange Fire Worshipers. 3. The Spirit of the Age. 4. Education, its Aims and Results. 5. The Pulpit. 6. The German Empire. 7. Church-Love among our People. 8. Female Education.

THEOLOGICAL MEDIUM, A CUMBERLAND PRESBYTERIAN QUARTERLY, July, 1871 (T. C. BLAKE, D.D., Editor, Nashville, Tenn.)—1. Language and its Uses. 2. The Sojourn in Egypt. 3. The "Eternal Now." 4. Practical Theology. 5. The Abrahamic Covenant. 6. The Power of the Cross. 7. Faith. 8. "The Plymouth Pulpit." 9. Mutability of Moral Distinctions. 10. The Church—Its Strength.

UNIVERSALIST QUARTERLY, April, 1871. (Boston.)—1. Dr. Williamson's Rudiments. 2. Biographical Sketches—Edward Turner. 3. Dr. Patton on Universalism. 4. Mystery and Religion. 5. John Murray.

July, 1871. (Boston.)—1. Biographical Sketches. 2. Dr. Williamson and his Reviewer. 3. Recent Explorations in Palestine. 4. History of the Devil.

English Reviews.

British and Foreign Evangelical Review, July, 1871. (London.)—1. The Buddhist Revolution in India. 2. Discussions on the Doctrine of the Divine Wrath. 3. The Modern Reformers of the Roman Catholic Church. 4. On the Origin of Primitive Sacrifice. 5. The Progress of Biblical Archæology. 6. German Catholics in Conflict with Rome. 7. Non-self-consciousness. *Reprinted Article:* Calvinism in the English Reformation.

British Quarterly Review, July, 1871. (London.)—1. The Roman Empire. 2. Theism: Desiderata in the Theistic Argument. 3. Hugh Miller. 4. Hereditary Legislators. 5. The Genius of Non-conformity and the Progress of Society. 6. The Dialogues of Plato. 7. Mr. Miall's Motion on Disestablishment.

London Quarterly Review, July, 1871. (London.)—1. The Heresies of Science. 2. Birmingham Skepticism. 3. Subterranean Rome. 4. The Civil Service. 5. American Newspapers. 6. The Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland. 7. Hugh Miller's Life and Letters. 8. Julius Müller on the Incarnation.

London Quarterly Review, July, 1871. (New York: Reprint. Leonard Scott, 140 Fulton-street.)—1. Shakspeare. 2. Darwin's Descent of Man. 3. Austria since Sadowa. 4. Jeremy Taylor. 5. Music: its Origin and Influence. 6. Maine's Village Communities. 7. Alexander Dumas. 8. Economic Fallacies and Labor Utopias. 9. The New School Boards.

We postpone to our next *Quarterly* our notice of the second article of this Review.

Edinburgh Review, July, 1871. (New York: Reprint—Leonard Scott, 140 Fulton-street.)—1. The Military Policy of Russia. 2. O'Flanagan's Lives of the Irish Chancellors. 3. Swinburne's Poems. 4. Burton's History of Scotland. 5. The Vatican Council. 6. Suppressed and Censured Books. 7. Darwin on the Descent of Man. 8. Scandinavian Politics. 9. Communal France.

Article Seventh, after describing the popularity of Darwin's works, the rare ability and candor of the man, and the fearful moral revolution which his animal anthropology is sure to create in the world, defends the divine origin of man on the evolution doctrine of Mivart and the traits of divine design traced in man by Wallace. Mivart, as our readers will recollect, differs from Darwin in maintaining the derivation of species from species, not purely by infinitesimal changes, but by jumps. Our Review maintains that such jump in man's derivation is well shown by Wallace to be not purely fortuitous, but according to underlying law and divine design. He does not say that Adam may have been thus evolved, for, after all, he allows, apparently, an immensely larger than the Mosaic antiquity of the race, or rather races, of man.

The argument for the genetic derivation of races we give at some length:

"It is universally admitted that man, in his purely physical nature, is closely linked with the brutes. His body is subject to the same laws of reproduction, growth, decay, and death as theirs, and is built essentially on the same plan. Each muscle,

nerve, blood-vessel, and bone is represented, more or less, in the bodies of the higher mammals, and especially among the anthropomorphous apes. Besides these obvious points of resemblance there are others equally striking. Man is liable to certain of the same diseases as the brutes, such as hydrophobia, variola, and glanders, a fact which 'proves the close similarity of their tissues and blood, both in minute structure and composition, far more plainly than does their comparison under the best microscope, or by the aid of the best chemical analysis.'* Our embryonic development also differs in no respect from that of the higher mammals, and is scarcely, if at all, distinguishable from that of the dog or the ape. It is useless for any man to shut his eyes to the full weight of this identity of structure.

"The evidence afforded by rudimentary organs tends also in the same direction. The panniculus carnosus muscle, for instance, by which horses move and twitch their skin, is found in an efficient state in the human forehead and neck, while it is very generally not traceable in the other parts of the body. Some people, however, have the power of moving the scalp, very much as the lower animals, and of setting in motion the muscles of the ear. This probably is an instance of the loss of an organ by disuse. The small vermiform appendage to the human cæcum is a rudiment of that which is long and convoluted in the orang and enormous in the marsupials. The small point also on the inner margin of the outer fold of the ear, which Mr. Woolner first detected when at work at his figure of Puck, is alleged to be the last lingering trace of a pointed ear, as in some of the baboons, and many other animals. Many other cases might be adduced of the same kind.

"The variations also traceable in the human frame point in the direction of the lower animals. In one case, quoted by Professor Haughton, the arrangement of tendons of thumb and fingers characteristic of the macaque was fully shown in the human hand; and Mr. Wood, in a series of papers contributed to the Royal Society, has minutely described a number of muscular variations in man, which represent normal structures in the lower animals. In one male subject no less than seven such variations were observed, all of which plainly represented the muscles of certain kinds of apes. Mr. Wood considers that

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* Darwin's "Descent of Man," vol. i, p. 11.

these variations 'must be taken to indicate some unknown factor, of much importance to a comprehensive knowledge of general and scientific anatomy.' Mr. Darwin argues that this unknown factor is most probably the tendency to revert to a former state of existence: 'It is quite incredible that a man should through mere accident abnormally resemble, in no less than seven of his muscles, certain apes, if there had been no genetic connection between them. On the other hand, if man is descended from some ape-like creature, no valid reason can be assigned why certain muscles should not suddenly reappear after an interval of many thousand generations, in the same manner as, with horses, asses, and mules, dark-colored stripes suddenly reappear on the legs and shoulders, after an interval of hundreds, or more probably thousands, of generations.'—Vol. i, p. 129.

"Hence it is contended that the identity of the structure of man's body with that of the brutes cannot be accounted for by the ordinary doctrine of special creation, or the creation of species directly and immediately out of nothing, which is itself hedged in with insuperable difficulties in general application. It does not explain the variations in the direction of the lower animals, nor the rudimentary organs, nor the embryological development. Nor does it afford any clue to the law of geological succession. It does not tell us why the existing group of marsupials in Australia should have been represented in the quaternary age by allied species in that region; or why the armadillos and sloths of South America should find their nearest allies in those species which immediately preceded them in that area; or why, in the Old World, the Asiatic elephant should be so closely allied to the mammoth."

On this the unscientific mind (stupidly inveterate, and adhering to the old notion of, not "special," but general, though direct divine creation or creations) would beg to offer some queries. We adhere, provisionally, to the old Augustinian doctrine that the whole scheme or programme of life, as developed historically into existence, exists in the divine mind as a unit, yet as successively unfolding and ascending by analogies and lines of typical law. Ideally, the whole animal genus is created at once, in due symmetry as a whole. Such typical law does exist; for hereditary, genetic uniformity is regulated and shaped

by it. Why the law cannot exist without the genetic derivation is not clear. And we are not sure that the various similarities of reproduction, growth, diseases, anticipation in the lower species of the higher, and reversions, more or less abnormal, of the higher to the lower, may not be explained by successive creations, through geologic ages, generally ascending, and unfolding under typic law.

That the operations of laws, whether of nature or of God, are modified by the subjects they meet with—that law crosses law, so that compromises between them take place in the result—are facts of which the progress of things is made up. Monstrosities and miscarriages in birth, to which atheism so foolishly objects, are but instances of the operations of one law crossing those of another law. Even in revelation miracle compromises with and adjusts to the natural conditions. Adam was corporeally created not out of an essence drawn from the highest heavens, but from the red dust of his geographical section. What wonder, then, that the series of animals arising under divine law, adjusting to local conditions, should in particular geographical sections conform approximately to particular types. The natural conditions, when analyzed and defined by science, if they ever shall be, will not thereby contradict the law.

And this view seems corroborated by geology. *Successive creations* are written upon its pages. Races in full myriad spring up at their due epoch. Man himself appears on earth a perfect man. The earliest known human skull might have carried the brains of a philosopher. This contradicts and utterly annihilates Darwinism, and cannot be explained by purely naturalistic Mivartism. Both Mivart and Wallace claim an exceptional divine design in man. But in their scheme it is an anomaly, a mere exception, without admitting honestly and frankly what it needs but upright manhood to assert, that *there is a divine habit, method, and law of miracle, under which man's creation comes.* Our Reviewer, like Mivart and Wallace, writes under some timidity before the bold front and dictatorial talk of the temporary naturalism of the day.

Mivartism is used by our Reviewer to explain the diversity of human races. It might be used by a commentator to show how Ham was parent of the Negroids. He adopts the Huxleyan division into four races, Australoid, Negroid, Mongoloid, and Xanthro-

chroic, the last about equivalent to "Caucasian." Of these the last named appears latest in point of time. He believes that the distribution of races is largely explained by great geologic changes. The results of the Reviewer's discussion singularly coincide with Dr. M'Causland's theory, noticed in a former "Quarterly," of a plurality of races of unknown antiquity but a Mosaic Adam, the progenitor of the Caucasian race.

WESTMINSTER REVIEW, July, 1871. (New York: Reprint. Leonard Scott, 140 Fulton-street.)—1. Religious Life and Tendencies in Scotland. 2. The Poetry of Democracy, by Walt Whitman. 3. The Genesis of the Free Will Doctrine. 4. Abeilard. 5. The Republicans of the Commonwealth. 6. Army Organization. 7. Early English Literature. 8. The Government and the Liberal Party. 9. The Function of Physical Pain· Anæsthetics. 10. On the Method of Political Economy.

If our reader should pick up the following rigmarole near the window of a lunatic asylum would he think it too good to be the production of the crazed brain of one of the inmates?

"I conn'd old times; I sat studying at the feet of the great masters: now, if eligible, O that the great masters might return and study me! In the name of these States, shall I scorn the antique? Why, these are the children of the antique, to justify it. Dead poets, philosophs, priests, martyrs, artists, inventors, governments long since, language-shapers on other shores, nations once powerful, now reduced, withdrawn or desolate, I dare not proceed till I respectfully credit what you have left, wafted hither: I have perused it, own it is admirable, (moving awhile among it;) think nothing can ever be greater, nothing can ever deserve more than it deserves; regarding it all intently a long while, then dismissing it, I stand in my place, with my own day, here."

Yet it is quoted with admiration as a specimen extract by the Westminster, from the "Poet of Democracy, Walt Whitman." Undoubtedly there are some sorts of "democracy" in this country of which this smutty genius is the proper type, and the Westminster may be his proper trumpeter. But when in this connection the term "democracy" is used as the designation of our national character we would respectfully demur. Or if Walt Whitman must be our representative poet, we suggest that in the same company Philo T. Barnum be our representative *savant* and George Francis Train our national orator.

German Reviews.

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN. (Theological Essays and Reviews.) 1871. Fourth Number.—*Essays:* 1. SCHLOTTMAN, The Moabite king, Mesha. 2. BEYSCHLAG, The Opponents of Paul in the Second Epistle to the Corinthians.—*Thoughts and Remarks:* 1. SCHRADER, The Assyrian List of Administration. 2. OPPERT, Shalmaneser and Sargon. 3. VAIHINGES, The Support of the Israelites in the Desert. 4. MOLLER, Juan Valdez Once More.—*Reviews:* DILTHEY, Life of Schleiermacher, Reviewed by NITZSCH. 2. SCHUTZE, Evangelical Pedagogics, Reviewed by DUSTERDICK. 3. KUBEL, The Social and Economical Legislation of the Old Testament, Reviewed by RIEHM.

The work by Professor Schlottman of Halle on the famous inscription of Mesa (*Die Siegessäule des Mesa.* Halle, 1871) has already been mentioned in a former number of the "Methodist Quarterly Review." The work attracted great attention in England, and an English translation was arranged, for which the author specially prepared an essay on the history of King Mesa, with particular reference to the biblical accounts. As the publication of the English edition has been delayed, Schlottmann gives his essay in the above article. In an interesting introduction he reviews the history of the inscription and of the ample literature concerning it. The memorial stone of Mesa, as we learn from this introduction, was discovered by the Alsatian missionary, Klein, during a missionary journey in 1868, upon the ruins of Dibon, north of Arnon. The Frenchmen who published the inscription in February, 1870, for the first time, wholly concealed the name of the discoverer, whose merit, on the contrary, was distinctly recognized by English scholars in several articles in the "Times" and the "Athenæum." Both papers called Klein a German, and even a Prussian. In consequence of several unfortunate circumstances the stone was destroyed by a tribe of Bedouins. (A full account of this destruction is given by the German Consul, H. Petermann, in Jerusalem, in the *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenland. Gesellschaft*, vol. xxiv, pp. 640–644, and by Dr. Ginsburg in his work, "The Moabite Stone," p. 9, *et seq.*) Fortunately Ganneau, the Chancellor of the French Consulate in Jerusalem, had procured from several Arabs a *fac-simile* of the whole inscription, by which alone, in spite of its partial imperfection, the understanding of the whole connection is made possible. Subsequently Ganneau gained possession of numerous fragments of the stone, in particular of two large pieces. The energy exhibited by him in securing possession of the fragments, as well

as the skill displayed in the deciphering, are generally recognized. According to the *fac-simile*, transcription, and translation of Ganneau, the inscription was for the first time published February, 1870, by the distinguished Oriental scholar, Count Vogüé. Further corrections, a more distinct transcription of parts of the text, and new deciphering of several previously illegible passages, were given by Ganneau in the March and June numbers of the *Revue Archeologique.* The former number also gave an improved *fac-simile.* In June Count Vogüé also published a new translation, together with a commentary by Ganneau; also a once more improved edition of the *fac-simile.* These French publications soon called forth a considerable number of works from the German Orientalists, most of which have been mentioned in former numbers of the "Methodist Quarterly Review." According to the first (inaccurate) description by Ganneau the stone was rounded on the top, but at the bottom angular, and as broad as thick, and Count Vogüé, therefore, as well as Schlottman, called it a "triumphal column." A more accurate description has subsequently been given in a letter of the first discoverer, Klein, who saw the stone in its uninjured condition. According to him it was rounded at the bottom as well as at the top, and its three dimensions were 113, 70, and 35 centimeters. It was, therefore, a tablet rather than a column, and the "triumphal monument," or "triumphal inscription, of Mesha," would be a more appropriate name for it. Among the more important German publications are those by Nöldeke and Hitzig, the former of whom arrives at nearly the same results as Schlottmann. The author concludes his interesting article by the following remarks:

"We believe we have by our article shed a new light on the importance of the Moabite monument. It awakens a just desire for further discoveries of the same kind. For, more than probably any other inscription of so small a size and in so imperfect a state of preservation, it has furnished important new material to various departments of science. With a tribe which justly has been designated as half nomadic, a document is found which, even from a literary point of view, betrays a high degree of culture. In a country in which such a document could be written, much has certainly been written. The same may be supposed with regard to the kindred tribes of Ammon

and Edom. And while it may have appeared probable that among the ancient Hebrews monumental stone inscriptions had been in no, or at least very little, use, the monument of Mesha makes us believe in the existence of royal inscriptions among the Hebrews. We do not wish, however, to raise hereby sanguine hopes. The inscription of the Sidonian king, Eshmunazar, which was discovered in 1855, thus far remains isolated in the province of Phœnician antiquity; and none of the monuments since discovered can be compared with it in point of size or importance. Little, it is true, has been done to bring to light other relics of Phœnician literature, except by the expedition undertaken by Renan at the expense of the French Government. The Moabite discovery, which opens the prospect of much greater literary gains than the Phœnician, should give a new impulse to the literary exploration of the ruins of Palestine."

The above mentioned inscription of Eshmunazar of the Sidonians, is, besides the inscription of Mesha, the only literary document of considerable size in the "Canaanite language" of the tribes neighboring to Israel which is thus far known to us. It is also of great interest for the student of the Old Testament, who will find a full elucidation of it in a work by Professor Schlottmann, entitled *Die Inschrift Eschmunazars*, (Halle, 1868.)

The article of Schlottmann is only one of the many interesting essays in this number of the *Studien*. In fact, this venerable veteran among the German Quarterlies has, during the past two years, rejuvenated to a remarkable degree, and is at present more replete with valuable information than at any previous period of its history. Never before did it count abler scholars among its contributors. It devotes special attention to the important discoveries which scientific expeditions for many years have been bringing to light in Western Asia, and to harmonizing their results with the biblical accounts. It must be of the deepest interest to every student of the Old Testament to see the remarkable agreement between the new documents and the biblical accounts which were written two thousand years ago. The two essays in the above number by Professor Schrader and Prof. Oppert both refer to the history of the Assyrian kings who were so closely connected with the history of the Hebrews, and in particular—the one wholly, the

other partly—to the two kings Shalmaneser and Sargon. We give a few extracts from the article of Prof. Oppert, who has taken so prominent a part in the discovery of the Assyrian antiquities and in their deciphering. He says: "Six kings of the new Assyrian empire are mentioned in the writings of the Old Testament, Pul, Tiglath-pileser, Shalmaneser, Sargon, Sennacherib, and Esar-haddon. Of these Esar-haddon and Sargon are only mentioned occasionally; of Sargon it was only known that a prophecy of Isaiah was dated from the year of the capture of Ashdod by Sargon, (Isa. xx, 1.) It was different with Shalmaneser. To him was given to besiege the capital, Samaria, and, as was inferred from 2 Kings xvii, 6, xviii, 11, to capture it, and thus to put an end to the kingdom of the ten tribes. Before the discovery of Nineveh no one thought of identifying the prominent Shalmaneser with Sargon, of whom otherwise nothing whatever was known. According to the biblical accounts which mention (2 Kings xviii, 13) Sennacherib as being king of Assyria in the fourteenth year of Hezekiah, Sargon could have reigned only a very short time, if his reign fell between Shalmaneser and Sennacherib. The discovery of Khorsabad gave to the hitherto unknown Sargon a much greater importance. De Longpérier was the first to recognize in 1847 that Sargon must have been the founder of Khorsabad; the triumphal column which was transported from Cyprus to Berlin evidently belonged to this king, who in no less than six documents speaks of the fifteenth year of his reign. De Saulcy, and subsequently Hincks and Rawlinson, showed that Sargon, in all his inscriptions, ascribes to himself the capture of Samaria. To harmonize this discovery with the traditional interpretation of the biblical passages quoted above several respectable scholars assumed that Shalmaneser and Sargon were the same person. They adduced in favor of their opinion that it was proved by Assyrian texts that Sargon was the father of Sennacherib, while the apocryphal book of Tobit called Sennacherib a son of Enemeser, which of course is taken as a mutilation of Shalmaneser. It was not taken into consideration that whenever the Bible uses two foreign names for one individual it expressly states the identification, (Esth. ii, 7: 'And he brought up Hadassah, that is, Esther;') also, that Sargon never calls

himself Shalmaneser. The cuneiform inscriptions make an identification of Shalmaneser and Sargon absolutely impossible."

From the great annals of Khorsabad it is clear that Sargon took Samaria in the first month of the first year of his reign. As the Bible distinctly says in several places that the siege of Samaria lasted three years, and that it was begun by Shalmaneser, it is impossible that Sargon could commence it, and that he was the same person with Shalmaneser, if the Assyrian and the Bible accounts were to be regarded as equally correct. But, says Oppert, the Bible nowhere asserts that Samaria was taken by Shalmaneser. In 2 Kings xviii, 9, it is stated that "Shalmaneser came up against Samaria and besieged it," and in the following verse that "at the end of three years *they* (not Shalmaneser, but the Assyrians) took it." In chapter xvii, 5, 6, it is only said, *without mentioning names*, that the King of Assyria went up to Samaria and besieged it three years, and that in the ninth year of Hosea the King of Assyria took Samaria. Another argument adduced by those maintaining the identity of the two names is the alleged fact that there are so many Assyrian inscriptions of Sargon and none of Shalmaneser; but Oppert replies that in the first place no valid proof against the existence of an Assyrian king can possibly be based on the fact that *thus far* no inscriptions of his have been discovered, and that, in the second place, Rawlinson several years ago really found the name of Shalmaneser on an Assyrian inscription, and that he (Oppert) himself has verified it. After having entered more fully into the details of the history of the two Assyrian kings Oppert constructs the following brief outline of their history as a harmonization of the Assyrian and the biblical accounts. Shalmaneser VI. was the successor of Tiglath-pileser. The latter had shaken off the yoke of the Chaldean, Pul and his successors, and ascended the throne in 745 B. C. Whether he was the father of Shalmaneser is not known. The brief reign of Shalmaneser is exclusively known from the Bible and a fragment of Menander in Josephus. From the latter source it appears that the Assyrian king invaded Phenicia and besieged Tyre, because the Tyrians had again subjected the rebellious Cittians. With the exception of the insular city of Tyre every thing was conquered by Shalmaneser; in particular Sidon, Akko, and Old Tyre;

all Phœnicia armed sixty vessels against this one city, but was conquered by twelve Tyrian vessels. The king cut off all aqueducts, and for five years the Tyrians had to content themselves with well-water; evidently until the capture of Tyre by Sargon, of which the fragment of Menander does not speak. During this time began, in 724, the siege of Samaria, the end of which Shalmaneser was not to see. He died in the course of the year 722, and after an interval of several months an aged descendant of the formal royal house seized the throne, probably in consequence of an election. Sarkinarku, born about 730, was nearly seventy years old when he placed the crown on his head. Immediately after ascending the throne he marched westward to conquer Samaria. He took the city and carried twenty-seven thousand men into captivity. Having returned to Phœnicia, he conquered, in 720, Hamath and Northern Syria, in 719 Tyre, and defeated the Ethiopian Jabako near Raphia. During the following years the king, who in the meanwhile had assumed the name Sarkayan, (the Assyrian form from which the Hebrew Sargon has been taken,) was engaged in the Northern countries and in the East; he received the tribute of Egypt and Arabia, but did not return to Phœnicia until 711, having been recalled by the rebellious Ashdod. He besieged the city, took it after a long siege, and then hastened back to Assyria to meet the threatening Merodach-baladan of Babylonia. Not until the beginning of the year 709 he entered the Holy City, from which the king had escaped, and the whole year had to be spent in warring against the Babylonian in Chaldæa. Henceforth Sargon himself appears no longer to have gone to war. His generals subjected Elam, crossed over to Cyprus, and settled disputes concerning the throne in the Median Ellis. After five years the Babylonians once more revolted, probably a short time before the death of Sargon, who when over eighty years old was assassinated, leaving to his son Sennacherib his throne and far-reaching plans. The time after his withdrawal from the war Sargon devoted to the establishment of a new royal city, which was to replace Nineveh, and which, with a magnificent palace, rose north-east of the old capital, on the foot of the mountains. But the new residence, Dur-Sarkayan, was not to survive for a long time the death of its founder. The son rebuilt the venerable palace in

Nineveh. Xenophon and his companions saw the new royal city only as the ruins of Mespila, and to-day the new Persian name of "the city of bears," Khorsabad, no longer recalls the name of Sargon. Thus the mighty figure of the warlike, just, and hoary Sargon parts distinctly from that of the less fortunate Shalmaneser VI., to whom it was not given to conclude by his race the long series of the kings of Assyria.

ZEITSCHRIFT FUR DIE HISTORISCHE THEOLOGIE. (Journal for Historical Theology.) 1. KRUMMEL, Utraquists and Taborites. A Contribution to the History of the Bohemian Reformation in the Fifteenth Century. 2. RONSCH, Contributions to a History of the Old Latin Translations of the Bible.

The first article gives the concluding chapters of the very valuble essay of Krummel on the history of the Utraquists and Taborites, namely, Chap. vi: "The Reaction; the Return of the Emperor Sigismond to Bohemia. The Attempt of a General Restoration of Catholicism in Bohemia, 1436–1437." Chap. vii: "The Results of the whole Hussite Movement; the Utraquistic Church, the Entire Disappearance of the Taborites, and the Origin of the elder Society of Brethren." The essay will undoubtedly be published in book form, and will be on all sides welcomed as a great enrichment of the literature of the Hussites.

ART. VIII.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

ROMAN CATHOLICISM.

THE OLD CATHOLIC CHURCH.—The movement of the Catholic opponents of Papal infallibility in Germany, or, as they now call themselves, the Old Catholics, has during the last three months assumed so large dimensions that it is now commonly looked upon as the most important religious movement of the age. It is believed not to be exposed to the same danger of comparative failure as the German Catholic Church inaugurated by Ronge in 1845, for while then not one Catholic theologian of literary reputation identified himself with the movement, now the men whom the bishops themselves have honored, and even consulted as the greatest scholars of the Church, take the lead. The bishops appear to recognize the full extent of the danger. They treat as excommunicated every one who in any way expresses his sympathy with the reform; they refuse him admission to any of the sacraments, and a burial in accordance with the rites of the Church if he dies. The Bishop of Passau has gone so far as to pronounce excommunication over every one who will read a newspaper of his episcopal city which supports the movement. Many have been scared, by the threatening attitude of the Bishops, into submission.

Of the priests, in particular, who were known to oppose the doctrine of infallibility, the vast majority have bowed down in view of the probability that they would lose, by an announcement of their conviction, their living. But already there is a strong body of men scattered over all parts of Germany, and represented in nearly every town, who are fully determined to hold out and to enter the organization of the Old Catholic Church, which will exclude all, be they pope, bishops, priests, or laymen, who adhere to the heresy of infallibility, and claim those Catholics who remain as the only true Catholic Church.

The great task the leaders have to accomplish is to hasten a full and perfect organization, so that every Catholic who sides with them may feel conscious that he rests in the bosom of a Church. Several important steps have been taken in this direction. A number of prominent men met at Munich on May 29, under the presidency of Döllinger, and prepared a declaration of principles, which, as the provisional doctrinal standard of the new ecclesiastical body, attracted, of course, general attention. The main points of the declaration, which is undoubtedly from the pen of Döllinger, are: 1. The Old Catholics persist in rejecting the Vatican infallibility ~~and the~~ Vatican doctrines which, notwithstanding the denial of the Bishops, concede to the Pope personal infallibility and absolute power in the Church. 2. We adhere to the conviction that the Vatican decrees are a serious danger to the State and society, and are utterly irreconcilable with the laws and institutions of the present States. 3. The German Bishops, by interpreting the Vatican doctrines in the most contradictory manner, show that they are well aware of their novelty, and are ashamed of them. 4. The Old Catholics repel the threats of the Bishops as uncalled for, and their compulsory measures as invalid. By the episcopal excommunications the faithful cannot forfeit their right to partake of the means of grace, nor the priests their right to administer them. 5. The Old Catholics indulge the hope that under the guidance of Providence the conflict now begun will prepare and ultimately bring on the long desired and inevitable reform of the constitution and the life of the Church. We hope for a genuine regeneration of the Church, in which every civilized Catholic nation will constitute, in accordance with its peculiar character and mission, a free member of the body of the Church universal, in which the clergy and laity will harmoniously co-operate for developing the life of the Church, and in which a thoroughly educated episcopacy and primacy will again secure to the Church her place at the head of the civilization of the world. The declaration is signed by thirty-one names; among them Professors Döllinger, Friedrich, Huber, Cornelius, Haushofer, Berchtold of the University of Munich, Professor Reinkens of the University of Breslau, Professor Knoodt of the University of Bonn, Professor Shulte of the University of Prague, Professor Michelis of Braunsberg, Count Moy of Munich, Lord Acton Dalberg, member of the English House of Lords, Sir Blenner-Hassett, of England. The declaration was made public in June, and soon received from Rome the emphatic assent of Father Hyacinthe.

The organization of the Church is to be effected in a Catholic Congress, which is to be held at Munich on Sept. 22, 23, and 24, and is to be attended by delegates from all Catholic countries of Europe. This Congress may have a decisive influence on the fate of the whole movement; if it fails to do its allotted work, and give to the dissatisfied Catholics a new Church, the confidence in the whole movement may be shaken. On Aug. 5 a preliminary Congress, consisting of forty prominent representatives of Germany, Austria, and Switzerland, met at Heidelberg, to discuss the programme of the Munich Congress, which had been drawn up by Professor Huber. They found themselves in full accord on all important points, but confined themselves strictly to resolutions concerning the organization of the coming Congress.

The secular governments of Europe still continue in a waiting attitude. Professor Schulte of Prague, who before 1870 was generally praised by the Catholic press as the greatest living writer on the Church law, and who is now one of the leading champions of the Old Catholics, again insists, in a work just published, that the governments of the countries in which the Catholic Church bears the character of the State Church are bound to recognize the Old Catholics as the only true Catholic Church, and to protect them in the possession of all the rights and all the property belonging to the Catholic Church. This length hardly any government will have the courage to go. Only in Switzerland the cantonal Government of Aargau has forbidden the teaching of the new doctrine in the Catholic schools, and withholds the salary from every teacher who can be proved to have taught it. The Prussian ministry has likewise made an important decision. The Bishop of Ermeland had excommunicated Dr. Woltmann, of the Gymnasium of Braunsberg, as an "Old Catholic," and requested the Government to appoint an orthodox professor for instruction in the Catholic religion. The Government declined, on the ground that the State had nothing to do with the troubles inside the Catholic Church, and continued to regard both parties as Catholics. The Bishop then forbade all Catholic students to attend the instruction of Dr. Woltmann, to which the Government replied by excluding from the institution all the students obeying the episcopal order. In September a meeting of the German Bishops was held at Fulda, to concert a plan of action in their conflict with the Governments. In Bavaria a new ministry has been constituted, which is known to be decidedly opposed to the Ultramontanes. A pastor who with a large portion of his congregation has seceded from Rome is sustained by the ministry in the possession of the Church. A new minister has been sent to Rome who is regarded as an enthusiastic adherent of Döllinger, and so are a majority of the statesmen and the high officers of the kingdom. In Austria the Emperor has written a letter to the Hungarian Bishops disapproving of the course taken by them in promulgating the decrees of the Vatican Council, including that on Papal Infallibility; and the cable says, that one Bishop at least has since declared that he wishes the promulgation of the Vatican Council to be regarded as null and void. The number of Catholics in Austria who take an active part in

the Old Catholic movement is very large, apparently larger than in any other country.

The Oriental and the Anglican Churches continue to show a special interest in the movement. It is felt that the efforts which have for many years been made to draw all the Churches claiming to have bishops of apostolical succession into a closer union could not be promoted more efficiently than by the success of the Old Catholics. Not only might the champions of this movement thus see bishops in sympathy with the union movement in every country of the Christian world, but Old Catholic bishops would constitute a most available link of connection, as both High Church Anglican and Oriental bishops might find it easier to arrive at a full understanding with them than among each other. The leaders of the movement, and in particular Dr. Döllinger, are therefore the recipients of marked attentions and honors on the part of these two denominations. Thus the University of Oxford has conferred upon him the title of LL.D., with a most flattering recognition of his literary distinction; and on the part of the Greek Church a Russian Abbot, the special delegate of the Archbishop of Kieff, has for some time been staying with Döllinger, in order, as his instruction says, "to obtain a better insight into the essence and the aims of the Catholic resistance to the papal innovations." Under these circumstances the next developments of the Old Catholic movement will be expected with intense interest.

ART. IX.—FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

GERMANY.

AMONG the most important theological works published in Germany during the past year belongs that of Prof. A. Ritschl, on the "Christian Doctrine of Justification and Atonement," (*Die christliche Lehre von der Versöhnung in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung von der ältesten Zeit bis auf die neueste.* Vol. I. Bonn, 1870.) The author, by his first work on the origin of the old Catholic Church, which was partly pervaded by the views of the Tubingen school, gained for himself the reputation of more than ordinary theological scholarship and keenness. It was well known that in the progress of his studies he has more and more withdrawn from the stand-point of the Tubingen school, and returned to, or, at least, approached, more conservative and orthodox views. In the present work he treats even the founder and master of the Tubingen school, T. C. Baur, with very little respect. On the other hand, he is an admirer of Kant and Schleiermacher, after whose death German theology, in his opinion, has steadily declined, so as to be threatened with complete ruin. He develops his own view of theology, which materially differs from all theological schools of Germany, and is regarded by some of his critics as an attempt to recognize the conservative Catholics and the High Church Protestants on the basis of the doctrines which were fully defined and adopted

by the Christian Church of the first five centuries. On all sides, however, the eminent ability of the work is acknowledged. The work will be completed in two volumes.

Wolfgang von Goethe, the grandson of the great poet, has begun the publication of an interesting work on the Greek Cardinal Bessarion, who in the fifteenth century played a prominent part in the endeavors for bringing about a union of the Greek and Roman Churches. (*Studien und Forschungen über das Leben und die Zeit des Cardinals Bessarion.*) The first number contains several essays on the Council of Florence, at which the Greek Bishops, to obtain aid from the western nations against the Turks, consented to a union which was repulsive to the majority of the people, and which, therefore, most of them had to disown as soon as they returned home.

A new edition of the Greek text of the apocryphal works of the Old Testament has been prepared by Prof. O. F. Fritzsche, of Jena, (*Libri apocryphi Veteris Testamenti graece.* Leipsig. 1871,) who for years has made these books his special study, and has already published several commentaries on them. He gives them in the following order: 1. The Greek Ezra; 2. Esther, with the additions, in a double text; 3. The Greek additions to the Book of Daniel, in the text of Theodotion, besides that of the Septuagint; 4. The Prayer of Manasseh; 5. The Book of Baruch; 6. The Book of Tobit, in a triple text; 7. The Book of Judith; 8. The four Books of Maccabees, of the fourth of which we have thus far not had any good edition; 9. The Wisdom of the Son of Sirach; 10. The Wisdom of Solomon. The edition has been made with careful comparison of the Latin, Syriac, and other translations. Of the fourth Book of Maccabees this edition publishes for the first the correct Greek text. Several pseudographic books of the Old Testament are given in an appendix, which is also published as a separate work. They are the following: 1. The Psalms of Solomon; 2. The Fourth Book of Ezra; 3. The Fifth Book of Ezra; 4. The Apocalypse of Baruch; 5. The Assumption of Moses.

The *Protestantenverein* ("Protestant Union") has recently published the second volume of its annual Year-book, (*Jahrbuch des deutschen Protestantenvereins.* Elberfeld, 1871.) The object of the Year-book is to acquaint all the members of the Union with the progress of the common cause, to aid them in a thorough understanding of all the important questions of the day, and to interest the educated classes of Germany in the objects of the Union. To this end every volume of the Year-book gives a review of the religious history of the past year, one of several biographies of prominent men, some of the best essays delivered in the course of the past year in the branch societies of the Protestant Union, the proceedings of the General Assembly of the Protestant Union, (*Protestantentag,*) and an account of the progress of the Union. The first volume of the Year-book was published in 1869; last year none was published on account of the French-German war. The volume just published contains a review of the year by Hossbach; an account of the labors and the statistics of the Protestant Union during the past year, by Hönig; the fundamental views

of the primitive Christian congregations, by Prof. Lipsius, of the University of Kiel; a biographical article on Arndt, by Prof. Schenkel; a Protestant testimony against modern Lutheranism, by Prof. Baumgarten, of Rostock; Darwinism and Religion, by Dr. Zittel, of Heidelberg; Two Trials for Heresy, by Prof. Nippold, of Heidelberg. The Year-book is edited by Dr. Thomas and Lic. Hossbach, and among its contributors, besides the above names, are mentioned Prof. Bluntschli, of Heidelberg, the President of the Union; Prof. Holtzendorff, of the University of Berlin; Dr. Schwarz, of Gotha, and other well-known representatives of the Liberal party.

A new extensive Life of Jesus, from the stand-point of the critical school, was begun in 1867, by Professor Keim, of Zurich, under the title, "History of Jesus of Nazareth, in its Concatenation with the General History of His People." (*Geschichte Jesu von Nazara.* Zurich, 1867.) A second volume of this work has recently been published, which embraces the period from the sermon on the mount to the sermon on the sending out of the disciples.

Prof. Fr. Nitzsch has published the first volume of a new "History of the Christian Doctrines," (*Grundriss der Christlichen Dogmengeschichte*, Vol. I. *Die Patristische Periode.* Berlin, 1870.) Differing in many respects from his predecessors, the author intends not to trace the history of the several more or less unconnected doctrines, but the organic growth of the system of Christian doctrines. As the center of the Christian doctrine, he regards the historical confession that Jesus of Nazareth is the Messiah, and that as such he has established the salvation of the world. The Patristic period to which this first volume is devoted is divided into two sections. The former extends to the end of the second, the latter to the middle of the eighth century. During the former the foundation of the "Old Catholic" Church doctrine is laid by fixing the formal creed; during the second the Church doctrine is systematically developed; for the process of this development, the doctrine of the divinity of Christ—not, as Baur thinks, that of the Trinity—constitutes the central point of the Old Catholic Church system. Next to it in importance, and closely connected with it, is the doctrine of the Church, as an institution of salvation. The history of these two doctrines is, therefore, treated as the stem of the doctrinal progress of the Church during this period; the other doctrines are regarded and treated as offshoots of this stem.

HOLLAND.

Professor Scholten, of the University of Leyden, is one of the most prolific, as well as the most prominent, representatives of the Rationalistic school of theology of Holland. He has recently published a new elaborate work on the Gospel of Luke and its relation to the Gospels of Mark and Matthew and the Acts, (*Het Paulinisch Evangelie.* Leyden, 1870.) This work supplements those previously published by him on the Gospel of John, (1864,) and on the oldest Gospel, (1868,) in the latter of which he tried to ascertain the primitive form of the evangelical history in the

Gospels of Mark and Matthew. The Gospel of Luke, the last of the three synoptic evangelists, is, according to Scholten, intended to be the apologist of Paulinism against Judaism and Jewish Christianity, and the same tendency he finds in the Acts. He differs, therefore, from other champions of the same school, like Hilgenfeld, who looks upon the Acts as a work which does not contain the genuine Paulinism, and finds an admixture of un-Pauline elements even in the Gospel of Luke. Scholten finds the first vestige of the existence of this Gospel about the middle of the second century.

Art. X.—QUARTERLY BOOK TABLE.

Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.

A Defense of "Our Fathers," and of the Original Organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church against the Rev. Alexander M'Caine and Others. With Historical and Critical Notes of American Methodism. By John Emory, D.D. 8vo., pp. 154. New York: Carlton & Lanahan. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden.

If you would teach your son to reason, said Locke, let him study Chillingworth. So if the Church would teach her sons both to reason well and to defend her institutes, let them study John Emory. We do not wonder that before his clear, manly, exhaustive logic the followers of Alexander M'Caine dissipated like a belated frost before the clear sun of a May morning. We need little more, perhaps, than John Emory and the History of our Discipline, by Robert Emory, for the refutation of our good and able brethren, who, without the disloyalty of Alexander M'Caine, are making a movement upon our episcopacy with analogous arguments.

The question of main and immediate practical importance now before the Church to us seems to be just this: *Has the General Conference the right to abolish our episcopal ordination and to limit the episcopal office to four years by a mere majority, and without her two thirds majority and the three fourths majority in the Annual Conferences?*

To this we gave in our July Quarterly a negative answer. We say that the Restrictive Rule declares that a General Conference majority alone "shall not do away with episcopacy:" that is, shall not do it away in whole or in any essential part; and in that episcopacy, as received from Mr. Wesley by the framers of that Rule, *Ordination* and *Life-tenure* were held to be *essential and constituent parts.* To remove them is therefore "to do away episcopacy" in the sense of the framers of the Rule.

Our business, then, is to show what was the Episcopal Idea

framed by Mr. Wesley, accepted by our fathers, and deposited in the Restrictive Rule.

The broad principle upon which our system is built is, as said in our last Quarterly, the inherent right of every Church to shape its government for the highest good to man and glory to God. This may properly be called, as it is by Dr. Reid, "the optional theory." The fundamental axiom was quoted by us from Wesley in our late article on this subject (July Quarterly, p. 526; foot-note) in the following words: "I still believe the episcopal form of Church government to agree with the writings of the apostles; but that it is prescribed in Scripture I do not believe. This, which I once zealously espoused, *I have been heartily ashamed of ever since I read Bishop Stillingfleet's 'Irenicon.'* I think that he has unanswerably proved that NEITHER CHRIST NOR HIS APOSTLES PRESCRIBE ANY PARTICULAR FORM OF CHURCH GOVERNMENT." Our capitals signalize what we call the Wesleyan AXIOM. From this we deduced the resistless inference, (in same foot-note,) "Of course, then, they no more prescribed *two orders* than *three*." And we may now add, of course they no more prescribed three orders than five.

This broad Wesleyan basal principle, or *axiom*, our article (p. 527) re-affirmed in the following explicit words: "Though A CHURCH MAY SHAPE ITSELF INTO SUCH FORM AS IS PROVIDENTIALLY BEST ADAPTED TO EFFECT ITS TRUE PURPOSES, and though other forms of Church government are doubtless permitted, yet we believe episcopacy to be apostolically sanctioned, *though not enjoined*, and primarily the best form of government for the most efficient evangelical action." Such was "the prelacy," (!) forsooth, of our article.*

Confirmatory of all this Dr. Emory, through sixteen pages of his work, quotes from Stillingfleet a variety of pertinent passages; passages by which Wesley's mind was influenced as every candid mind must be influenced. Primarily (according to these extracts) even in England the reason for adopting episcopacy was not any "pretense of divine right, but the conveniency of this form of Church government to the state and condition of the Church at the time of its reformation." Archbishop Whitgift was the first who solemnly vindicated hierarchy; yet even he asserts that "*no kind of government is expressed in the word*, or *can necessarily be concluded from thence*;" and again, "no form of Church government is by the Scriptures prescribed to or commanded the Church

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* See also Whedon's Commentary, vol. iii, pp. 74, 146.

of God." Of course, then, we again infer there are by divine prescription no more two orders than three, or three than two. Chemnitius, indeed, is approvingly quoted as affirming that "the word of God nowhere commands what or how many *degrees* and *orders* of ministers there shall be; and that in the Apostles' times there was not the like number in all the Churches." Such is the basal doctrine of our Church polity.

To all this the able editor of the "Canada Christian Guardian" replies, that Mr. Wesley "vindicated" our episcopacy on the fact that episcopate and eldership are one order.* One order, we reply, by New Testament example and even somewhat in the post-apostolic Church, but *not one by divine prescription for the Church of all time.* The thoughtful editor has chosen precisely the right word, "vindicated." Mr. Wesley "*vindicated*" his ordination by this statement, but *based* it on the broad "optional" axiom. He vindicated himself against the clamors of High Churchmen on the established fact that in the New Testament the *episcopos* and the *presbyteros* were one. It was a shield; an *argumentum ad homines*, accomplishing its defensive purpose. The axiom, that no limitation is divinely laid down to either two or three orders, underlay this vindication. That axiom Mr. Wesley never forgot. He expressly tells us that he was ashamed of maintaining any other doctrine ever since he had read Stillingfleet. It must therefore be assumed, on his own authority, as permanently underlying all his subsequent utterances and movements.

In regard to the proper nature of "orders," we said in our Article, (p. 526,) "How can there be an ordination if not to an order?" This question embraces an entire argument. The old verbs to *ordain* and to *order* were different forms of the same word, used in the ritual of the Anglican Church, of which Wesley was a presbyter. To *order* signifies to endow with *orders*, just as to magnetize signifies to endow with magnetism. And so Webster rightly defines "ordination, in the Episcopal Church, the act of conferring holy *orders* or sacerdotal power; called also consecration." And so the old Thirty-sixth Article of the Anglican Church says, "The Book of Consecration . . . doth contain all things necessary for such consecration or *ordering*. And, therefore, whosoever are consecrated or *ordered* according to the rites of that book . . . we decree all such to be rightly . . . consecrated or

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* "Lord King's Account of the Primitive Church convinced me, many years ago, that Bishops and Presbyters are the same order, and consequently have the same right to ordain."—*Tyerman's Life of Wesley*, vol. iii, p. 435.

ordered." The word had this import because to the mind of the Church the thing had this nature. *Ordination* was the mode and test of an *order.* As an Anglican Churchman Mr. Wesley's mind was shaped to the assumption that a valid ordination always conferred valid orders. Although the word *order* is an ecclesiastical rather than a scriptural term, and is of very flexible import, yet the best definition we can give it would be thus: Order is a rank of ministry constituted by election and ordination, permanently and successionally continued in a Church. Our episcopate would thus be an order.

Nor does the fact that Mr. Wesley assumed the primitive oneness of the *episcopos* and the *presbyteros* at all preclude the further fact that when an *episcopos* is set apart by ordination, and is made, by the same customary life-tenure as belongs to the eldership, the executive performer of all future constitutionally valid ordinations, there is thereby a new "order" properly inaugurated, and the two primary orders become a triplicate. In one aspect there are two, in the other three. We do not think this is quite rightly expressed by saying, with Watson and others, that there are two orders and an office. For then we should find this anomaly in our system, that there is an immensely larger difference of power between our order and office than between our two orders! And, second, the Wesleyan axiom precludes our holding the two lower grades any more a divinely appointed order than the other. Viewed, however, as primitively and permanently possessing in itself inherently the constitutive and ordaining power, the *eldership* does embrace the episcopate in itself as a unit, and there exist but the two orders, the eldership and the deaconship. In the eldership it inheres to supplement all breaks in the episcopal succession, by *inaugurating the line anew.* Whether the break occur by death, or by an apostasy on the part of the episcopal body, requiring a secession of the pious from its authority, in the eldership it lies to reconstruct the episcopate anew. Viewed, then, as an ordained, life-tenured institute, divinely sanctioned though not absolutely prescribed, the episcopate is a new order, and the entire orders are three. For all the purposes of our present showing the incapacity of a General Conference majority to remove the life-tenured ordination of our Bishops, we shall show that by our constitutional documents *there are three* ORDERS.

The eldership is by scriptural precedent and by the natural course of things, as embodying the mass of the mature ministry, the main body and trunk of the ministerial strength and power.

As such it is naturally and crudely the undeveloped *one order.* Just as, naturally and by sacred precedent and expediency, it reserves the diaconate order as its preparatory pupilage, so it flowers up into the episcopacy as its concentrated representative *order.* Fundamentally, there may thus be one order; subsidiarily, a second order; and derivatively, yet superior in function, a third order. The ordership and organic permanence is constituted in all three cases, according to sacred precedent, by ordination. The highest of the three orders is especially, as it happens, perpetuated by a series of ordaining hands, passing from predecessor to successor, bishop authenticating bishop, as elder does not authenticate elder, or deacon, deacon. Hence, though, as derivative, it is in origin less an order, and an inferior order, yet, as constituted, it becomes more distinctively an order than either of the other two. The New Testament furnishes, indeed, no decisive precedent of an ordained and permanently fixed super-presbyterial order; but it does furnish classes and instances of men exercising super-presbyterial authority, so that pure and perfect parity of office is not divinely enjoined. Such classes and cases are the apostles, perhaps the evangelists, St. James of Jerusalem, and Timothy and Titus. For the permanent organization of a Church, then, the three orders, though not divinely enjoined, are divinely authenticated.

Wesley held that the episcopate and eldership were so one order that the *power* constituting an episcopal order inhered in the eldership; but he did not believe that there lay in the eldership a *right* to exercise that power without a true providential and divine call. Thus he said, in a letter to Rev. Thomas Adam, 1755: "It is not clear to us that *presbyters so circumstanced as we are* may appoint or *ordain* others; but it is that we may direct, as well as suffer, them to do what we conceive they are moved to by the Holy Ghost." Hence, in his episcopal diploma given to Coke, he announces, "I, John Wesley, *think myself providentially* CALLED at this time to set apart," etc. "And, therefore, *under the protection of Almighty God* I have this day set apart," etc. And Coke, in assenting beforehand to receive "the power of ordaining others," (that is, an exclusive super-presbyterial or episcopal power,) declares in regard to Wesley's right to confer such power, "I have not a shadow of doubt but *God hath invested you with,* for the good of our connection," etc. Emory spends seven pages (38-45) in proving against M'Caine that this was an intentional and a valid episcopal ordination. He bases it largely on Wesley's divine call as "father" and founder to act (as we styled it) as "spiritual arch-

bishop." "Mr. Wesley," says Emory, "did himself assert that he believed himself to be 'a scriptural *episcopos* as much as any man in England or in Europe.' And he asserted this with direct reference to his 'acting as a *bishop*,' in reply to the remarks of his brother Charles. If by *episcopos* he did not mean to aver himself *a bishop in fact*, and entitled to 'act as a bishop,' in our acceptation of the term, then his reply did not meet his brother's objection." (P. 44.) On three grounds, then, Mr. Wesley was "a spiritual archbishop." *First*, he was a presbyter of the Church, a rank in which the primordial power inheres of conferring orders. *Second*, this presbyterial rank would not constitute a right to ordain without a divine providential *call*, and that call actually existing was the second ground. *Third*, a people, also called providentially, with a great future before it, needed, waited for, and was ready to accept this ordination and its threefold orders as the fundamental form of its Church. And thus by this conjoint action and composite act of founder, ministry, and people, we repeat, in the face of all the reclamations which our affirmation has encountered, *there was created as true an episcopacy as has ever existed in the Christian Church.*

These views, we trust, show a perfect consistency between our Church theory and our episcopal ordinations. Within a few months past, indeed, the notion has come into a simultaneous currency among our Methodist periodicals, from Toronto, through Cincinnati down to Pittsburgh, that there is a yawning contradiction through our whole history between our ecclesiastical doctrine and our episcopal ordination. This is said, apparently, to *prepare the way for the abolition of that ordination.* Already, as the "North-western" sadly tells us, there are plenty of very wise ones who flout that ordination as a "farce." The Pittsburgh says, "The practice of the Church," that is, ordination, "supports Dr. Whedon, the theory condemns him." The Western thinks there is a "contradiction," with which "we have got along very well," "provided we have the courage to acknowledge it." If there be such a contradiction, it is certainly a very serious one. Of the two sides of a contradiction one side must be *false;* and here, it seems, the falsehood lies in the ordination. So that we have a streak of falsehood in our system, running from John Wesley to the present hour! Mr. Wesley was the author of it in the ordination of Coke! And all the sapient editor of the Quarterly is doing, is to stop up this yawning crack with a little of his logical putty. Now a falsehood so willfully and clearly persisted in must be a *lie;* and a lie solemnly invoking, as our ordination does, the presence and notice of Al-

mighty God must be *perjury;* and perjury flagrantly performed in a sacred rite must be nothing less than *sacrilege.* Surely, if our Church has carried this sacrilegious lie in her right hand from her birth, we disagree with Dr. Merrill that "we have got along very well." To abolish our episcopal ordination on the assumption of such a lie would be an insult to our whole history, a libel and a blot upon the whole scroll of our radiant saintship.

These brethren, perhaps, defend our founders from the charge of *conscious* lying sacrilege by saying that those primitive men, Wesley, Coke, and Asbury, did not see the "contradiction!" So that wisdom will not only die with our talented young brethren, but was born with them, and never was born until they were born. Our ancestors are graciously saved from being made liars by being made simpletons! And it takes the new-born prodigies of our present day to "acknowledge" what fools they were! May we not gently suggest to Dr. Merrill that these courageous imputations are "at variance with all we have gathered from standard writers and the history of the Church?" Where have they assured us that they contradicted themselves? What proof is there that they held the doctrine that they were guilty of a contradiction which they had not intellect enough to perceive? May we not hint, too, to our Pittsburgh brother, that a "law" ought to be passed padlocking the lips that thus emulate the O'Kellys and the M'Caines of former days in calumniating "our fathers?" Were these imputations upon our Church and founders made by outside assailants, would not the impulsive loyalty of these brethren lay quick hands upon their controversial weapons to repel the bigoted slander? Do these courageous and perspicacious brethren imagine that "our fathers," possessing, perhaps, as keen intellects as their successors, were not well trained by the demands of the hour to this very discussion? Do they suppose that this pretense of a "contradiction" was not encountered from enemies and false brethren, perfectly understood, and fully provided against? Let us hear John Emory:

> In whatever sense distinct ordinations constitute distinct *orders*, in the same sense Mr. Wesley certainly intended that we should have three orders; for he undeniably instituted three distinct ordinations. All the forms and solemnities requisite for the constituting of any one order, in this sense were equally prepared and recommended by him to us for the constituting of three orders. The term "*ordain*" is derived from the Latin *ordino*, to order, create, or commission one to be a public officer—and this from *ordo*, order. And hence persons *ordained* are said to be persons in "holy orders."—*Emory's Defense*, page 63.

This is in reality just what we maintain, that the word "order" has no precise inflexibility, and that in a proper sense, the very

sense needed for our argument, there is a true order just where there is a true ordination. "How can there be an ordination," we asked, (p. 526,) "if not to an order?" So far, then, from a "variance" from our standards we do but repeat them. Humbly and proudly we say it, we are standing just in the tracks of John Emory, and refuting like assaults with like argument.

We are not so sure that we correctly said that Dr. Bangs, whose work we have not read since some thirty years ago, defends our government on the presbyterian theory of two divinely appointed orders, the third being only an office. A fresh glance at his book (subject to correction) reveals that he does call the third an "order," though not a divinely appointed order. But the difficulty for him is, that by the Wesleyan axiom of optionalism the other two are no more divinely appointed than the third. They are *all* thereby orders, or *neither*. Dr. Bangs wrote a book maintaining that the *evangelists* were a New Testament super-presbyterial "*order*," and a precedent for our episcopate. He also wrote an article for Buck's Dictionary, saying that Methodists had three orders of ministry. For this—so history repeats itself—he was assailed for "prelacy" and "high-churchism," and he published in Emory's Defense his reply, containing the following passage: "I consider it a simple statement of a matter of fact that the Methodist Episcopal Church acknowledges three *orders* of ministers—deacons, elders, and bishops; which fact certainly no one can contradict, still understanding the word *order*, when applied to bishops, as above defined;" that is, as defined in application to *evangelists*. "If any choose to say that we acknowledge two *orders only*, and a superior minister possessing delegated jurisdiction chiefly of an executive character, he has my full consent. I will not dispute about words." * Similarly, Emory, in his *Episcopal Controversy Reviewed*, (p. 47,) says: "The Methodist Episcopal polity recognizes both an *order* of bishops officially superior to presbyters, and the order of deacons."

Thus far we have discussed Wesley's idea of his episcopacy; † we shall next show that that IDEA was by the authors of our Restrictive Rule so framed into that Rule as not to be diminished,

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* "It will be perceived that we have all along recognized *three orders* in the ministry—deacons, elders or presbyters, and superintendents or bishops—without, however, supposing that this third order in the ministry is essential to the existence and vitality of the Church."—*Bangs's Original Church of Christ*, p. 304. This we hold to be the true ground; not that we have two orders and an office.

† For proof that Wesley intended to ordain Coke a true bishop, see our book-notice of "Tyerman's Wesley," on a subsequent page.

in part or in whole, without the three fourths concurrent votes of our Annual Conferences. Let now our readers, with us, take our little book of Discipline and open to its very first section, entitled "Origin of the Methodist Episcopal Church." This section, separately, is a very primitive document, framed by the fathers who received the episcopate from Wesley, in 1785, and was handed down through the framers of the Restrictive Rule to our General Conference of 1872. Whatever *idea* it furnishes of our episcopacy as named in the Restrictive Rule is therefore the true idea. For it is the *idea*—sense and meaning—of the framers of a document which remains its true idea forever. This authoritative document tells us, among other things, that Wesley, "*preferring the episcopal mode of government to any other*," (so that it was a purely "optional" form, no orders, more or less, being divinely prescribed,) "*set apart Thomas Coke for the episcopal* OFFICE;" (so that here the episcopate is an *office*;) "and *having given to him letters of* EPISCOPAL ORDERS," (so that this *office* is, also, ORDERS, the words being used interchangeably,) Mr. Wesley "*commissioned and directed him to set apart Francis Asbury to the same episcopal office*;" so that both Mr. Wesley and our Discipline assume that exclusive executive right to ordain was normally to be reserved to these episcopally ordained bishops and their episcopally ordained successors; the successional principle being thus recognized both by Wesley and by us. Finally, "the General Conference did unanimously receive the said Thomas Coke and Francis Asbury as their bishops, being fully satisfied of the VALIDITY OF THEIR ORDINATION." Here is the clincher. In the episcopacy—that is, "*episcopal orders*" received by our General Conference from Mr. Wesley—"validity of ordination" was one of the things in which they required to be "satisfied." "Ordination," therefore, and "valid ordination," was one of the essentials in this episcopal *order*. Now it was these same men who enshrined the same episcopate (of which valid ordination was an essential) in our General Rules, and required that no mere majority of the General Conference should "do away episcopacy." But, surely, to *do away* an essential constituent of a thing is to *do away* the thing. If you can *do away* one essential you can another; and there is just the same right to *do away* all, one by one or altogether, as to *do away* one alone.

And in their expressive Saxon our fathers do not say *abolish*, as by a single complete act, but *do away*, as by a series of partial acts, wearing off by degrees, or breaking off by piecemeal-

If a mere majority can take away the ordination of the bishops, and not thereby *do away episcopacy*, it can in the same way take away the life-tenure. It can then take away the power to ordain. It can then take away the election by simply doing nothing. And thus a majority may take away every part and not "do away episcopacy." There is no other mode of preserving our Church constitution herein than to ascertain what were the constituents of the idea of episcopacy as held by the framers of the Restrictive Rule, and rigidly insist that nothing but the constitutional process shall abate one jot or tittle. And when our brother of Pittsburgh tells us that the practice of the Church sustains our views, we submit whether that does not settle the whole question. For this "practice" is embodied in and is the expression of our fundamental law; law, in collision with which no "theory," no "standard writers," can for a moment stand, even as the weaker side of a "contradiction."

We said that "the office conferred on Coke had all the attributes we can ascribe to an order; namely, 1. *Ordination;* 2. *Exclusive right to ordain;* 3. *Life-tenure;* and, 4. *Successional permanence in the future.*" This we re-assert, and proceed, in addition to what has been said, to show. And first, as to *ordination*, we remark: 1. Before Coke's *ordination*, Asbury, under title of general assistant, "had," as Coke and Asbury say, "exercised all the authority of a bishop excepting that of ordination."—*Hist. Discipline*, p. 336. *For the want of ordination he was held as no bishop;* and, however inconveniently, no sacraments were to be allowed; which, by the way, demonstrates the second of the four attributes, namely, *Exclusive right to ordain.* It was by his ordination, then, that Asbury became a bishop and the sacraments became possible. By the idea of Wesley and our fathers, then, the *ordination* is an essential constituent of their episcopate. By the withholding ordination our bishop is reduced from a bishop to a "general assistant" of the Asbury type previous to Wesley's ordaining act. By withholding ordination you "do away with episcopacy" as it is, at a single blow. So that we repeat that the bishop elect has the same right to ordination as the elder elect, and the General Conference has no right to withhold it. 2. By that ordaining act, and dependently upon it, our fathers assumed the title of Methodist Episcopal Church. Withdraw the ordination, and, according to their idea, we are no longer episcopal. Our very *name* is a demonstration of our argument. If we drop the ordination we have no historical right to retain the title. 3. We have already

shown, by the very first section of our Discipline, that they held the episcopal office to be *orders*, and considered valid orders a condition to our valid episcopal Churchdom. 4. Mr. Wesley sent them a liturgy containing, in his own words, "The Form and Manner of *making** and Ordaining of Superintendents, Elders, and Deacons." This "form" is the English form of ordaining a bishop, slightly modified, showing that under the name superintendent Mr. Wesley really, in his own idea, ordained Coke a bishop. 5. All our "standard writers" have, with one voice, maintained that Coke was a true bishop; that Wesley intentionally and validly ordained him, and that our episcopate is that very same Wesleyan episcopate, made by a valid ordination, and, as an episcopate valid by a valid ordination, imbedded entire in our Restrictive Rule, not to be minified of its essentials save by the constitutional two thirds and three fourths majorities.

And this was, by the Wesleyan idea, a *life-tenured* ordination and order. Where is the proof that Mr. Wesley held to a *periodic* Episcopate? The burden rests with those who assert it. Wesley proposed to frame an ordained episcopate according to the pattern of *the primitive Church.* But where in all ecclesiastical history is there any instance of a periodical ordained episcopate? If Wesley's episcopate is periodical, so is his eldership. His optional axiom sweeps both alike. If his "form" of threefold ordinations shows no purpose of a life-tenured episcopate, then it shows no life-tenured presbyterate. In all our episcopal elections, from the first quadrennial General Conference to the last, probably never a voter doubted that he was voting an ordaining, life-tenured episcopate, such being his actual *intention.* So that a life-tenured episcopate has been *unanimously voted* by every General Conference, and unanimously accepted by every Annual Conference. The life-tenure has thus all the permanence of unquestioned law. This unanimity for a life-tenured episcopate has been as perfect as the unanimity for a life-tenured eldership. And if a General Conference majority may abolish one, it can abolish the other. Both life-tenures are on the same platform, and both stand or fall together. As to *successional permanence*, no one, we presume, will dispute that Mr. Wesley empowered Coke to ordain Asbury, as mentioned in our quotation from the first section of our Discipline, in order, according to the practice of all episcopal Churches, to establish the successional method by ordination. This inference is

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* By the Wesleyan idea, (modified, we believe, before the adoption of the Restrictive Rule,) the bishop was "made," not by the election, but solely by the ordination.

necessary from the very fact that he held himself as giving, as our Methodism held herself as receiving, a permanent Church constitution. For this he gave the "form" for all the three successional orders alike. And here, again, the episcopate and presbyterate are in the same boat. "Mr. Wesley," say Coke and Asbury, "consecrated one for the office of a bishop that our episcopacy might *descend* from himself." *

And it would be well for our brethren who hold that we have two divinely established orders, to remember that the Wesleyan axiom of optionalism underlies them, and reflect *whether the episcopate is not the true safeguard of the presbyterate?* The episcopate has the intrenchment of the Restrictive Rule, but *the presbyterate has not even that.* All a General Conference has to do is to abolish its ordination from the Discipline. Leading minds among us bottom the whole ministry simply on the divine call, and hint about ordination being "a fetish" or "a farce." Leading minds among us hold, also, that there is, in fact, no more *special divine call* for the ministry than for any other calling. We are told truly that a man is a minister before he is a presbyter, and it is equally true that a man is a Christian before he is baptized. But we reply, If there is a call to the ministry, there is also a divinely required recognition of that call by the divinely appointed Church of Christ. Divinely, if there be a ministry there also is a Church. "In ordinary cases," says Wesley, "both an inward and an outward call are requisite." Baptism is the divinely required recognition of regeneration; ordination is the divinely authorized form, *in the absence of all others* justly binding on the conscience, of the Church's recognition of a divinely called ministry. To hold firmly by the organism as the machinery for great religious results is Methodism; to sacrifice the machinery to pure spiritualism is Quakerism.

Of this last of the above two classes of thinkers, some do manfully oppose the proposed innovation on the true ground, that the very object of a churchdom is to regulate these pure subjectivisms. They well understand that if our episcopacy be "done away," a *jure divino* presbyterate will furnish no solid bottom. There is no solid bottom; all is a sea of unregulated subjectivity. Well, then, may our eldership query whether our intrenched episcopacy is not the best safe-guard for the presbyterate.

If our argument has been sound and true, then for a General Conference majority to "do away" with either of the four elements

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* "As to the episcopacy, which we may not do away, the power to ordain is essential to its being."—*Hamline's Speech.*

of the episcopate named is a *violation of the constitution of the Church.* It is a violence done to our Wesleyan episcopacy, striking at our venerable founders of blessed memory, striking the person of the greatest religious reformer of modern time, John Wesley himself. It will be a usurpation over the rights of our Annual Conferences, by whose suffrage such a vote should be decided. It will be a usurpation over the rights of our three orders of ministry, each of whom, episcopate, eldership, and deaconship have a right to hold up their gown in defiance of the General Conference. Even if the constitutionality were only doubtful, a wise and discreet body will, where no exigency demands bold measures, rigidly construe its own powers. Very wisely was this done in the lay delegation question. Those of its friends who believed it in the power of the General Conference consented, nevertheless, to submit it to not only the Conferences but to the people. Wisely will it ever thus be done. The two third and three fourth votes are simply securers of wise deliberation in the Church; of sober second and third thought, before a great change is made. Where a large, steady, earnest majority of long years presses a change, the minority, it may be safely calculated, will ever yield. So that, even though a great change is not named in the Restrictive Rule, it will ever be wise for a General Conference, before any great movement, to resort to that method at least of consulting the mind of the Church.

It will be sad, nay, perhaps perilous, for our ministry to go before our first body of General Conference laymen with a radical organic quarrel, as if to give them a first lesson of disintegration. Cheerfully we trust that, as in the Church South, our lay body will be found a rock against which the surges of innovation will beat in vain.* The very first utterance of the very first delegation elect confirms this trust. We take pleasure in here placing on permanent record those utterances, which, eloquent as they are loyal, are a right worthy key-note to the whole future of lay legislation.

> We are not unaware of the fact that many who have clearly discerned, and have been warmly devoted to, the distinctive features of our economy, to which we have been chiefly indebted, under God, for our wonderful prosperity, have been distrustful of the great change in our polity involved in the introduction of lay delegation into the General Conference. We deem it proper, therefore, to declare, at the threshold of this new era, our profound devotion to the distinctive features of our economy. We but utter the view of those who elected us, and all our Churches in

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* This prediction was written before the loyal and conservative utterances of the laymen of Genesee, Erie, and Michigan had verified it, and almost made the preceding arguments unnecessary.

this Conference, when we declare that there is perfect satisfaction with our doctrines and discipline, that our brethren love devotedly and entirely the glorious Gospel which you and your fathers have so faithfully preached. We believe it is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth. We glory in the cross of Christ; in the free grace offered to every man; in the full salvation from all sin, so distinctive and blessed a truth of our holy religion; in the whole word of God, able to make all who accept it wise unto salvation.

We equally approve the usages of our Church. We esteem our Sunday-schools, class-meetings, love-feasts, camp-meetings, all the many forms of Church life which give our Church, above all others, that variety of worship which makes every form, without weariness, full of freshness and power.

We highly prize the order of our Church. The itinerancy we esteem by far the best mode of supplying the pulpit which exists in the Church universal. It gives the variety of talent which we crave and need for attracting all classes in the community, and giving every one a portion of meat in due season. It gives all our ministerial brethren a place to labor, so that none are compelled to stand in the market-place lamenting that "no man hath hired us." It makes us enjoy many pastors, and feel that all our brethren are as our pastors. It makes the ministry and membership of one heart and mind as no other system possibly can. The presence of the laity in the General Conference, so far from weakening, will establish the itinerancy. We none the less approve of the itinerant general superintendency. We are heart and soul *Methodist Episcopalians.* We rejoice in our system of government. We believe it is essential to our unity and success. The bishops are our bishops no less than yours. They give us pastors as they give you Churches. We waive our rights to select our ministers as you do to select your parish. With you, we leave this decision to bishops of our joint approval, and hereafter of our joint election. We do not believe our Church can thrive on any other system. The clashing of pulpit and pew would be instant and incurable if this common bond were ruptured.

We rejoice that God has raised up such wise and holy men for the work in our past history, one of whom, coming from within the bounds of our own Conference, among the best beloved and most honored of them all, has recently left his work below for the reward of heaven.

We shall rejoice to unite with you in *conserving this superintendency in the wise form which has been so efficient in the past, and by which it has been preserved from all the influences which would impair the impartial exercise of its high functions.*

Commentary on the New Testament. Intended for Popular Use. By D. D. Whedon, LL.D. Vol. III. Acts—Romans. 12mo., pp. 402. New York: Carlton & Lanahan; San Francisco: E. Thomas; Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1871.

The completion of our third volume justifies the expression of the hope that it may be received with the same favor as has been extended to the two previous. It has, in the course of development, become entirely clear that to complete the work in less than two more volumes would destroy its proper proportions as a whole. If completed, as it doubtless will be by the present or another hand, it will then present a manual New Testament of such medium dimensions for popular use as has not as yet, to our knowledge, been laid before the Church or public.

Friendly criticism has suggested that the present volume is too brief, and too completely excludes the accumulated opinions of other commentators; and that a hundred pages or more furnishing counter-views would add to the value of the book. But such

an addition would completely destroy it for its purposes, by placing it practically out of the popular reach. The reason now assigned by large numbers of people for its not being used instead of some other (Calvinistic) commentary, is its cost of a few cents more a volume.* It seems to be of no use in such cases to reply that it is a larger and more finely executed volume; that its earnest conciseness enables it really to furnish much more exegetical matter; and that it is the expounder of a better style of Christian doctrine. The ten-cent argument is frequently all-powerful, and compels the conclusion that the only way of the book's reaching its intended audience is to give, in the most compact form possible, the conclusions of a single mind. And then the advantage results for the ordinary reader that the work is not encumbered with a mass of contradictory matter, the memory does not lose in the last half what was said in the first half, and the unconfused mind grasps a clear, rapid, single, and entire view of the course of sacred thought.

Its intended popular aim has been rather an incentive to, than an excuse from, a thorough reverent yet independent research at any step. It is a serious responsibility to furnish doctrine for a large popular audience. Besides, could we give, as many commentators do, a pile of others' opinions, we might shirk the labor or the responsibility of expressing an opinion of our own. This shirk of responsibility we are, however, frank to confess, belongs not among our personal tendencies. Our opinions usually take positive form and incisive expression; and we do but obey the idiosyncracy bestowed upon us in giving in our commentary but a serial line of positive results. And yet references to other commentators are often made, and condensed reasons are given to bring the thoughtful reader to see the rectitude of our own conclusions. Great attention has been paid to the current and connection of the sacred writer's thought, as it is by the drift of the whole that the meaning of a particular passage is often settled without the necessity of an argument. Illustrations of this, especially, are Rom. vii, 5–25 and ix. And yet the force of the drift argument will not be duly felt without a careful study of the plan of the book placed at its beginning. When the place occupied by this first above-named passage in the entire current

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* And it must be noted as a curious and painful inconsistency, that while our Book Rooms have been held to a minute Methodist orthodoxy in their publications our editors, ministers, Bible-class teachers, and Sunday-school superintendents have for long years been, from a sort of necessity hitherto, indorsing or circulating the most insinuating Calvinism in the shape of popular commentary.

of the book is appreciated, little argument is needed to show its meaning.

To the "Plan" prefixed to each Book in this volume we would call the special attention of the biblical student. We have had assurance of more than one such student of having had sufficient interest in our commentary to read it through by rapid course. Let that be done with Acts with careful reference to the "Plan," and to the map, and a *wholeness* of view will be attained such as no other way will furnish. Let a similar method be pursued with Romans, and little trouble, we apprehend, need then be felt by the ordinary reader as to the meaning of the book, or of any particular passage. Let this whole volume be thus read, and the scripture student or Christian minister will find deposited in his mind a view of apostolic history and apostolical doctrine scarce attainable in any other way, constituting a fountain of unfailing holy thought.

We call attention, also, to our view of the "Pentecostal Church" in the first third of Acts. It is such as will be found, we think, in no other commentary. Yet we trust that upon examination it will justify itself as grounded on the sacred text, yet fresh and apparent to a true style of "modern thought." St. Luke narrates its history with the vivid interest of a true member of that Church, as we show reason to believe he was. How the preparation was made for the Pentecost--how that startling manifestation of divine presence electrified Jerusalem—how a Church sprung with the suddenness of miracle from its divine impulse—how that Church culminated, with a spirit unknown to the world before, in holiness, in endurance of persecution, self-organizing energy, and power of triumphant conversion, to meet, alas! at its very summit a total downfall and dispersion, to be succeeded by a second and far inferior Jerusalem Church, are described with that unconscious skill of selection and grouping that acquired for Luke from the ancient Church the reputation of being by profession *a painter.* To our own mind it is amazing how commentators endeavor elaborately to obscure the proofs of the complete abolition of that first holy Jerusalem Church, and thus to destroy the singleness and oneness of the picture, and impair its beauty. Wonderful, too, is the fact how the destruction of the City-Church was the creation of the World-Church. After each Jerusalem Christian had been providentially trained to a completeness and hardihood of Christian character, he became a zealous propagandist of Christianity wherever he was driven, and

thus the Church's death was precursor to its glorious resurrection. The second Jerusalem Church was a priest-ridden body; that is, it was kept in cowardice, feebleness, and poverty by the overawing power and presence of the Jewish temple, ritual, and priesthood. We have seen many a poor Methodist Church in a similar cowed position in the presence of some powerful Calvinistic, Ritualistic, or Rationalistic neighbor. This Jerusalem Church was largely, to the last, the troubler of St. Paul. It was semi-Jewish, lazy, and impoverished; nor could all Paul's Christian conquests abroad, and generous gatherings of money for its "poor saints," (mighty poor saints the most of them were!) expand their narrowed souls! It sunk into Socinianism; and has to this day furnished the Rationalist a shadowy ground for saying that the primitive Church held the simple humanity of Christ. Hence the importance of showing the historic difference between the first Pentecostal Church and the second Jerusalem Church.

The Mission of the Spirit; or, the Office and Work of the Comforter in Human Redemption. By Rev. L. R. Dunn. 12mo., pp. 303. New York: Carlton & Lanahan; San Francisco: E. Thomas; Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1871.

Under the old dispensation it was given to the high priest alone to enter the Holy of Holies, where was the glorious Presence; and to the high priest but once a year. But our High Priest has sent the blessed Presence down into his Church, and permitted every one that will to dwell imbued with its blessed influences. Here is the illumination, the consolation, the sanctification, the testimony. Here is the testimony not only to our individual acceptance but to the blessed reality of that faith in which, without undervaluing external evidences, or deeming the outside battle of reason with the infidel unnecessary, the well-centered Christian heart securely rejoices. The ramparts on which the Jewish legions stood to defend the temple lined the outer rim of the court; but the temple and the nation could never have been stormed had Israel been true to the Shekinah within. And inasmuch as, as Mr. Dunn truly says, "the coming and crowning contest of the Church will be about the truths dwelt upon in this volume;" so, if the Church be loyal and strong here, in her place of divine strength there can be no defeat.

In illustration of these truths Mr. Dunn's book is a gem. By its external beauty, thanks to the publishers, it wins the eye; by its pure, glowing, chastened eloquence it wins the taste; by its fresh, warm, spiritual power it quickens the heart. Buy it, read

it, glow with the spirit with which it glows, and pray with the rich fullness of the prayer it arouses, and it will be found that like the prophet's purple cluster, "There is a blessing in it."

It was a happy thought of Mr. Dunn's to introduce (with elegant English translations) several of the best Latin hymns of the Middle Ages. To many a Christian scholar among us the originals will be a treat. We are not among those who are fond of cutting loose from all connection with the historical Church. Even though overshadowed by the Papacy there was a mediæval Church which we cannot consent to surrender to Romanism. These rich evangelical hymns enable us to feel that Methodism is true catholicism. The camp-meeting is in full communion with the cloister. Not one of these hymns, even "of the age of Charlemagne," but, if the Latin were vernacular, they could sing and "get happy" over at Martha's Vineyard. The author of these translations, Dr. Coles, of Newark, has written what Dr. Schaff pronounces the best translation in English of the Dies Iræ, at which so many poets have tried their hand, both in England and America.

Mediation. The Function of Thought. 16mo., pp. 213. Andover: Warren F. Draper. 1871.

The object of our author is to unfold the qualities in man which elevate him to a fitness to receive a mediator between God and himself. For this purpose he analyzes the spiritual structure of man; and as this can be done neither by anatomizing the brain nor atomizing the spiritual substance, he accomplishes his work by investigation of the action of thought. Here he finds a system entirely above the plane of animalism, towering up, with varied compartments, skyward. In this aspect his work is antidotal to the present bestializing tendencies of Darwinism. In the human mind there are what the author calls types, standards, ideals, in reference to which it reasons. The typical functions of thought which he enumerates are analyzed in a scholarly and critical manner. Whether his enumeration is exact and exhaustive we are not prepared to conclude. If we mistake not, he fails somewhat in clear, consecutive thought. His book is destitute of the artistic divisions which aid in the comprehension of his system. His table of contents, thereby, instead of being a symmetrical analysis is a series of unintelligibilities. This is but a tentative fragment of his work. With all its defects we should open with interest the pages of its sequel.

The Christian Pastorate in its Character, Responsibilities, and Duties. By DANIEL P. KIDDER, D.D. Pp. 569. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. New York: Carlton & Lanahan. 1871.

Dr. Kidder is like a painter who draws fresh from nature. His book is not made out of other books, but from the fresh realities before his eyes. His work stands independent of all predecessors, and adapts itself to the history, doctrines, special institutes, and peculiar activities of the Methodist Episcopal Church. He does not, as some would, overlook a matter just because it is directly under his nose, and because it is not in the printed books. Presiding elders, itinerancy, camp-meetings, and even praying bands are things not unknown to him. His chapters on the Duties of the Methodist Pastor in relation to Books, Periodicals, and Tracts—on the Pastor and his Lay Helpers—on the Pastor in Relation to Education, the Press, and the Country, are very suggestive and valuable. The book is full of points for the young minister to know, study, and practice. It will, we trust, contribute largely to the efficiency of our ministry.

The Duration and Nature of Future Punishment. By HENRY CONSTABLE, A.M., Prebendary of Cork. Reprinted from the second London edition. 8vo. pp. 67. New Haven, Conn.: Charles C. Chatfield. 1871.

The American editor of this pamphlet states that he was educated in the orthodox doctrine of the eternal torment of the wicked, and retained it until his travels in Europe awakened his reflection to the awful thought that the millions of Europe, Asia, and Africa were, according to that doctrine, bound to endless misery. He finds his relief in the doctrine of annihilationism. We suppose there ever is a class of minds to whom skepticism, universalism, or annihilationism is the result of such reflections. The last of the three he deems least incompatible with an earnest piety. Mr. Chatfield does not issue this as one of the "University Series," although it clearly maintains the doctrine of "the survival of the fittest."

A Harmony of the Four Gospels in English, according to the Authorized Version. Corrected by the best Critical Editions of the Original. By FREDERICK GARDINER, D.D., Professor in the Berkeley Divinity School, Author of "Harmony of the Gospels in Greek," etc. 8vo. pp. 287. Andover: Warren F. Draper; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1871.

This is a reproduction in English form of Dr. Gardiner's Greek Harmony. Save in cases of established various readings and universally accepted re-translations, it preserves the words of our common translation. Dr. Coit's paragraphing is adopted. It is

prefaced with a synopsis of the Harmony, an index to every passage, a tabular synopsis of the respective Harmonies of Greswell, Stroud, Robinson, Thomson, and Tischendorf. It is the work of an eminent scholar, and is externally done up with all the tasteful accuracy of the Andover press.

Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.

Art, its Laws and the Reasons for them, Collected, Considered, and Arranged for General and Educational Purposes. By SAMUEL P. LONG, Counselor at Law, Student of the English Royal Academy, etc. 12mo., pp. 248. Boston: Lee & Shepard. New York: Lee, Shepard, & Dillingham. 1871.

This volume consists of fifteen essays in which the principles of beauty are analyzed, and the application of them traced in the various forms of æsthetic art. The first seven discuss personal beauty, the different classes of painting, invention in painting, composition, design, light and shade, and color. Then come critical portraitures of the great masters in four more essays, namely, Da Vinci, Michael Angelo and Raphael, Titian, and Correggio. In English and French art, Mr. Long characterizes the natural school under the masters Hogarth, Wilkie, Sir Joshua Reynolds, and Sir Benjamin West, and the affected school under David during the tragic scenes of the French Revolution. Next come the various forms of art, as sculpture, and the architectures, Grecian, Roman, and Gothic. The essays are illustrated by six fine engravings.

The volume forms an elegant little manual of the principles of art and art criticism for non-professional readers. The author writes in a fluent, graceful style, in rather long but never obscure sentences. He displays a professional mastery of the whole field; and in the moral and sacred aspects of his subject his heart is in the right place. For the popular speaker, and especially the preacher who has the feeling for illustrating his themes, this volume will be very valuable both for furnishing a field of allusion and securing that his allusions be correct.

Mr. Long has that sense of beauty as a divine thing and a divine aim that he repels the Darwinian theory of development with a sacred disgust. He upholds the Circassian race as the nearest approximation to the perfect standard of beauty for the whole race. Indeed, according to the absolute laws of beauty, the delicate blend of light and shade must be more beautiful than a uniform dusk. It is a curious remark, that as black is no color, it is the Caucasian and not the negro that is "the colored gentleman."

Science and the Bible; or, the Mosaic Creation and Modern Discoveries. By Rev. Herbert W. Morris, A.M., formerly Professor of Mathematics in Newington Collegiate Institution. 8vo., pp. 566. Philadelphia: Ziegler & M'Curdy.

This elegant volume traces the Mosaic history of Creation as interpreted by modern science, and unfolds its disclosures in a series of popular dissertations. It is based upon the theory that the creative week consists of seven literal days, not of creation, but of renovation, after a great cataclysm. The existence of such a cataclysm just before the appearance of man upon earth is professedly proved by geological facts and authorities.

The particular theory adopted, however, has an unimportant bearing upon the great body of the work. On either view, the wonders of science, as displayed in the history of creation, remain the same. Over this vast field Professor Morris ranges and gathers magnificent fruit. In a style of full and flowing eloquence the amazing grandeur of the works of God are unfolded, and the mind of the reader is quickened and warmed with emotions of adoration. The minister and the layman will find it a rich treasury of thought clothed in very attractive style.

History, Biography, and Topography.

The Life and Times of the Rev. John Wesley, M. A., Founder of the Methodists. By Rev. L. Tyerman, Author of "The Life and Times of Rev. S. Wesley, M. A., Father of the Revds. J. and C. Wesley." Vol. III. 8vo., pp. 675. London, Hodder & Stoughton. 1871.

Mr. Tyerman's special claim to our attention seems based upon the new matter he has collected, and the honesty with which he states truth, regardless of the influences, favorable or unfavorable, to his subject, which legitimately result. He possesses little grace of style, little historical tact, no power of portraiture or pictorial imagination, makes no pretense of philosophy, and displays no remarkable power of pronouncing a satisfactory judgment upon his facts and characters. Yet by the power of accumulation, by the incorporation of characteristic extracts, and often of entire documents, by abundant details animated by his own real interest in his subject, he has massed together, in lucid order, a body of materials to which the future historian will ever resort, and upon which a class of enthusiastic readers will dwell with interest. He has done upon the whole a great and good work, for which abundant thanks are due him. But the standard life of Wesley is still a *desideratum.*

It will be greatly regretted by American Methodists that Mr.

Tyerman's greatest historical error, manifesting both a disregard of the most abundant facts, and the exercise of a most preposterous judgment, should occur in his treatment of Wesley's organizing our American Episcopate. We should imagine that he had written with a servile regard for the English hierarchy pressing upon his spirit. His utterances would have been food for the soul of Alexander M'Caine, and of our American small but proud High Churchianity. That would be of no consequence, however, were it not a most palpable falsification of historical facts.

Mr. Tyerman denies that Wesley really intended his authentication of Coke to be an ordination of him as American bishop. For that denial he furnishes *not one testimony*, *nor one historical fact.* It is nothing but his *guess-so*, given in positive form; a guess-so based solely upon his opinion of Coke's ambition to be a bishop, manifested by his well-known propositions to Bishop White for reunion, and to the British government for a bishopric in India. These notorious items he discloses with a wonderful air of revelation. "These," says he, "are unpleasant facts, which we would rather have consigned to oblivion, had they not been *necessary to vindicate Wesley from the huge inconsistency of ordaining a co-equal presbyter to be a bishop.* Wesley meant the ceremony to be a mere formality likely to recommend his delegate to the favor of the Methodists of America. Coke, in his ambition, wished and intended it to be considered as an ordination to a bishopric." This is a very grave statement very inconsiderately expressed. Contrary to Mr. Tyerman's special profession of disregarding logical consequences in his statement of history, he here professedly writes under control of a motive instead of an evidence. Nor could Coke have been mistaken as to whether it was an ordination or not. There is no alternative. Either it was an ordination or Coke was guilty of a falsehood of a most atrocious character. He most unequivocally lied, and sacrilegiously lied, and deliberately carried the lie across the ocean. And when he came to America with that lie in his mouth he put into the mouth of our American Conference the statement that Wesley had sent him with "letters of episcopal orders," which was, if Mr. Tyerman be correct, a most stupendous lie. And, then, when Coke, falsely pretending to be bishop, proceeded to ordain Asbury to the same grade, all united to embody the lie in external action—a sacrilegious cheat! This was the very ground, maintained by the very same arguments, assumed by M'Caine to show that our episcopacy originated in fraud and should

be abandoned by all honest men. The reply of our noble Bishop Emory blew the base fabrication, as it explodes Mr. Tyerman's ignorant blunders, to the empyrean. After all this we smile at Mr. Tyerman's gracious assurance, "We have no fault to find with the American Methodists being called the Methodist Episcopal Church"—an historical imposture though it be.

We are unable to refute Mr. Tyerman's proof, for he furnishes none to refute. He trots out, indeed, the facts long ago disposed of, that Wesley preferred for Coke the Latin name superintendent to its Greek synonym bishop; though it was plainly because the latter wakened in English minds unfavorable associations with their own hierarchy. He gives in due form Wesley's well-known letter to Asbury, plainly aimed at the dissyllable *bishop*, and not at the grade or power the word expressed. The first proof that Mr. Wesley did not intend to *ordain* Coke to the rank of superintendent, including all the powers, prerogatives, and essentials of our episcopate, Mr. Tyerman does not pretend to furnish. On the contrary, he furnishes one new, contemporary, positive testimony sufficient to refute his own presumptuous guess-so a hundred times over. John Pawson was, perhaps, as close in Mr. Wesley's counsels as any man; and we are obliged to Mr. Tyerman for the only valuable contribution he has furnished to this subject in the following words left in a manuscript by Pawson. "He" (Wesley) "foresaw that the Methodists would soon become a distinct body. He was deeply prejudiced against presbyterian, and as much in favor of episcopal, government. In order, therefore, to preserve all that is valuable in the Church of England among the Methodists *he ordained Mr. Mather and Dr. Coke bishops.* These he undoubtedly designed should ordain others. Mr. Mather told us so at the Manchester Conference, in 1791. I believe Mr. Wesley's thought of ordaining arose out of the Bishop of London refusing to ordain a preacher for America." On this we remark: 1. When Mr: Tyerman has disposed of Coke as unreliable, his work is not half done, for he has still the unimpeachable Mather to deal with. Mr. Wesley, entertaining the expectation that the Methodist preachers, in spite of all his efforts, would leave the Church, and would administer the sacraments after his death, ordained Mather a bishop for England in order that it might be authoritatively done. For, 2. When Mr. Wesley said, "I am as scriptural an *episcopos* as there is in all England," he meant, as Dr. Emory rightly argues, more than that he was as good an elder as anybody; which would have been nothing to his purpose. He meant

that by a divine call he had (not only the elders' ecclesiastical *power* to ordain elders, but that he had) the providential *right* to ordain even bishops. The ecclesiastical inherent *power* of an elder to ordain does not make it *right* for every elder to exercise the power at his caprice. The elders of the Methodist Episcopal Church claim the ordaining power, but none would deny a free exercise of the power to be disorderly, and even wicked. By an extract we shall soon give, Mr. Wesley claimed that for his unordained ministers to administer the sacraments would be the sin of Korah; and yet he believed that a bishop ordained by him could have empowered them, by ordination and due churchly organization, to administer the sacraments with perfect rectitude. He believed himself, as we said in the last Quarterly, to be "the spiritual archbishop" of his people, having spiritual powers and *rights which no other elder in England had.* And we concur with him. And that, in our view, answers Mr. Tyerman's statements: "There is force in Dr. Whitehead's critique that Dr. Coke had the same right to ordain Mr. Wesley that Mr. Wesley had to ordain Dr. Coke." We think, as Emory has shown, that there is no "force" in the remark whatever. 3. That Wesley "ordained" Coke (that is, ordained him with episcopal orders) is certain from the fact that he sent a liturgy to America with the due forms for "ordaining" the three orders of superintendent, elder, and deacon. The forms were all, with slight modifications, the ordination forms of the Anglican Church, as we have essentially retained them to this day. This demonstrates with what form Wesley ordained Coke; for certainly he would not have given Coke a more authoritative form for others than he used himself. One sentence, therefore, refutes Mr. Tyerman forever: *Wesley empowered Coke to "ordain" successors, therefore he himself "ordained" Coke.* In the ordination of Coke, Wesley intended to initiate an ordained super-presbyterial successional line for all futurity. 4. Let the reader measure the real power received by Coke from Wesley, and see whether it was less than an episcopate. There was, first, *an ordination conferred;* second, a power bestowed, with a printed form prescribed, to ordain a successor, Asbury being the well-known man intended. Next, his successors were to possess, normally, the exclusive executive right of ordaining men to administer those sacraments for which the people had so long waited in vain. And last, this was to be a permanent successional constitution, established for the long future, because Wesley and our Methodism preferred the episcopal form of government.

This ordination, together with the American election, gave Coke and Asbury jurisdiction over the Methodism of all America. Now, here were, (1.) Ordination; (2.) Exclusive right to ordain; (3.) Power to set agoing a line of ordained successors of same grade; (4.) Intentional organic permanence as a Church with three ordained grades; (5.) Ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the entire continent. If this was not an episcopate, what on earth could be an episcopate? (5.) This Church was to be called the Methodist Episcopal Church. For, even if true that Coke and Asbury were not called bishops until five years after Coke's ordination, yet the Church was called episcopal *immediately*, and with Mr. Wesley's concurrence. But how can there be an episcopal Church without a bishop? How is the bishop any less a bishop because he is to be called by a Latin rather than a Greek title? It might, as Emory justly argues, be just as truly inferred that the second grade were not to be presbyters because they are called elders.[*]

We could pursue this argument much further, but it was well done a half century ago in Emory's "Defense," and recently in Stevens's History. If Mr. Tyerman has never surveyed the facts which they unfold, he was unprepared to discuss the subject or to express an opinion. He has, in complete disregard to a whole set of facts, given sanction to a whole set of falsehoods, with which our loquacious assailants, both from faction within and sectarianism without, have endeavored to malign and dismember the Methodist Episcopal Church. So thoroughly had these preposterous fictions been slain here in America by our able defenders above mentioned, that their very ghosts but seldom reappeared. Deeply to be regretted it is that their dead carcase should now be "resurrected" in England, clothed with standard authority, and sent, alive and rampant, across the ocean to do a permanent mischief here. Mr. Tyerman would do himself a great justice to revise his facts and reverse his judgments.

The extracts from Wesley's sermon above mentioned, preached in Cork, and published by Wesley in the "Arminian Magazine" a few months before his death, show that Wesley's last thoughts held ordination to be a very essential requisite for the administration of sacraments.

> God has commissioned you to call sinners to repentance; but it does by no means follow from hence that ye are commissioned to baptize or to administer the Lord's Supper. Ye never dreamt of this till ten or twenty years after ye began to preach. Ye did not then, like *Korah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*, *seek the priesthood also*.

[*] See on these points our book-notice of Emory's "Defense of our Fathers."

> Ye knew, "No man taketh this honor to himself, but he that is called of God, as was Aaron." O contain yourself within your own bounds! Be content with preaching the Gospel. Do the work of evangelists. I earnestly advise you, abide in your place; keep your own station. . . . Ye yourselves were at first called in the Church of England; and though ye have and will have a thousand temptations to leave it, regard them not. Be *Church of England* men still. Do not cast away the peculiar glory which God hath put upon you, and frustrate the design of Providence, the very end for which God raised you up.

History of Frederick the Second, called Frederick the Great. By JOHN S. C. ABBOTT. With Illustrations. 8vo., pp. 584. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1871.

The light of civilization reveled in the sunny South for ages while chill and darkness reigned among the barbarians who skirted the Baltic. By the brightening twilight, their hard, fierce figures and features are slowly revealed to view. As the warming and enlightening day advances they slowly soften, and their rude vigor becomes a *power*, destined with advancing time to rule central and southern Europe with iron, but not wholly with tyrannic, sway. In the northern temperate zone is the belt of empire. It is early in this transition that the hard, bold, unlovely, but fascinating figure of Frederick appears. The rude force and the unprincipled ambition of the old pagan is in him, guided and systematized by science. That his selfishness has the building of a kingdom for its object gives it something of the aspect of a public virtue. The iron inflexibility with which, from the original mettle of his nature and a half century of fixed habit, he persevered to the last breath of seventy years of life, acquired an air of sublime adherence to duty. Hence his life is a true study to the philosopher, as well as an unfailing excitement to the popular reader. Godless, wicked, and miserable in his intellectual and political greatness, he appeared to himself nothing but a congeries of atoms, organized by blind law into form, and animated by a vital ferment into systematic action, destined to crumble back into the common dust heap. The very strangeness of the whole history binds our attention with its spell; but it warms not the heart and it quickens not the piety. We have been in bad company, have had communion with a bad nature, one of the natures which, in sufficient numbers, would make hell. Mr. Abbott has told the story well. Maps and engravings give reality to it.

Minutes of the Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, for the year 1870. 8vo., pp. 521. Nashville, Tenn: Southern Methodist Publishing House. 1871.

We rejoice in the aspects of prosperity presented by the Church South. There is a large body of people in the South whose views of our national history, national government, and even national mor-

als, differ from our own, but whose personal character is, we believe, Christian and Methodistic. They, as well as the rest of us, need religion, and the Church and ministry they have must meet their peculiarities. To the prejudices of this class the Church South has, by necessity, consented to adjust itself. We rejoice, as we ever have rejoiced, in her spiritual prosperity, nor has our Quarterly ever sent forth a syllable inconsistent with such a statement. We wish her success in all her departments of Christian activity; in her conversion of souls, in her missions, reformatories, and benevolences; in her literary institutions, her religious periodicals and publications; in her leadership, scholarship, authorship, and episcopate; and in her moralizing and elevating influences over her section, our country, and the world. May she be tenfold more great, prosperous, wide-spread, enlightened, and holy than she is!

There are nine Bishops, Paine, Pierce, Early, Kavanaugh, Wightman, Marvin, Doggett, M'Tyeire, and Keener. With these their Church seems so well pleased as lately to have conferred upon them an important *veto power.* The number of itinerant preachers is near three thousand; of the membership more than half a million, of which thirteen thousand are colored. Collections for missions less than a hundred thousand dollars; an amount which returning secular property will doubtless rapidly increase.

Politics, Law, and General Morals.

War Powers under the Constitution of the United States, Military Arrests, Reconstruction, and Military Government. Also, now first published, War Claims of Aliens. With Notes on the acts of the Executive and Legislative Departments during our Civil War, and a Collection of Cases decided in the National Courts. By WILLIAM WHITING. Forty-third edition. 8vo. pp. 691. Boston: Lee & Shepard; New York: Lee, Shepard & Dillingham. 1871.

A learned yet lucid and even popular treatise on the various law and constitutional questions arising before our government and people during the late civil war. The war powers of the administration, the belligerent power of emancipating slaves, the nature and penalties of treason, military arrests, the return of rebellious States to the Union, and military government of hostile territory in time of war, are the momentous topics elucidated with a clearness which renders the book a standard even for the non-professional reader.

The Federal Government; Its Officers and their Duties. By RANSOM H. GILLETT. 8vo., pp. 441. New York and Chicago: Woolworth, Ainsworth, & Co. 1871.

This work commences with a brief history of our progress through the colonial and old confederate systems to the formation

of our present national constitution. It then analyzes our constitution. And here it furnishes, what is peculiar to this volume, an abundance of information as to the nature and workings of the various departments. This, having been a juridical official in the Treasury Department, the author is well qualified to do. The book closes with a copy of the United States Constitution. In a country where every man votes for his rulers, volumes like this are of the highest earthly importance. Mr. Gillett's work possesses special excellences of its own.

Educational.

Four Years in Yale. By a Graduate of '69. 12mo. New Haven, Conn: Charles C. Chatfield & Co. 1871.

A very truthful and piquant picture of college life, and especially, we presume, of Yale life; interesting for those to whom it has never been real life, and peculiarly interesting for those in whose brain it awakens reminiscences of a former state of existence. Our rampant democratic (we do not mean the technical "democracy" of parties) is on the alert to invade with innovations the whole round of the college system. Some good things it may do, and evil things in abundance. It may pour in excitements adverse to study; muscular training that leaves the brain untrained; rich endowments that increase the expenses of the college course, and drive the penniless applicant off the grounds. These are the results into which the great colleges seem to be running: and the little ones are tugging hard after them. A college where pure learning is the real object, and religious influences the substitute for government; where the poor candidate shall not be pillaged with incidental expenses; where, while the body is healthfully exercised, the mind and soul are held the better part of man, we fear is becoming a *desideratum*.

Behind the Bars. 12mo., pp. 356. Boston: Lee & Shepard. New York: Lee Shepard, & Dillingham. 1871.

The "bars" so enigmatically designated are the *claustra* of the Insane Asylum, behind which, according to the writer, misfortune is more terribly punished than crime. The work is written in a style of singular grace and power, displaying, apparently, a great mastery of the painful subject. Its disclosures are discouraging to those who had fancied that our treatment of the insane was one of the most advanced humanities of the age. The work is recommended by its anonymous editor as unequaled in its value upon this most important field for philanthropy.

Miscellaneous.

A King's Daughter. With Other Stories from Real Life. By Mrs. H. C. Gardner. 16mo., pp. 379. New York: Carlton & Lanahan. San Francisco: E. Thomas. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1871.

Lindsay Lee. 16mo., pp. 138. New York: Carlton & Lanahan. San Francisco: E. Thomas. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1871.

The Heroine of the White Nile; or, What a Woman Did and Dared. A Sketch of the Remarkable Travels and Experiences of Miss Alexandrine Tinné. By Professor William Wells. Two Illustrations. 16mo., pp. 207. New York: Carlton & Lanahan. San Francisco: E. Thomas. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1871.

Gustavus Adolphus, the Hero of the Reformation. From the French of L. Abelous. By Mrs. C. A. Lacroix. Five Illustrations. 16mo., pp. 193. New York: Carlton & Lanahan. San Francisco: E. Thomas. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1871.

Agatha's Husband, a Novel. By the Author of "John Halifax, Gentleman," "Olive," "The Ogilvies," "The Head of the Family," "A Brave Lady," "The Woman's Kingdom," "Hannah." 12mo., pp. 168. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1871.

Manual of Reading. In Four Parts. Orthophony, Class Methods, Gesture and Elocution. Designed for Teachers and Students. By H. L. D. Potter. 12mo., pp. 420. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1871.

A Terrible Temptation. By Charles Reade. 12mo., pp. 250. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1871.

The Life and Times of Henry Lord Brougham. Written by Himself. In three vols. 12mo., pp. 400. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1871.

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Editorial Note.—We have published in our present number an article on Church Property, written at our request, and, we believe, with candor and intentional truth. If this be questioned, we are ready to publish any able and candid counter-statement which is furnished by any one leading writer of the Church South early enough for our January or April number, in view of the next session of our General Conference.

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